HEBREW IN ITS
WEST SEMITIC SETTING

STUDIES IN SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

EDITED BY

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XIII

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HEBREW IN ITS WEST SEMITIC SETTING

Part One, Sections Bb, C, D and E

HEBREW IN ITS WEST SEMITIC SETTING

A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF NON-MASORETIC HEBREW DIALECTS AND TRADITIONS

BY

A. MURTONEN

PART ONE

A COMPARATIVE LEXICON

Section Bb

ROOT SYSTEM: COMPARATIVE MATERIAL AND DISCUSSION

Sections C, D and E

NUMERALS UNDER 100   PRONOUNS   PARTICLES

E.J. BRILL
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PAUL KAHLE
in memoriam

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* For a provisional list of abbreviations see Part One, Section A, pp. xvii-xxv. A final list of abbreviations will be included in the concluding part of this work.

FOREWORD

The present volume completes Part One of *Hebrew in its West Semitic setting*. Originally, Sections CDE were intended to be published as a separate volume, but because of their small size, even when combined, the publisher considered it unjustifiable. The small size, again, is partly consequence of the endeavour to curtail soaring printing costs by omitting everything that is not necessary for elucidation of the primary Hebrew material. This means also that earlier work on that material is only implicitly taken into account; in Parts II & III, some explicit discussion will be included on topics considered relevant, but even there, it has to be kept to a minimum for the same reason.

In Section Bb, I enjoyed very valuable — often indispensable – help from several colleagues whose names are mentioned in the respective connections in the Introduction (sec. *b*) and also in the comments after the respective entry words where this is considered essential, usually where a different option has been expressed by some other (unnamed) scholar or scholars, or where the information supplemented my all too often scanty first-hand sources. In most cases where their advice resulted in the omission of the relevant item, however, this has not been expressly mentioned, and thus my indebtedness to them, both individually and collectively, is much greater than appears in the body of the work. I therefore wish to express my sincere gratitude to all of them herewith, regretting only that my thanks do not reach all of them *in corpore* any more. Needless to say, ultimate decisions and therewith responsibility for any mistakes and errors of judgment is mine alone.

Financial assistance towards the cost of this volume has been provided by the American Academy for Jewish Research and by the Finnish Oriental Society. I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to these bodies herewith and personally to those friends and colleagues whose active support helped to obtain it, in the first place to Harry M. Orlinsky and also to C. Rabin, S. Morag, S. Talmon, W. Leslau and T. Muraoka; and in the latter case, to H. Palva and T. Harviainen.

Due to health reasons. I was not able to type this volume on to the magnetic tape; my thanks are due to Lorna Gelbert, B.A., for doing it in exemplary fashion; and to Leanne Brown. B.A., for assistance in proofreading. Printing was done at E.J. Brill, Leiden, initially under the supervision of Mr. B. Dijksterhuis and completed under Mr. J.A. Fehrmann, quite efficiently despite some unexpected difficulties still.

Parts II & III are to be reproduced from a camera-ready copy the preparations for which are now being finalized.

Melbourne, 16 October 1989 A. Murtonen

SECTION Bb

ROOT SYSTEM: COMPARATIVE MATERIAL AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION Bb

a) General remarks

The present volume, the third of Part One, is meant to furnish general Semito-Hamitic background for it by means of lexical material drawn from other Semitic languages as well as from the other branches of the phylum, and discussion of the Hebrew material presented in the second volume in the light of this comparative material.

It may be unnecessary to state that it was not possible to include all the relevant material available by now. Nor was it deemed necessary, as most of it, at least as far as Semitic languages are concerned, is readily available in standard works, particularly in the new edition of Koehler-Baumgartner's *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden 1967ff) which indeed proved very helpful in the collection of material for the first nineteen letters of the alphabet of the present work; hopefully, the remaining ones also will be available to the readers by the time this volume will come out or not long afterwards. In any case, I trust that what is presented here will provide an amply representative sample of the material currently available. As K-B^3 appears to concentrate on more closely related languages, few of these have been included in the systematically quoted selection, while it is endeavoured to utilize material from the more remote ones more fully. In what follows, the systematically quoted selection is detailed with the principal sources utilized for them; more incidental sources are mentioned only in the body of the work in appropriate connections; and so the sources for material from outside the selection, particularly if this is not a standard work. Needless to say, in the discussion all the known material is attempted to be accounted for, tacitly if not expressly.

The discussion falls naturally into two parts, phonological (including word formation) and semantic. As the former can be done systematically, it is included in the introduction as a subdivision of it, while semantic comments follow the comparative material under each entry word. In addition, as it is not possible to reach definite results in the phonological discussion without determination of the phonological inventory, discussion of this will be included; but as this is properly a matter for Part Two, only pre- and common Semitic material will be considered here, as this will be sufficient for the present purpose. In addition, as the purpose of the determination is a truly etymological one, meant to reflect actual phonological structure of the pre-Semitic parental of Hebrew, criteria for the determination of each phoneme are applied more stringently than usual, taking into account only those vocabulary items which with at least some probability can be assumed to have existed in pre-Semitic times and accepting only such minimal pairs as can have truly existed within that vocabulary including consideration of probable elementary syntactic units rather than single words as basis for them, particularly where evidence for pairs based on single words only is scanty and/or doubtful. Sounds constituting phonemes in some historical Semitic languages but not proven as having phonological status on such criteria will be regarded as allophonic only in pre-Semitic times.

b) Systematically quoted languages

The following languages or alternatively, for some more remotely related branches of the phylum, language groups will be quoted regularly, as far as cognates or other items deemed worthy of discussion are known to the author. The order of arrangement is not always according to the closeness of relationship, but takes also account of geographical positions, particularly for the non-Semitic branches of the phylum, semi-accidentally resulting in a closed chain, ending next to the starting point.

Semitic languages

(i) Phoenician (Phoen). The main sources for this were Jean-Hoftijzer's *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest* and, more recently, R.S. Tomback's *A comparative Semitic lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic languages*; where these offered different interpretations, occasionally also otherwise, texts published in Donner-Röllig's *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* and N. Slouschz's *Thesaurus of Phoenician inscriptions*, sometimes also the grammars of J. Friedrich, Z.S. Harris and S. Segert, and (rarely) CIS vol. I were consulted.

(ii) Ugaritic (Ug). For this, the main source was C.H. Gordon's *Ugaritic textbook*, but Aistleitner's *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (4th ed.) and Segert's *Basic grammar* were also regularly consulted, apart from occasional references to more recent articles (mainly in *Ugarit-Forschungen*); in addition, D. Pardee kindly commented on a number of uncertain items.

(iii) Aramaic (Aram): This label covers potentially all forms of Aramaic except Syriac; but where a Hebrew item is parallelled by a Jewish Aramaic one, as recorded by Dalman and Jastrow in their respective dictionaries, other forms of Aramaic are recorded only if they offer something of special (phonological) interest; for these, Jean-Hoftijzer and K-B are the usual sources. In cases of uncertainty, original texts were consulted; as critical editions are still largely lacking, I usually found my *Miqra'ot gdolot* Targum texts and the Berditshev (1896) Babylonian and Krotoshin (1866) Palestinian Talmud editions sufficient to elucidate the matter; although occasionally, I also consulted the facsimile editions of Geniza fragments published by Makor or my own photocopies covering some of the same material.[1]

(iv) Syriac (Syr). For this, I normally found Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed.) explicit enough, only occasionally having to consult Payne Smith's *Thesaurus* or Bar Bahlul.

(v) Amorite (Amor). For this, I have relied almost exclusively on I.J. Gelb's *Computer-aided analysis of Amorite*. The language, although attested in proper names only and in many instances also phonologically ambiguous, was included as the only representative (during the earlier stages of the present work) of the linguistic realm between Canaanite-Ugaritic and Akkadian, and was retained even after the Ebla texts started becoming available, as it is still doubtful to what extent the latter can be included and, in particular, analysed in the present volume; their vocabulary is included by way of an appendix to the end of the comments on the relevant entry, as far as the publications reach me in time.

(vi) Akkadian (Akk). Here, W. v. Soden's *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (which has actually too modest a name) usually satisfied my need, although I consulted also the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* at times, only rarely text publications and other more incidental sources. A number of uncertain items I had an opportunity to discuss with Erkki Salonen, and on remaining ones I.J. Gelb kindly wrote comments; unfortunately, we only had time for a brief discussion of them.

(vii) Classical Arabic (Arab). Here, my primary source was J.G. Hava's *Arabic-English dictionary*, but I also consulted Lane fairly regularly, as far as it goes, occasionally also Penrice and mostly Dozy for the remainder; sometimes various (non-critical, but still usually reliable) editions of the *Qur'an*, rarely other texts. A sizable number of uncertain items I had opportunity to discuss with A.K. Irvine, some remaining ones with A.K. Kazi and N. Mirza.

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[1] I hope this is explicit enough to lay to rest doubts such as Professor Odeberg's who in an unpublished review of my *Materials* vol. I from my reference to "Chag 13" (ib. p.97, comment on l. 27) drew the far-reaching conclusion that I was using secondary sources throughout, as I did not know that in the references to the Babylonian Talmud, the letter /a/ or /b/ should follow the folio number! Had he consulted his copy of the Talmud, he would have found that the relevant matter was discussed on *both* pages of the folio; and a penchant for brevity as I have and in this particular case it enabled me to finish the line fairly neatly (the book was photographically reproduced from my typescript), I thought I could express this by not specifying the page at all. Had I had a crystal ball and clairvoyant ability, I certainly would have written Chag 13ab! (cf. "Chag 12b" ib. p.99 comment on lines 89-90; etc.).

(viii) Epigraphic South Arabic[2]. Here, I first used Conti Rossini's *Chrestomathia*, supplemented by A. Jamme's *Sabaean inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis (Marib)* and Motahhar Ali al-Eryani's *In Yemen history* and additionally checked with Joan C. Biella's *Dictionary of old South Arabic — Sabaean dialect* and ultimately with the *Sabaic dictionary* of A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller and J. Ryckmans; the remaining uncertain items I also had an opportunity to discuss with Müller. Beeston's notes on ESA lexicography were also very helpful.

(ix) Mehri (Mhr). For this, the principal modern South Arabic language my mainstay was a copy of the (at that time not yet published) typescript of the lamented T.M. Johnstone's *Mehri dictionary* which Dr. G.R. Smith very kindly arranged for me to have thus enabling me to include this language; earlier, my materials on it comprised only of the comparative material in Johnstone's *Harsusi lexicon* and W. Leslau's *Lexique soqotri*, some recordings kindly given me by Johnstone or made by myself, material included in B. Thomas's *Four strange tongues from South Arabia — the Hadara group* and a number of notes made from the publications of the *Südarabische Expedition* of the Vienna Academy.[3]

(x) Soqotri (Soq). Here, my remaining main source is Leslau's just mentioned *Lexique* which I had an opportunity to check extensively (and find reliable) before the disappearance of the texts; also some recordings made by myself, unfortunately hard to decipher.

(xi) Old Ethiopic (G&z). Here again, Dillmann's *Lexicon* is so thorough that there was little need to check.

(xii) Tigré (Te). Here I had, apart from Littmann-Höfner's *Wörterbuch*, Littmann's *Bibliotheca Abessinica I, Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia I-IV* and *Abessinische Klagelieder* as well as Munzinger's *Vocabulaire* and some recordings by myself, apart from some minor sources.

(xiii) Harari (Har). Apart from Leslau's *Etymological dictionary of Harari*, I had the same author's *Ethiopians speak — Studies in cultural background I. Harari*, E. Cerulli's *Studi Etiopici I*, and the materials embedded in M. Cohen's *Etudes d'éthiopien méridional* (Livre III).

(xiv) Chaha (Ch), (xv) Soddo (Sdd), (xvi) Wolane (Wol). These all are covered by Leslau's *Etymological dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Text material for Ch was provided by his series *Ethiopians speak* vol. II. *Chaha* and V. *Chaha-Ennemor*; for Sdd and Wol, recordings had been made by myself.

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[2] I prefer this form to ... Arabian, as it better expresses the relationship of this language with Classical Arabic which, on my results, is closer than that with Ethiopic.

[3] I also had some copies of texts included in these publications (from which the notes were actually made), but these have mysteriously disappeared — perhaps lent to a student who failed to return them?

Uncertain items in Ethiopic languages I had an opportunity to discuss with W. Leslau and R. Hetzron.

Cushitic languages

(xvii) Bedauye/Bedja (Bed). My main source here was L. Reinisch's *Wörterbuch der Bedauye-Sprache*, apart from materials embedded in R.A. Hudson's *A structural sketch of Beja* and recordings made by myself.

(xviii) Bilin (Bil). Here also, my main source was Reinisch's *Die Bilin-Sprache — Zweiter Band. Wörterbuch der Bilin-Sprache* which also contains comparative material on several related languages (although some of this cannot be considered relevant today).

(xix) Somali (Som). For this, I only had an abbreviated hand-written copy of Reinisch's *Die Somali-Sprache II. Wörterbuch, Somali-Deutsch*, with some notes from vol. I *Texte*; also *Somali-texte* ed. by A. Jahn; E. Cerulli's *Somalia I-III*; and *Hikmad Soomaali* by M.H.I. Galaal and B.W. Andrzejewski, apart from minor sources.

(xx) *Omotic languages*. For this, recently defined branch of the phylum (formerly called West Cushitic and considered sub-group of Cushitic), my materials are so scanty that individual languages cannot be separated here. The only major source I had was Cerulli's *Studi Etiopici* vols. III-IV; even there, the vocabularies of Basketo, Ciara and Zaissé (in vol. III) are rather scanty, leaving that of Caffino (Caf, vol IV) the only really major one. Fleming's articles furnished some more up-to-date material; I also had an opportunity to discuss with him those Cushitic and Omotic materials I had obtained until then (early March 1985); briefly also with G. Gragg and Cushitic a few weeks earlier with D. Appleyard.

(xxi) *Berber languages*. Most of these are also united under a common heading (Berb), the only exception being the next item. For this one, I have to thank K.-G. Prasse for most of my materials, including copies of the Rif and Beni-Snus text publications and an opportunity to use Dallet's *Dictionnaire kabyle-français*; he also discussed with me all my Berber materials gathered until then (November 1984); for Sus, I had Destaing's *Textes* and for the ancient Libyan (Lib), *Les inscriptions libyques bilingues de l'Afrique du Nord* of G. Marcy; some items were found also in A. Basset's *La langue berbère*, A. Willms's *Grammatik der südlichen Beraberdialekte* as well as in Rössler's and Vycichl's works; for Fassato, in F. Beguinot's *Il Berbero Nefusi di Fassato* (2nd ed.); and for Zenaga, in the article by E. Zyhlarz.

(xxii) Tuareg (Tu). Thanks to Père de Foucauld's magnificent *Dictionnaire touareg-francais (dialecte de l'Ahaggar)* of which I finally managed to acquire a copy in December 1984, this language is I believe more adequately covered than the other Berber ones, although its more conservative nature may be mainly responsible for the larger number of cognates it yields. The spelling is modernized after the pattern established by Prasse, and most cognates are found also in Alojaly's *Lexique touareg-francais* (revised and edited by Prasse). Prasse also commented on some items.

Chadic languages

(xxiii) Hausa (Hsa). As Hausa is still the only Chadic language with extensive sources in print, it was singled out from among the rest. Abraham's *Dictionary* was my initial main source, subsequently checked to some extent with Kraft & Kirk-Greene's *Hausa*, some text publications and what is mentioned under the next item.

(xxiv) Chadic (apart from Hausa; Chad). Here my main source was the Chadic word-catalogue compiled by H. Jungraithmayr at the Institute of African studies, Philipps-University, Marburg which Professor Jungraithmayr kindly let me use during my stay in October-December 1984 and also found time to discuss most important items and points of uncertainty about possible cognates; Professor Rössler also participated in some of these discussions; Jungraithmayr & Shimizu's *Chadic lexical roots* (vol. II) has also been a great help in evaluating the materials; before my visit to Marburg, I had had also Jungraithmayr's study of *Ron-Sprachen* and J. Lukas's on *Gisiga* available, and some minor sources, such as articles by W.W. Müller, P. Newman, R. Ma and R.H. Schuh became available in connection with my stay and subsequently.

Egyptian

(xxv) Egyptian properly so called (Eg). Here, the final main authority was of course Erman-Grapow's *Wörterbuch*; often also the abbreviated *Handwörterbuch* satisfied my need. Some minor sources, such as works by Ember, Behnk, Ward and Vycichl were also helpful, as also the list of loan words in Helck's *Beziehungen* (to which Professor Baer called my attention), and naturally v. Calice's *Grundlagen*, although most of his comparisons must now be deemed uncertain or untenable. Some items I had an opportunity to discuss with O. Rössler, and a larger number with W. Vycichl who has also been most helpful in providing additional materials; in addition, K. Baer very kindly took the trouble of writing most informative notes on remaining, still rather large number of uncertain items, including Coptic ones and some more general topics. For Demotic (Dem.), I did not have specific dictionary available; most items so designated come from Vycichl's Coptic one.

(xxvi) Coptic (Cpt). Here my final authority was Crum's *Coptic dictionary*, although mostly it did not appear necessary to go back to it. Initially, apart from quotations in the Hebrew lexica and Erman-Grapow's *Handwörterbuch*, I used mainly Cerny's *Coptic etymological dictionary* for the compilation of a list of cognates; after the publication of Vycichl's *Dictionnaire* the list was largely revised with the help of it and a discussion (which unfortunately had to remain rather brief) with its author; it also provided plenty of material for checking on proposed Egyptian cognates, being also my main source for Demotic; some Berber and Cushitic cognates were also first discovered in it.

Apart from these twenty-six languages and language groups, other cognate languages and sources for loan words are quoted less systematically, where deemed useful and material is available. Of the works covering (more or less) the entire field, M. Cohen's *Essai comparatif* remains the most notable one.

c) *Determination of pre-Semitic phonological inventory*

Discussion of phonology is basically a matter for Part Two. However, for comparison of materials from different languages such as in this volume, a common phonological starting point is needed, therefore determination of phonological inventory covering all the languages included in the comparison is needed here.

As the comparison is based on materials from all the branches and major sub-branches of the Semito-Hamitic phylum, it would seem that determination of the proto-Semito-Hamitic phonological inventory is required to satisfy the present need. However, as all the branches and sub-branches are not equally represented — rather, a single language of the Semitic branch being the centre to which the other languages are compared, it would seem to indicate that differential weighting of evidence from different quarters is appropriate. Moreover, inclusion of material on comparatively equal footing from all the branches should be required only if all of them were descended from an essentially uniform and coherent proto-Semito-Hamitic language, an assumption which is unprovable today and will probably remain so. Parallels from other languages spoken by people on a comparable level of material culture and communications rather suggest a continuum of more or less closely related dialects for such a remote period.[4]

[4] For such a stage in the linguistic development to be synchronous, it must be posited several millennia before the beginning of the historical period, hence also before the "neolithic revolution" and beginnings of systematic agriculture and animal husbandry; in other words, it must have been essentially a community of hunter-gatherers who spoke that language, comparable to yesteryear Australian aboriginal tribes and natives of New Guinea — as a matter of fact, the latter may be more advanced today. The estimates with regard to the number of languages spoken by the Australian Aborigines vary somewhat, from about 200 to nearly 300 (many of

It is therefore plausible to assume that the differences between such mini-languages and dialects tended to increase with both geographical and diachronical distances between early Semito-Hamitic hunter-gatherer communities too. It is then also reasonable, for the purposes of this study, to give more weight to the evidence from more closely related languages than to that from more distant ones; and in lexical comparison, we also have a ready-made criterion for the closeness of relationship, to wit, the relative number of cognates. This is also readily applicable to the determination of phonological inventory: only those vocabulary items in each language which with at least some degree of probability can be considered cognate with the corresponding Hebrew items are to be taken into account. The result, then, is not (necessarily) common proto-Semito-Hamitic phonological inventory, but only of that proto-Semito-Hamitic linguistic unit from which the historical biblical and early post-biblical Hebrew language evolved. For brevity, we term this stage in the development of Hebrew *pre-Semitic*, as the existence of at least some cognates in all the branches of the phylum indicates that it must have antedated common Semitic period. The determination is based primarily on these cognates, but as their number is relatively small, the results are checked against common Semitic and at least relatively widely attested West Semitic roots.[5]

It has been, and still widely is customary to posit a proto-Semitic consonant phoneme for every distinctive one in the historical Semitic languages, at most with the exception of some attested (usually rarely) in some modern languages only. There has never been serious attempt to determine the phonological status of the items of the proto-Semitic inventory thus built up; at most, a passing remark that some distinctions may have been allophonic only — as if this was of no serious consequence. The basic, albeit often tacit assumption seems to be that the earlier the period, the larger number of distinctive sounds can be posited for it. Phonological change would thus

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them now extinct); in any case, as the number of the Aborigines probably never exceeded 300,000, the average number of speakers probably never went much beyond one thousand; today, languages with that many speakers are few. In New Guinea, speakers of a language are somewhat more numerous on the average, but still rarely exceed 5,000. Most of such languages are still divided into — sometimes barely mutually intelligible — dialects, with notable differences in vocabulary and grammatical features even between blood relatives, if they have lived apart for some years (as between my two main informants for Pintupi). The reason for such linguistic diffusion in hunter-gatherer communities is evident: for subsistence, or mere survival, they require an extensive area in which to hunt and forage, therefore communities have to maintain appreciable distances between each other; and if a community grows beyond the critical limit which the area can maintain, it may split, if there is room available elsewhere. Only with the establishment of systematic agriculture, more permanent and larger communities begin to be established.

[5] As our Hebrew material consists of non-Masoretic evidence only, a number of biblical roots are lacking; but this is compensated for by the presence of many post-biblical roots, and none of the missing biblical ones is widely attested.

consist, at least essentially only of the amalgamation of earlier independent phonemes, the phonological inventory being thus curtailed all the time. The possibility of the opposite development, that earlier allophonic differences could, in consequence of various phonetic and semantic processes, be made distinctive, is hardly ever considered for the early history and prehistory of Semitic languages. The fact that such developments are evident in the more recent history of some branches of Semitic and elsewhere[6] cannot be denied, but the possible applicability of this as a parallel to developments in proto-Semitic and generally prehistoric times is hardly ever even suggested.[7]

Elsewhere in the world, such a possibility is more often accepted as a probability. E.g., R.M.W. Dixon[8] reconstructs thirteen or possibly fourteen consonantal phonemes for the hypothetical proto-Australian language, and for an earlier stage[9] only eleven or possibly only ten; while actually attested present-day systems[10] have at least thirteen and up to twenty consonant phonemes. This presupposes steady increase in the number of phonemes throughout the continent apart from those (rather few) in which the number equals that in the proto-language; only if this did have the laminal lateral too, can there have been a reduction of one in a few languages since proto-Australian times; moreover, taking the earlier stage of proto-Australian for starting point, there is a universal increase, in scores of languages possibly doubling of the number of the consonantal phonemes.

Languages spoken by people on a relatively low level of material culture in other parts of the world also often show rather restricted phonological inventories. E.g., the Amerindian Delaware language[11] shows fourteen consonantal phonemes (of which the labio-velar /kʷ/ could still be classified as a sequence of /k/+/w/, sometimes realized as /ku:/); Eskimo[12] has fifteen distinctive consonants, but all but the four occlusives have more or less restricted functions. Even where consonantism is rich, as in Chipewyan[13], indications are that it has been expanded secondarily through phonetic differentiation by assigning certain (originally perhaps of restricted occurrence, cf. Delaware /χ/ as the only real spirant in that language) features singly or cumulatively to the three simple stops which alone are shared with it by most other Amerindian languages (i.e., /p/, /t/, /k/); in Chipewyan, these features are aspiration, glottalization, affrication, dentalization, lateralization, prepalatalization, spirantization or sibilization (usually augmented by voicing) and labialization (which again could be reinterpreted as a cluster of the occlusive/spirant plus /w/); in Yokuts[14], the corresponding features are partly the same, partly different, to wit, aspiration, glottalization, retroflection, affrication with dentalization or prepalatalization, spirantization/sibilization (without voicing); glottalization is applied to approximants (including semivowels) also.

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[6] See, for the time being, my article *On structural growth in languages* in *Abr Nahrain* vol. xxiv (1986).

[7] It is therefore refreshing to see that Diakonoff, *S-H languages* p.22 reckons with the possibility of a series of proto-Semitic consonants (as reconstructed by him) having been allophonic at an *earlier* stage.

[8] *The languages of Australia* p.158. Similarly, C. Meinhof reconstructed 8 (or 9) primary plus 4 palatalized consonants for proto-Bantu, whereas historical Bantu languages generally have at least twice as many, cf. C.M. Doke, *The Southern Bantu languages* p.42 and appendices.

[9] Op.cit. p.177.

[10] Op.cit. p.147.

[11] According to *Les langues du monde* p.1164ff.

[12] Op.cit. p.1168ff. Polynesian languages generally fewer still e.g., Tahitian only eight (ib. p.668).

[13] Op.cit. p.1179ff.

In Bushman-Hottentot[15], the consonantal inventory may also seem relatively large at the first glance, as Beach lists sixteen non-click consonants to which the four (in part of Bushman, five) clicks are to be added. However, four of the non-click consonants occur normally in foreign words only; and the remaining ones also underlie such restrictions of occurrence that they may often be considered semi-phonemic only, particularly the clicks. Moreover, the affricates (/ts/ and /kx/) are again interpretable as sequences of two consonants. This reduces the number of the non-click genuine Nama consonants to ten, and even their occurrence is restricted to certain positions; e.g., /p/ usually only initially before oral vowels in three classes of roots, or intervocalically in one of these classes; in addition, the phoneme constitutes an entire root used enclitically attached to the preceding one. The occurrence of /k/ is still more restricted: with one possible exception (a numeral), it occurs only root initially before back and central vowels (/u/, /o/, /a/, and /ə/), apart from a prepalatalized allophone which occurs just as exclusively before /e/ in genuine Nama roots. The occurrence of the clicks is most restricted of all: they occur only root initially, either nasalized or before the velar or glottal stops and fricatives (/k/, /x/[16], /'/, /h/). As these consonants serve to release the air entered into the oral cavity in the click implosion, Beach considers them part of the click and distinguishes thus between twenty clicks altogether. As clicks are a unique phonological phenomenon, this is a matter of definition, and I prefer the simpler interpretation as clusters, defining clicks as the implosive element only. Whichever interpretation be correct, at all events clicks occur in such restricted environments that distributionally they resemble positional allophones rather than independent phonemes and are thus better considered semi-phonemic only. This is further enhanced, if Beach is correct in arguing, in my opinion convincingly, that the

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[14] Op.cit. p.1183ff.

[15] See D.M. Beach, *The phonetics of the Hottentot language* pp. 53, 73ff etc.; the relevant features of the Bushman languages are essentially similar, cf. Dorothea F. Bleek's *Dictionary*.

[16] This symbol, used by Beach, is phonetically more like our /χ/ than our /x/.

Nama non-click initials ultimately derive from the click ones through omission of the implosive element.[17]

These examples may suffice to show that the possibility of a relatively small number of phonemes for the pre-Semitic stage of the parental language of Hebrew must be taken seriously. Positive proof, however, if at all possible, must come from the pre-Semitic material itself, and the question is whether and how it could be worked out.

First of all, as to "whether": as stated above, the number of roots attested outside Semitic and thus demonstrably pre-Semitic in origin is rather limited. Our Hebrew material contains 190 roots which I consider certainly or with a high degree of probability to be pre-Semitic in origin, and another 110 possible ones. However, those roots attested in all sub-branches of Semitic or for other reasons attributable to the common Semitic period may be considered close enough both chronologically and geographically to be used as corroborative evidence for tendencies or developments attested too scantily in the pre-Semitic material to be considered proven by it alone; apart from the 110 possibly pre-Semitic roots most of which belong to this class, our material contains another 193 such roots, with 55 others still as more or less possible ones. Moreover, as a number of relevant developments turn out to be restricted not only to Semitic, but certain sub-branches of it, evidence for them must be drawn partly from roots with still more restricted occurrence, although within such limits mostly widely used.

It is clear of course that the pre- and proto-Semitic parental of Hebrew must have contained more than those 500-odd roots demonstrably attributable to it. Even in the actually spoken Hebrew of the biblical period the vocabulary must have been larger than that preserved to us.[18] It is questionable, however, how far the missing items are relevant to the present issue. First of all, although certain vocabulary items now and then become obsolete and fall out of use for various reasons, this does not seem often to lead to the loss of entire roots, as cognates of the lost item remain; and for the pre-Semitic period it is roots that are relevant (see below), not single vocabulary items. Moreover, words used most frequently tend to retain their form and content more permanently than those used less and exert analogical influence on the latter; this is also true of phonology, and so it seems safe to assume that in the original pre-Semitic roots lost to us no phonologically significant developments took place that were not shared by the roots preserved to us. From this, it follows that in the pre-Semitic parental of Hebrew probably no consonant phoneme existed that is not deducible from the material available to us.

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[17] Op.cit. p.268ff.

[18] However, it is strange that when it comes to concrete examples of items missing, examples given are few and themselves often questionable. So e.g. in a paper read to a Melbourne audience some time ago it was claimed that spoken Hebrew of biblical times must have had a word for "metal". However, it does not seem self-evident to me that the ancient Israelites must have had a common designation for gold, silver, iron, lead and tin (etc.) as these were used mostly in different ways and for different purposes; and if such an expression was widely used in biblical times, why was it later on discarded in favour of /mattäkät/ evidently borrowed from Aramaic and ultimately etymological equivalent to the biblical /massekå^{h}/?

The question remaining is, then: how to determine whether and which historically attested phonemes of Semitic were allophonic or perhaps completely non-existent in the pre-Semitic period?

The usual test for allophony is that of minimal pairs, as a rule applied to words as basic vocabulary items: if a sound when substituted for another in a word transforms it into another intelligible word of a different meaning, it is a distinctive sound or *phoneme*; if not, it is an *allophonic* variant of the same phoneme. A well-known example of the latter is the twofold pronunciation in Tiberian Hebrew of the aspirated and voiced stops. Sometimes it is applied too mechanically, so that if in a text — however extensive — even one contrastive pair is found, the sounds in contrast are accepted as distinct phonemes, regardless of the function of the words involved; or even watered down by accepting as distinct phonemes sounds found contrasting in words of analogous structure, whether they constitute true minimal pairs or not. The procedure may be justified, if the text is relatively small, but even then the results should be considered tentative only, until corroborated by true minimal pairs in additional material. Moreover, the existence of homonymous words of quite different meanings in all languages shows that it is not safe to rely on evidence from contrasting single words only. This is a natural consequence of the fact that *word* — as a rather ill-defined entity — is not necessarily a basic meaningful unit, the minimum one being the *morph*[19] which is often part of a word only; but a morph is usually not a complete or independent meaningful unit either, only a complete utterance or a semantically limited part of it can be that. To determine the validity of a contrast between words their functions in the framework of the larger utterances must be taken into account.

Now it is true of course that no continuous texts from the pre-Semitic period are available to us. Worse still, there is no reliable guide to reconstructing even elementary sentences; syntactical patterns in the different historical languages are too varied for a reconstruction to be made with any degree of probability, and even the structure of nominal and verbal inflection as well as the identity and functions of inflectional elements vary too much for pre-Semitic patterns to be established reliably enough for the present purpose. What remains is then the consonantal root morphemes and some vocalization patterns of primary verbal stems and some nominal types that can be traced back to the pre-Semitic period.

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[19] I prefer this term for a single minimal meaningful entity, reserving *morpheme* to designate classes of morphs.

Even with the limited amount of material available, it would consume too much time and space to test all possible minimal pairs; fortunately, the mutual incompatibility of certain consonants in root patterning can be used to select those consonants for which the test is needed. For the present purpose and with the limited amount of material available, however, only the position to which the rule of incompatibility applies more strictly can be used, i.e., that of direct contiguity. Occurrence in non-contiguous positions within the same root is thus not necessarily an indication of compatibility. The fact that consonants found incompatible in contiguous positions rarely occur in non-contiguous positions too may be historically understandable in the light of the fact that transposition of radicals is rather frequently attested in early roots, and there are indications of augmentation of originally biradical roots besides I /n/-/w/-/y/ ones.

The lack of continuous texts for the pre- and early Semitic periods is compensated, albeit to a very modest extent, by the fact that among the early roots there are rather more purely nominal ones than among those of apparently later origin. As some differentiation between nominal and verbal categories may be assumed for the pre-Semitic period already, purely nominal roots may have been used in more restricted syntactical positions, and therefore a contrast found between a nominal and a verbal root only need not be distinctive. In addition, if a contrast occurs only rarely in roots of suspect antiquity, chances are that it is not distinctive for pre-Semitic.

We begin with the sounds articulated hindmost in the vocal tract, advancing mainly forward, but sidestepping occasionally to include the fricatives and approximants whose articulation basis lies mainly, or otherwise characteristically next to the base line stops; the semivowels are left last of the consonants, partly because of their close etymological relationship, partly because of their phonetic character suitable to form transition to the discussion of the vowels.

1. /'/. The glottal stop is found in the following roots confidently attributable to the pre-Semitic period: /'b/, /'bd/, /'bV/, /'bn/, /'hl/, /'zn/, /'xV/II, /'xr/, /'kp/, /'m/, /'mn/, /'np/, /'wr/, /'rV/, /'rk/, /'rc/, /'ʃk/, /'tV/, /b'r/II, /bw'/, /g'V/, /yc'/, /mc'/, /qr'/, /r'/, /r'V/, /ʃ'l/; less confidently also /'gm/, /'dm/, /'7m/, /'y/, /'y(V)/, /'l/, /'mr/, /'nʃ/, /'nʃ/II, /'sr/, /'r(r)/, /'rV/II, /'rx/, /'ʃ/, /'ʃl/, /b'ʃ/, /cm'/, /n'p/, /qy'/. To the common Semitic period can be attributed those in the preceding category (except /'y/, /'y(V)/, /'rV/II and /n'p/) plus /'br/, /'wV/, /'x/, /'xV/, /'xz/, /'kl/, /'lp/, /'m/II, /'pV/, /'ʃr/, /nb'/, /cb'/, /nd'/, /x7'/, /kl'/, /kl'/II, /ml'/, /m'/, /p'(V)/, /rp'/, /r'ʃ/, /nʃ'/; perhaps also /'bl/, /'ʃ(ʃ)/, /z'b/, /n'q/ and /qn'/.

Its pre-Semitic phonemic status, phonetic value and even presence, however, largely stand in doubt. In Berber, as far as present at all[20], it appears to be of secondary origin[21]; in Chadic again, Jungraithmayr & Shimizu[22] classify it as doubtful. In Cushitic and Omotic it is more widely attested; but hardly in roots present in Semitic, and mostly as the first radical in which position it could be a secondary consonantal onset to an original word initial vowel; or also as the last where it may have originated as a glide before a vocalic inflectional element or in sandhi. In Egyptian it is also widely used, but often stands for a Semitic /r/ or /l/, occasionally for /w/ too; and in root initial, Semitic /'/ is mostly represented by /y/.

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[20] Cf. A. Basset, *La langue berbère* p.5.

In the early roots listed above, it is equally striking that the sound is almost entirely confined to the root initial or — less often — to its end. Of the exceptions, /'/ is not present in the non-Semitic attestations of those listed as pre-Semitic; in the highly doubtful /n'p/, the possible Eg equivalent has /h/ in its stead; /z'b/ is a wandering word and has variants after the hollow root pattern; the likewise possibly common Sem /n'q/ has even in MT the root var. /nhq/ which consonantism is found in most cognate languages too. There is interchange between /'/ and /h/ also otherwise in Semitic, cf. the prothetic /'/ in Aram tQ- and tD-stems vs. Hbr /h/, the preformative /'/ in Aram Arab causatives again vs. Hbr /h/; Hbr /hinne:/ vs. Arab /'inna/; and on the other hand, Hbr /'im/ vs. Aram /hen/; etc. Cf. the next item.

2. /h/. Pre-Sem: /'hl/, /bhr/, /yhb/, /hwV/, /hyV/, /hl(l)/, /hmV/, /hrg/, /hrV/, /lhb/, /nhm/, /chr/; possibly also /bhV/, /bhl/, /hdp/, /hlk/, /ykl/,[23] /mhr/, /n'p/, /nhr/, /thV/; common Sem: the preceding category (except for /bhV/, /hdp/, /n'p/, /thV/) plus /hpk/, and possibly /n'q/[24].

Of these, /'hl/ seems to go against the rules of incompatibility; but Arab (incl. early dialects), has a var. without /h/ with which the Akk entry too is compatible; and as the root is basically nominal and the noun type monosyllabic, /h/ was hardly in contact[25] with /'/ in pre-Sem times even if original. /bhr/ seems to contrast with /b'r/II; but the latter being purely nominal and /'/ not attested outside Sem, real contrast was hardly possible. The same is true of /hrV/ vs. /'rV/II, where the type of the noun is also exceptional and the noun itself as a wandering word not assuredly of pre-Sem origin. As for /hwV/ vs. /'wV/, the former is a somewhat patchily attested root var. of /hyV/, while the latter is Sem only and verbally little used except in secondary stems. The verbal /'rV/ is attested beside /hrV/ only in Akk and has itself /h/ for /'/ in Bed. The early Sem evidence thus tends to corroborate the conclusion that in pre-Sem, /'/ and /h/ were free variants of one and the same phoneme.[26]

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[21] Cf. K.-G. Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touaregue I-III* p.17ff.

[22] *Chadic lexical roots II* p.21.

[23] On the basis of cognate languages and dialects.

[24] On the basis of cognate languages and dialects; cf. the preceding item.

[25] As roots exist only in actual vocabulary items, the objection that it is a question of roots is not valid.

3. /x/. Pre-Sem: /'xV/II, /'xr/, /zbx/, /xb('/V)/, /xbʃ/, /xwV/II, /xy(V)/, /xyl/, /xm/, /xm(m)/, /xnV/, /xsr/, /xp(p)/, /xpʃ/, /xwʃ/, /xt(t)/, /lxm/, /nxr/, /cx(x)/, /yrx/, /mrx/, /prx/, /qrx/II, /rwx/, /rxc/; possibly also /bxr/, /nbx/, /xwV/III, /xlb/, /xl7/, /xlm/, /xmc/, /xnk/, /xnp/, /xrb/, /xrb/II, /xrʃ/, /xʃb/, /lxk/, /plx/, /mxc/, /qmx/, /psx/, /cxn/, /'rx/, /qrx/, /ptx/II, /rtx/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /nbx/, /plx/, /psx/, cxn/, /ptx/II, /rtx/) plus /'x/, /'xV/, /'xz/, /7bx/, /yxd/, /xb(b)/, /xbl/, /xbl/II, /xbq/, /xbr/, /xbr/II, /xgr/, /xd(d)/, /xdʃ/, /x7'/, /xkm/, /xlc/, /xnq/, /xpn/, /xpr/, /xc(c)/, /xr/II, /xr(r)/, /xrm/, /7xl/, /7xn/, /lx/, /lxV/, /nwx/, /7px/, /npx/, /cpx/, /pcx/, /cwx/, /lqx/, /rxm/, /rxq/, /ʃxn/, /ʃ7x/, /ptx/; and possibly /xb7/, /xlʃ/, /xmr/, /xmʃ/, /xrc/, /lxʃ/, /mlx/II, /pxm/.

This voiceless pharyngal approximant in Hbr (etc.) corresponds generally to two distinct phonemes in Ug, Amor, OAkk, Arab, ESA, Mhr, G&z, and to three in Eg. The other relevant sound in these languages appears to be usually a velar fricative which we transcribe as /χ/[27], the additional Eg one the phonetic value of which is conjectural (perhaps similar to the German "ich"- sound), as /h̲/; in OAkk[28], the phoneme corresponding to /x/ represents other WSem sounds as well, and in later language coalesces with that corresponding to WSem glottals and is ultimately lost in most positions at least. The other one, corresponding mainly to WSem /χ/ and therefore transcribed so, however, is preserved, and so distinction can be made in later Akk too. In Eg, the corresponding sound is often sibilized, particularly in later language, and in Cpt preserved only dialectally. In the other branches of the phylum, distinction seems to be made only in Arab LWW, if at all.

It is customary to posit two proto-Sem phonemes, /x/ and /χ/; the fact that a similar distinction and an additional one besides is made in Eg seems to indicate that the distinction is pre-Sem in origin. However, as we shall see, the distinction is largely inconsistent even within Sem which strongly suggests that in proto-Sem and even later the difference was largely allophonic. The fact that not nearly all Sem languages share the distinction either agrees with this, and so we have reasons more than enough to check on it with the help of the early roots listed above.

If there was phonological distinction between /x/ and /χ/ in the pre-Sem period and, as usually assumed, the representation of both by one phoneme in Hbr etc. due to secondary development, we should expect a fairly consistent distinction between the two in those languages which make phonological distinction between them, and any deviations should have identifiable or at least plausible reasons. Actual facts are:

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[26] As can be seen, the conclusion is based on the scantity and doubtfulness of relevant minimal pairs rather than "a few alterations" (which should first be proved to be alterations).

[27] The same transcription is used for the voiceless uvular fricative in Berb (etc.), the only equivalent in that language.

[28] See I.J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian writing and grammar* p.161f.

Of the twenty-five roots listed as pre-Sem without qualification, the following show /χ/ in at least one of the languages in which it is present (subsequently called /χ/-lgg; here, more comprehensive designations refer to these languages only): /xv/II Ug Akk? Eg, /'xr/ Sem, /xb('/V)/ Sem(-?), /xbʃ/ ESA (var.?), /xyl/ Ug Akk Eg, /xm(m)/ Eg var., /xnV/ Amor? Akk Eg, /xsr/ Ug Akk Arab (var.) ESA? Mhr G&z, /xp(p)/ Ug Mhr, /xpʃ/ Eg, /xwʃ/ Ug var.? Akk, /xt(t)/ Ug Akk Arab Eg (var.), /lxm/ Akk var. Mhr var., /nxr/ Ug Akk Arab (var.) Mhr (var.) G&z, /yrx/ Sem, /mrx/ Ug? Akk? Arab var., /prx/ Akk var., Arab (var.) G&z Eg, /qrx/II Akk (late), /rxc/ Amor Akk Eg. Of these nineteen, the following show /x/ also in some /χ/-lgg: /'xr/ Eg, /xb('/V)/ Mhr(?), /xbʃ/ Sem (ESA var.?), /xm(m)/ Sem, /xnV/ Arab, /xsr/ Arab var., /xp(p)/ Arab ESA? Eg, /xpʃ/ Sem, /xwʃ/ Ug (var.?) Arab Mhr G&z, /xt(t)/ (Eg var.), /lxm/ Akk (var.) WSem (Mhr var.) /nxr/ Arab var. Mhr var. (Eg), /yrx/ Eg, /mrx/ Arab (varr.) Mhr, /prx/ Akk (varr.) Arab var., /qrx/II Arab (var.) /rxc/ Ug Arab Mhr G&z. In other words, three quarters of the roots listed as pre-Sem show forms with /χ/, and of these five sixths show also forms with /x/ in /χ/-lgg. Of course, not all of these are certain, but dubious cases are few: in /xb('/V)/, the Mhr entry is less than obviously related to the main meaning and could, at a pinch, perhaps be connected with Arab /xbV/; in /xbʃ/, the meaning of the first ESA entry is uncertain; the second could be a Npr (Biella), but even so it may be based on this root; in /xm(m)/, the Amor entry is quite conjectural and the relevant Eg spelling is only attested since the Middle Kingdom, but even so — for semantic reasons too — it can hardly be a LW, more probably a dialectal var., as the other varr. too are quite uncommon, viz., /ʃ/ (since the Old Kingdom!) and after the causative preform., /h̲/; in /xt(t)/, the Eg var. is attested in Dem. only, but the Cpt entry likewise supports it, as Sahidic /h/ has not often Eg /χ/ for an antecedent, in several such cases beside other sounds (e.g., /xm(m)/ just quoted) or semantically not clearly related; others may be attributable to dialectal variation; in /yrx/, the Eg /&/ as an equivalent to Sem /r/ is irregular, but the influence of /x/ may account for it, and the first rad. is evidently secondary, as /'rx/ too is clearly related; on the other hand, in /qrx/II the Akk entry appears to be WSem loan; but here, a root var. with a sibilant replacing the pharyngal is more widespread. In the other roots, dubious cognates have more obvious ones beside them. The result is, then that /χ/ is not consistently differentiated from /x/ in more than a half of the roots confidently attributable to the pre-Sem period; moreover, in at least six and maybe nine cases is the phonological split attested within a single language. The plausible inference is that in the pre-Sem period there was one voiceless pharyngal phoneme; some consistent allophonic differentiation began to develop towards the end of that period, leading to the phonological differentiation of a velar fricative incipient in the late common Sem and going on in most single Sem languages; and separately in Eg where still another (fronted?) phoneme was differentiated.

The conclusions are supported by the rest of the material. Of the twenty-three roots less assuredly pre-Sem, the following show /χ/ in (some of the) /χ/-lgg: /nbx/ Akk, /xlb/ Akk (NAss), /xnp/ Ug Arab var. G&z var., /xrb/ Ug Akk Arab Mhr, /xrb/II Akk Arab var., /xrʃ/ Eg?, /xʃb/ Akk, /plx/ Amor Akk Arab var. Eg(?), /mxc/ Ug Akk Arab ESA, /psx/ Arab (var.?), /cxn/ Arab Eg, /’rx/ Akk Arab (var.) ESA, /ptx/II Akk Arab ESA. Of these thirteen, most show again /x/ in some attestations in /χ/-lgg: /nbx/ Arab Mhr G&z Eg?, /xlb/ WSem, /xnp/ Arab var. G&z var., /xrb/II Ug Amor? Arab (var.) SAr, /xrʃ/ Sem, /xʃb/ Arab Mhr G&z Eg, /plx/ Arab (varr.), /mxc/ G&z, /psx/ (Akk) Arab var.?, /’rx/ Arab var. Mhr? G&z, /ptx/II (Ebl?) Eg. However, in /xlb/, the Akk entries may be WSem loans, and so the hapax in /xʃb/; /psx/ could be an old wandering word, and in /ptx/II, some *Kulturwort* influence could be involved. On the other hand, the only reason to doubt the Eg entry in /xrʃ/ is the unclear meaning, and Cpt supports connection with the Sem root; and although the /xnp/ G&z entries are borrowings, the split in Arab remains genuine.

Of the forty listed as common Sem, /χ/ is found in /’x/ Sem, /’xV/ Sem, /’xz/ Sem, /7bx/ NSem Arab SAr, /yxd/ G&z (var.), /xb(b)/ Akk, /xbl/ Akk var., /xbl/II Akk Arab (var.) ESA G&z, /xbr/II Ug var.? Arab (var.) Mhr G&z (Eg), /x7’/ Sem, /xkm/ Akk, /xlc/ Akk (var.) Arab, /xnq/ Sem, /xpr/ Akk, /xc(c)/ Akk var., /xr/II Sem, /xrm/ Akk, /lx/ Akk, /lxV/ Akk, /nwx/ Sem, /npx/ Ug (var.?) Amor Akk Arab varr. ESA Mhr G&z var., /cpx/ Akk, /cwx/ Akk, /rxm/ Arab var. (ESA var.), /ʃxn/ Sem. Of these twenty-five, the following show /x/ in /χ/-lgg: /7bx/ G&z, /yxd/ NSem Arab SAr, /xb(b)/ WSem, /xbl/ WSem Akk (var.), /xbl/II Arab var., /xbr/II Ug (var.?) Arab var. ESA (?), /xkm/ WSem, /xlc/ (Akk var.) ESA? G&z?, /xpr/ Arab SAr G&z (var.), /xc(c)/ WSem Akk (var.), /xrm/ WSem, /lx/ Arab G&z, /lxV/ Ug? Arab Mhr, /npx/ Ug var.(?) Arab (varr.) G&z var. (Eg), /cpx/ Arab G&z, /cwx/ Ug Arab Mhr; /rxm/ Sem (Arab var.). Of these seventeen, only /cpx/ appears somewhat dubious because of some additional phonological variation and somewhat vague semantic resemblance between some entries; in /xlc/, the Akk entry is bracketed because the sound is not actually present, although etymologically in no doubt. The overlap between /x/ and /χ/ is less large than in pre-Sem, apparently reflecting incipient phonological distinction. Those less certainly belonging to this period number eight only; /χ/ is attested in /xb7/ Ug? Amor? Akk? Arab SAr G&z?, /xlʃ/ Akk Arab, /xmʃ/ Sem, /xrc/ Akk ESA G&z var(r)., /lxʃ/ Ug Akk, /mlx/II Akk Arab G&z. Of these six, /x/

is found in /χ/-lgg in /xrc/ Ug Arab G&z varr.? and in /lxʃ/ G&z; because of the small total, the proportion is hardly statistically significant, but it does agree with the trend just observed.

/x/ does not appear to have been incompatible with the glottal phoneme, cf. pre-Sem /'xV/II, /'xr/, and common Sem /'x/, /'xV/, /'xz/; there are also several minimal pairs, cf. /'bV/ vs. /xb('/V)/, /'m/ vs. /xm/, /hwV/ vs. /xwV/II, /hyV/ vs. /xy(V)/, etc. To determine the relationship to /&/, that sound must be studied first.

4. /&/. Pre-Sem: /b&l/, /cb&/II, /yd&/, /7&m/, /m&7/, /&lV/, /&yn/, /&wp/, /&c/, /&ʃV/, /&ʃ/sr/, /ʃm&/, /bq&/, /gr&/, /qr&/, /yʃ&/, /ʃ/s&r/; possibly also /7b&/, /ng&/, /&wV/, /&rp/, /r&b/, /ʃ&r/, /qy'/[29], /kr&/, /r&V/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /ng&/, /&wV/, /&rp/, /r&b/) plus /b&r/, /yz&/, /nb&/, /m&/, /s&V/, /c&p/, /c&n/, /c&r/, /zr&/, /r&d/, /r&V/, /&bV/, /&br/, /&gm/, /&d(d)/, /&z(z)/, /&zb/, /&7p/, /&lq/, /p&l/, /&md/, /&mq/ /&cd/, /&cm/, /&cr/, /&qb/, /&rb/; and possibly /rb&/II /ʃb&/II, /ʃb&/III, /ʃg&/, /&gl/, /&zq/, /r&(V)/, /tʃ&/.

In historical Semitic languages this sound is usually defined as the voiced counterpart of /x/; but whether it was that originally is not so obvious. True enough, in some Sem languages it also has another representative besides the common /&/, usually definable as a voiced counterpart of /χ/ (and therefore here transcribed as /γ/; cf. below), but whether its actual pronunciation was this in, say, Ug or ESA is quite conjectural. Parallel is also otherwise defective, as /γ/ is not found in all /χ/-lgg (cf. below). Moreover, as Baer informs me, in early Eg rules of incompatibility combine /&/ with dentals[30]. It may be best, therefore, to see first what the above list of early roots might reveal in this respect.

The following consonants are not found contiguous to /&/ in the pre-Sem roots: /'/, /h/, /x/, /k/, /t/, /s/, /z/, /p/, and possibly /g/, /w/; moreover /d/ and /n/ are next to /&/ in originally biradical roots and may therefore not have been contiguous at an early pre-Sem period, as also /c/. However, the result is partly no doubt due to the scantity of the material, and as the list still does not include all the dentals, but does include the glottals and the (other) pharyngal, the conclusion seems plausible that /&/ was closely related to /x/ in pre-Sem times already. For the proto-Sem period this conclusion is corroborated, the list of incompatibilities being reduced to /'/, /h/, /x/, /k/, /t/, and even of these, the last two may be included because of their voicelessness, as their voiced counterparts, /g/, and /d/, are well represented. Of course, /'/, /h/ and /x/ are also voiceless, but this may not be relevant with regard to /'/ which is phonetically in its own class, as its articulation consists of initiation only; and as we found above, /h/ was its allophonic var. in pre-Sem times. One difference with regard to /x/ remains, however: /x/ was found to be compatible with the glottal phoneme, whereas /&/ is strictly incompatible. It is difficult to attribute this difference to that in voice only, so some other difference in articulation basis may be involved; the fact that the sound alternates with a glottalized/dorsalized sibilant may also be significant, perhaps even connected with the early Eg dental character.

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[29] Cf. the cognate languages.

[30] Cf. also Rössler in Altheim-Stiehl p.263ff; however, his theory of Eg /&/ as a product of decay of voiced stops only appears too sweeping, being largely unsubstantiated by the examples given and forcing an unconvincing redefinition of the "emphatic" series to maintain harmony of the reconstructed proto-system of consonants — which harmony is by no means necessary to postulate for a proto-language, few historical languages showing harmonious phonological systems either.

As stated, in some Sem languages there is a twofold correspondence to Hbr (etc.) /&/, to some extent comparable to that for /x/; we transcribe the additional phoneme as /γ/ and call the languages showing it /γ/-lgg. Among our systematically quoted languages, these are Ug Arab ESA Mhr[31]. Among the seventeen roots classified above as pre-Sem without qualification, /γ/ occurs in /&lV/ Arab var. Mhr var., /&c/ Arab var. only; of the nine additional possible ones, in /&wV/ Arab var. ESA Mhr, /&rp/ Ug var. Arab (varr.) Mhr, /r&b/ Ug Arab Mhr, /ʃ&r/ Ug Arab. As is seen, even including the suspect ones, less than a quarter show /γ/, mostly as a var. beside the common /&/ within single languages; the only exceptions are the doubtful /r&b/ and /ʃ&r/ of which too the latter shows /&/ instead in ESA. In /r&b/, /&/ indeed does not appear in /γ/-lgg; but the fact that G&z has /χ/ and Te Har /x/ instead indicates that the middle radical must have been subject to exceptional developments in early times; and seeing that the other radicals are voiced, chances are that /&∼γ/ is secondary rather than vice versa. Positing /γ/ as an independent pre-Sem phoneme is accordingly hardly justified; however, we examine still the common Sem roots as listed above.

Of the twenty-six unqualified ones, /γ/ is found in /yz&/ Arab var., /nb&/ Arab var., /&bV/ Ug? Arab var., /&br/ Arab var. Mhr varr., /&mq/ Arab (syr.) var., /&cr/ Ug, /&rb/ Arab var. ESA var. Mhr var., /c&r/ Ug Arab (var.) ESA; of the eight possible ones, in /ʃb&/II Arab var. Again, just one quarter of the total show /γ/, and again mostly as a var. beside /&/ within single languages; in the only case where no such variation occurs, /&cr/, all the other /γ/-lgg show /&/. It appears, then, that even in proto-Sem no consistent distinction existed between /&/ and /γ/; in other words, their relationship was still allophonic.[32]

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[31] The Berber uvular fricative transcribed likewise is of different origin, alternating with /q/.

[32] Of course it is possible to split roots in two (or more) whenever a pre-conceived etymological schema requires it; as we see in ZA 60 p.172, even one and the same meaning can be derived from two different roots! But is it really credible to posit two (or more) separate roots with frequently overlapping meanings and phonologically different in one radical only, even this difference consisting of one phonologically significant trait only? As to Arab /γrb/, the meaning, to *depart, be absent* may have originated as a generalized reinterpretation of the setting of the sun

/&~γ/ as an equivalent to Hbr /c/ will be discussed under the latter; what remains is the relationship of /&/ to /x/. Among the pre-Sem roots there are the following minimal pairs: /&wp/ vs. /xp(p)/ (?), /qr&/ vs. /qrx/II, possibly also /&wV/ vs. /xwV/II, /qr&/ vs. /qrx/. All of these, however, are to some extent suspect: although both hollow and continuable roots are basically biradical and often demonstrably have developed their respective distinguishing features (long stem vowel vs. geminable 2nd rad.) rather late, such developments could conceivably have started in the pre-Sem period, and there could have been also difference in vocalism between /&wp/ and /xp(p)/ to begin with, as indeed suggested by the divergent historical forms. Again, the two /qrx/ roots have remarkable varr. among their cognates: in /qrx/II, /x/ is original in Aram Arab only (the Akk entry being probably WSem loan), being sibilized even in them in a root var. and elsewhere altogether; as the meanings are close and intertwined more than once, and interchange between pharyngals and sibilants occurs otherwise, common origin is plausible; moreover, in the contrary case, the chance of a pre-Sem minimal pair is totally lost. In /qrx/ again, Arab has /qr&/ with the main meaning, /x/ being found nominally only, and Sdd replaces it with another /r/; there is overlap in meaning with /gr&/ too, and /xlq/II is not remote either. Finally, /&wV/ vs. /xwV/ occurs in this form in Hbr Aram only, the latter being transposed in Arab and apparently biradical in Eg (/w/ being repeated in a nominal form), while /&wV/ is found in Eg in some nominal derivatives only, if at all. Moreover, /&/ vs. /x/ is found several times in what can only be considered varr. of one and same root; above, we have quoted /r&b/ and /qrx/ vs. their Eth and Arab cognates, respectively; other instances are /xcd/ vs. /&cd/, /xcr/ vs. /&cr/, /xnq/ vs. /&nq/, originally perhaps also /xm/ vs. /&m(m)/, /xlm/ vs. /&lm/II, etc.

On the other hand our common Sem material furnishes several minimal pairs which appear valid beyond any reasonable doubt: /b&r/ vs. /bxr/, /nb&/ vs. /nbx/, /c&n/ vs. /cxn/ (although both have varr.), /&bV/ vs. /xb('/V)/, /&br/ vs. /xbr/ and /xbr/II, /&d(d)/ vs. /xd(d)/, /&rb/ vs. /xrb/ and /xrb/II, /&c/ vs. /xc(c)/, /7b&/ vs. /7bx/, possibly /&gl/ vs. /xgr/ etc. There does not seem to be any doubt, then, that /&/ and /x/ were distinct phonemes in proto-Sem times; and the fact that several roots show interchange between them even within the same language implies close phonetic similarity perhaps since the pre-Sem period already. It seems, then, that whatever the original phonetic quality of /&/, the present one as a voiced counterpart to /x/ goes back to proto-Sem times at least; and assuming that this relationship is secondary in origin (cf. above, p.21), /&/ must have been distinct from /x/

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and other heavenly bodies, originally mythologically understood as going home; going west is naturally connected with this. Cf. also A. Jirku ZDMG 113 p.481f.

prior to that. The few and phonologically partly exceptional pre-Sem minimal pairs could be due to the changing phonetic value of /&/. All in all, it seems best to posit /&/ as an independent pre-Sem phoneme.

5. /q/. Pre-Sem: /bq&/, /bqr/, /dq(q)/, /yqr/, /yqʃ/, /lq(q)/, /ynq/, /yrq/, /rq(q)/, /ʃwq/II, /ʃqV/, /yqd/, /qbl/, /qwV/, /q7p/, /qwl/, /ql(l)/, /qwm/, /qnV/, /qwc/, /qc(V)/, /qr’/, /qr’/V/, /qrb/, /qrb/II, /qrx/II, /qrn/, /qʃV/, /q7l/; possibly also /dqr/, /qy’/, /qb/, /qmx/, /qcb/, /qrx/, /qr&/, /qrc/, /qʃr/, /rqd/, /brq/, /prq/, /ʃwq/; common Sem: /xbq/, /bdq/, /sdq/, /rxq/, /lqx/, /lq7/, /&lq/, /&nq/, /xnq/, /cnq/, /&qb/, /pqd/, /cwq/, /qbr/, /qdm/, /q7n/, /q7r/, /qlV/, /qlp/, /qpl/, /qpc/, /nqr/, /ʃql/, /mrq/, /rq(q)/II, /btq/, /mtq/ plus the preceding category (except /dqr/, /qb/, /qcb/?, /qrx/?, /qr&/, /prq/?); possibly also /n’q/, /&zq/, /nqb/, /rpq/, /qdʃ/, /qm7/, /qn’/.

The sound is generally identified as non-phonated dorso-uvular stop. It appears to be incompatible with /k/ and /g/ both in pre- and common Sem, and also with the glottal phoneme, as /n’q/ (var. /nhq/) shows phonetic irregularities and being onomatopoeic could have more than one independent origin. On the other hand, it does appear compatible with /&/ and (in common Sem anyway) with /x/, as well as with the dorsalized/glottalized consonants. It also forms several minimal pairs with the glottal phoneme as well as with /x/ and /&/, cf. /bqr/ vs. /b’r/II, /bhr/, /bxr/ and /b&r/; /yrq/ vs. /yrx/; /yqd/ vs. /yxd/; /qbl/ vs. /’bn/, /xbl/ and /xbl/II; /qwV/ vs. /’wV/, /hwV/, /xwV/II and /&wV/; /qnV/ vs. /xnV/; /qc(V)/ vs. /xc(c) and /&c/; /qrb/ and /qrb/II vs. /xrb/, /xrb/II and /&rb/; /qʃV/ vs. /&ʃ/sV/; etc. It appears, then, that /q/ was an independent phoneme in relation to the sounds articulated further back in the vocal tract. Its relationship to those further forward can be determined only after the discussion of these.

6. /k/. Pre-Sem: /’kp/, /bkV/, /bkr/, /dk(k)/, /kl(l)/II, /klV/II, /hlk/, /’rk/, /brk/, /rkb/, /’ʃk/, /kbr/, /kwV/, /kwn/, /knp/, /kp(p)/; possibly also /ʃ/sbk/, /ykl/, /lxk/, /ʃkm/, /ʃkn/, /kr/II, /kr(r)/II, /krs/, /kr&/, /nkr/, /xnk/, /nkV/, /nsk/, /sk(k)/, /drk/, /nʃk/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /ʃ/sbk/, /ykl/, /lxk/, /ʃkm/, /kr/II, /xnk/, /nkV/, /nsk/?) plus /’kl/, /zkr/, /xkm/, /kb/, /kbd/, /kbl/, /kzb/, /kwl/, /kl’/, /kl’/II, /klb/, /mlk/, /nkl/, /skr/, /hpk/, /yrk/, /mʃk/, /ʃ/sk(k)/, /ʃkr/; and possibly /kn/II, /knV/, /lkd/, /ʃkb/, /ʃpk/.

This sound, apparently a voiceless dorso-velar stop with breath (originally nil?) phonation, appears to be incompatible with /q/ and /g/; and as the presence of the glottal phoneme in word initial is doubtful in early times and there is only one pre-Sem example of contiguity and the root has rather limited attestation, incompatibility in pre-Sem times must be considered possible at least. There is no example of contiguity with /&/ or /t/ either; and the only pre-Sem example for /x/ is again doubtful because of limited attestion involving transposition too and semi-onomatopoeic nature; however, if /xnk/ (as assumed) is an offshoot of /xk(k)/, as suggested above all by

G&z Har and also the Arab non-nasal var., a pre-Sem */xk/ must be posited as a starting point; and for common Sem, there is /xkm/ too. The lack of contiguity with /&/ could then be due originally to its somehow deviant character (cf. above) and later to the difference in phonation. Incompatibility with /q/ and /g/ and in pre-Sem times maybe with the glottal phoneme thus remain relevant; whether the lack of contiguity with /t/ is significant will be discussed under this sound.

With /q/, several pre-Sem minimal pairs are found: /bkr/ vs. /bqr/, /dk(k)/ vs. /dq(q)/, /kl(l)/II vs. /ql(l)/, /kwV/ vs. /qwV/, possibly also /kr&/ vs. /qr&/, /brk/ vs. /brq/, /'rk/ vs. /yrq/ or /rq(q)/, /krs/ vs. /qrx/II (cf. on /x/ above), etc.; and for common Sem many more. There is no doubt, then that /k/ represented a phoneme separate from /q/ in pre-Sem times already. As to the relationship with /g/ see the next item.

As to the glottal phoneme in pre-Sem, there appear to be the following minimal pairs: /bkr/ vs. /b'r/II and /bhr/, /kl(l)/II vs. /'hl/; /kwV/ vs. /hwV/; /knp/ vs. /'np/; possibly also /kr(r)/II vs. /'r(r)/; /kl(l)/II vs. /'l/ and /hl(l)/; but all of these are suspect: /bhr/ and /b'r/II do not show the glottal in non-Sem attestations; and in root initial, its presence is generally suspect for early times (see above, items 1 and 2); in addition, both /kl(l)/II and /knp/ on the one hand and /'hl/, /'l/, /hl(l)/ and /'np/ on the other are primarily nominal roots and the divergent historical forms suggest different vocalizations to begin with. The crucial question seems to be whether and how widely the glottal sound acquired phonemic status in pre-Sem times; it may be reasonable to conclude that when this did happen, it contrasted with /k/, as the common Sem roots provide several acceptable minimal pairs: /'kl/ vs. /'hl/; /kbd/ vs. /'bd/; /kbr/ vs. /'br/; /kwV/ vs. /'wV/ (with some reservations); /mlk/ vs. /ml'/; /nʃk/ vs. /nʃ'/; and possibly others.

7. /g/. Pre-Sem: /g'V/, /gg/, /gyl/, /gl(l)/, /glV/, /gnb/, /gwr/, /gr(r)/, /grm/, /gr&/, /dgl/, /plg/, /hrg/, /rgl/, /rgn/; possibly also /'gm/, /gb/, /gbr/, /gwV/, /gmr/, /ng&/, /ngʃ/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /'gm/, /ng&/, /ngʃ/) plus /gd(d)/, /gdl/II, /gz(z)/, /gzm/, /gld/, /grb/, /grn/, /xgr/, /ngp/, /&gm/, /drg/; and possibly /gml/, /gn(n)/; /gnV/, /grʃ/, /&gl/, /ʃg&/.

The sound, voiced counterpart of the preceding one, appears to have analogous incompatibilities; with regard to /g'V/ note that the Cush attestations do not show /'/; in /gg/, the radicals are not contiguous.

With the glottal phoneme, /g/ shows contrast in /gr(r)/ vs. /'r(r)/; /gwV/ vs. /hwV/; /gl(l)/ vs /'hl/, /'l/, /hl(l)/; /gmr/ vs. /'mr/ possibly attributable to pre-Sem; in /gwr/ vs. /'wr/, both have confirmed pre-Sem attestations, but the latter is purely nominal and vocalization different, apart from the non-attestation of /'/ outside Sem. The common Sem material furnishes again acceptable minimal pairs: /gbr/ vs. /'br/, /gwV/ vs. /'wV/, and as at least the first and last of those above also seem valid for proto-Sem, the relationship of

/g/ to the glottal phoneme appears analogous to /k/ again. With /q/, /g/ contrasts in /gl(l)/ vs. /ql(l)/ and possibly /gr&/ vs. /qr&/; /gb/ vs. /qb/; /gwV/ vs. /qwV/; /ngʃ/ vs. /yqʃ/ in pre-Sem; and additionally in /gbr/ vs. /qbr/; /grb/ vs. /qrb/ and /qrb/II; /grn/ vs. /qrn/; and possibly others in the common Sem period. Like /k/ again, /g/ thus appears to represent a phoneme distinct from /q/ in pre-Sem already, although the quantity of evidence is smaller, mainly no doubt because of the smaller overall occurrence of /g/.

The relationship to /k/ remains to be discussed. For pre-Sem, there appear the following contrasting pairs: /gl(l)/ vs. /kl(l)/II; /glV/ vs. /klV/II; possibly also /gbr/ vs. /kbr/; /gr&/ vs. /kr&/; and /gwV/ vs. /kwV/. However, /kl(l)/II is primarily nominal and the verbal forms based on it follow patterns different from those of /gl(l)/, so no effective contrast is likely in early times; the same is true of /kr&/ vs. /gr&/; /klV/II again is entirely nominal and hardly likely to have contrasted with any nominal derivative of /glV/ even in later times; /gwV/ too is entirely nominal and /kwV/ so patchily attested that its pre-Sem origin is strongly suspect; as for /gbr/, Leslau considers its Cush attestations loans from Sem, and moreover, its meaning is so close to that of /kbr/, occasionally overlapping, that it may conceivably have split off the latter as an early root var. There is then no confirmed minimal pair for the pre-Sem period; the small number of potential ones usually also indicates allophonic relationship. Moreover, in a number of roots /g/ interchanges with /k/: /brk/ (with transpositions), /'rk/ (originally biradical), /bkr/ (vs. /bgr/, perhaps ultimately connected with /brk/), /sgr/ vs. /skr/, /rgl/ vs. /rkl/, etc. There can thus be hardly any doubt that originally, /g/ and /k/ were allophones of one and the same phoneme. The question remains whether this is still reflected in our common Sem material.

The dearth appears to continue. There is /gb/ vs. /kb/, both nominal, but the latter appears reduplicated only, the former never. Another pair is /drg/ vs. /drk/, but here again, meanings are so close, partly overlapping, that one (apparently /drg/) is likely to have split off the other at a relatively early time. As for /gn(n)/ vs. /kn/II and /gnV/ vs. /knV/, common Sem origin of all of them is suspect. It appears, then, that the relationship of /g/ to /k/ remained allophonic throughout the common Sem period. However, the number of potential minimal pairs seems sufficiently large to warrant the assumption that phonological distinction may have become to be made towards the end of that period.

8. /t/. Pre-Sem: /'tV/, /byt/, /xt(t)/, /mwt/, /mt/, /q7l/[33], /ʃyt/, /ntn/, /tm(m)/; possibly also /mtn/, /ptx/II, /ptl/, /rtx/, /ʃtV/, /thV/, /tlV/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /ptx/II?, /rtx/, /thV/, /tlV/) plus /btq/, /ytr/, /mtq/, /ptx/, /twr/; and possibly /ktp/, /tʃ&/.

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[33] Cf. the cognate languages.

The material is so scanty that incompatibilities cannot be established with any degree of certainty; nevertheless, it appears that besides /d/, /7/, /c/, /s/ and /z/, /k/ does not appear contiguous to /t/ either, as /ktp/ is a nominal root and the primary noun has a vowel between them; however, /q/ does appear contiguous and has influenced /t/ phonetically in NWSem and Gur in a pre-Sem root. The pre-Sem sound appears to have been a voiceless apico-alveolar (or -dental?) stop with breath or nil phonation.

With the dorso-velar stop, the following contrasts appear: /xt(t)/ vs. */xk/ plus possibly /thV/ vs. /g’V/; /tlV/ vs. /klV/II and /glV/ for the pre-Sem period; and /twr/ vs. /gwr/ and possibly /ntn/ vs. /gn(n)/ and /kn/II for the common Sem period. None of these, however, is assured: even if the reconstructed */xk/ be accepted, it is likely to have been nominal, as the actually attested /xk(k)/ and /xnk/ are primarily anyway, while /xt(t)/ is not only verbal, but reflexive or intransitive at that; /thV/ and /tlV/ are patchily attested, the former also semantically vague, the latter hardly likely to be connected with /klV/II syntactically or otherwise; /kn/II is nominal and has some *Kulturwort* character, and the attestation of /gn(n)/ also depends largely on such a word. As for /twr/ vs. /gwr/, they are mostly attested in different languages, and where both roots are found, either one is entirely or primarily nominal, the denominative verb occurring in a secondary stem only so that even in the present day language no minimal pair is formed by the two roots. Odds against this happening by chance alone are incalculable, but it is certainly far more plausible to assume this to be consequence of a tendency established at a time when both sounds or their antecedents were still in an allophonic relationship. /t/ and /k/ interchange also otherwise within the phylum; the best example is the main consonant in the 2nd pers. of the personal pronoun; /t/ is most widespread in Sem where /k/ is mostly, e.g., in Hbr confined to the suffixed forms as against /t/ in the separate forms and verbal pre- and afformatives; whereas in Chad, e.g., Hsa, /k/ is found in all the forms; for further details I must refer to Section D s.v. For other possible examples cf. Section Ba s.vv. /tm(m)/ and /ʃmn/II. Interchange between /t/ and /k/ occurs also in other languages[34] and in the nursery, substitution of /t/ for /k/ is commonplace.

The situation, however, is complicated by the fact that, although /t/ is not incompatible with /q/, interchange suggesting original allophonic variation occurs between them, cf. /ptx/ vs. /pqx/ and /ʃtV/ vs. /ʃqV/. Therefore we must still compare /q/ for possible minimal pairs or the lack of them. For the pre-Sem period we find just one possible pair, /ʃtV/ vs. /ʃqV/ quoted above and found to be allophonic in origin; for common Sem, /tlV/ vs. /qlV/ in which the former is equally doubtful for this period as for pre-Sem because of patchy attestation; and /ytr/ vs. /yqr/ which does appear acceptable without reservation and may thus indirectly support the other pair too. It would seem, then, that in proto-Sem, /t/ and /q/ represented distinct phonemes; but for pre-Sem, the question is best left open for the present.

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[34] E.g., in Polynesia; cf *Les langues du monde* table p.668.

9. /d/. Pre-Sem: /'bd/, /dwd/, /yd/, /yld/, /nwd/, /dgl/, /dk(k)/, /dm/, /yd&/, /dq(q)/, /dwr/, /yqd/, /brd/, /rdV/, /ʃd(d)/; possibly also /'dm/, /db(b)/, /dbr/, /dlV/, /dlx/, /dm(m)/, dqr/, /drk/, /hdp/, /yd(d)/, /rqd/, /ʃd/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /hdp/, /ʃd/) plus /bdq/, /kbd/, /gd(d)/, /gdl/II, /xd(d)/, /xdʃ/, /yxd/, /gld/, /md(d)/, /mdr/, /&md/, /cmd/, /nd'/, /r&d/, /pdV/, /&cd/, /pqd/, /qdm/, /yrd/, /prd/, /sdq/, /dbʃ/, /dwV/, dyn/, /drg/, /drs/, /dwʃ/; and possibly /bd(d)/, /dpn/, /dr(r)/, /lkd/, /lmd/, /&d(d)/, /qdʃ/, /rwd/, /lʃd/, /ʃʃ/II.

This sound, generally regarded as a voiced counterpart of the preceding one, nevertheless shows less restricted compatibilities, as it appears compatible with /k/ and in common Sem also with /g/, /s/ and /c/, apart from being frequently contiguous with /q/. This raises the question whether the non-contiguity of /t/ with those four sounds was accidental, due to scantity of the material. On the other hand, true contiguity of /d/ with /k/ in the only pre-Sem case we have is not certain either, as /dk(k)/ is basically biradical and in early times no doubt had a vowel between the radicals. To solve this basic problem we must establish first whether the relationship of /d/ to /t/ is in fact analogous to that of /g/ to /k/. The crucial test is again the search for valid minimal pairs.

For the pre-Sem period, there is one confirmed, /dm/ vs. /tm(m)/. However, the former is purely nominal, in fact exclusively substantival; while the latter is primarily verbal or adjectival, substantival derivatives, as far as attested, being evidently late; no syntactical connection appears possible either. Another possibly pre-Sem pair, /dm(m)/ likewise vs. /tm(m)/ suffers from the fact that the former is semantically so varied that the root unity and with it not only pre-Sem but also proto-Sem origin is seriously suspect. For the common Sem period, there is also /xd(d)/ vs. /xt(t)/, but the former shows some *Kulturwort* development which makes its proto-Sem origin doubtful; in /dlV/ vs. /tlV/, the latter is doubtful, cf. above on /t/; moreover, in both, the central meaning is an act of suspension, and so chances are that the roots have originated as allomorphs of one and the same root; in /bdq/ vs. /btq/, the roots are so intertwined that there is no doubt about common origin; in /dwr/ vs. /twr/ finally, the latter denoting circular movements is also understandable as a special case of the meanings of /dwr/ and hence, originated by splitting off it. However, this is not obvious, and as some possibility of proto-Sem origin remains for most other pairs discussed above, it may be plausible to assume again that phonological distinction began to develop towards the end of the proto-Semitic period.

10. /7/. Pre-Sem: /b7l/, /b7n/, /7&m/, /7p(p)/II, /n7p/, /q7p/; possibly also /'7m/, /xl7/, /7b&/, /7wb/, /7l(l)/, /m&7/, /ʃ/sr7/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /'7m/, /xl7/, /7wb/, /7l(l)/?, /ʃ/sr7/?) plus /x7'/, /7bx/, /7wV/, /7xl/, /7xn/, /q7n/, /7px/, /&7p/, /cb7/, /p7r/, /q7r/, /r7b/, /ʃb7/, /ʃ7x/, /ml7/, /pl7/, /lq7/, /mr7/, /pr7/, /ʃw7/; and possibly /xb7/, /ʃl7/, /qm7/, /n7V/.

In the historical languages of the phylum, this sound is usually identified as a non-phonated apico-alveolar (or -dental) stop with dorso-velar approximation or glottalic egression ("emphatic" or "ejective"). It has thus typically a twofold articulation, the frontal articulation point roughly coinciding with that of nos. 8 and 9, the rearward one with either nos. 6 and 7 or 1 and 2; a crucial question is which one of the rearward positions is to be considered more original. In Chad, the consonants with this kind of twofold articulation are called alternately emphatic or glottalized;[35] as the former is rather superficial and can be used to describe various phenomena, the latter may be more accurate; accordingly, Chad supports the latter alternative. On the other hand, in Berb[36] the rearward articulation is described as pharyngalized which seems to agree better with the former alternative; however, this could be due to the influence of Arab. In Cush[37], the Som /Λ/ is described as produced with the same pharyngal constriction and raising of the larynx as in /x/ and /&/ which rather favours the latter alternative again, and the sound of Or Sid /7/, /Λ/, /ç/ to my ear does distinctly the same. On Om, unfortunately I do not have clear information. In Sem, both alternatives are attested; formerly, the glottalization was thought to be confined to Eth and due to Cush influence; but more recently, Tom Johnstone[38] discovered it in modern South Arabic where it cannot possibly be secondary. As there appears to be a general tendency to shift the articulation basis of rearward sounds further forward in the vocal tract, and the dorso-velar coarticulation — to the best of my present knowledge — appears to be provable historically original in Arab only, it may be reasonable to put this down as an Arab innovation and posit glottalization as the original rearward coarticulation for the whole phylum.

For the determination of compatibility or otherwise of /7/ with other consonants articulated in these positions the material is again somewhat scanty. The lack of contiguous /t/, /d/, /c/, /s/ and /z/ may, however, be significant for the frontal articulation; for the glottal phoneme, there appear to be two instances of contiguity, the possibly pre-Sem /'7m/ and common

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[35] Cf. H. Jungraithmayr — K. Shimizu, *Chadic lexical roots II* p.9, 19.

[36] K.-G. Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touaregue I-III* p.19; A Willms, *Grammatik der südlichen Beraberdialekte* p.42; F. Beguinot, *Il Berbero Nefusi di Fassāto* p.3ff; A. Basset (cf. *La langue berbère* p.5f) does not comment on this aspect at all which may imply the same.

[37] Lilias E. Armstrong, *The phonetic structure of Somali* p.(5); H.-J. Sasse, *Afroasiatic Linguistics 7:11* p.5, 25, 47.

[38] See *Afroasiatic Linguistics 1:5* p.6f; also in *Jibbali lexicon* p.xiiif; etc.

Sem /x7'/. The pre- and indeed common Sem origin of the former, however, is in serious doubt; moreover, /'/ is present only in Hbr and Aram varr. The latter, however, appears genuine, although Te shows /&/ instead of /'/ and the exact original identity of the 3rd rad. in Akk cannot be determined. On the other hand, there are no examples of contiguous /k/ and /g/ either which may imply a relatively early (before the end of the proto-Sem period) shift of the rearward articulation to the dorso-velar position in most of Sem.

As for minimal pairs with /t/ and /d/, there are no unquestionable ones for the pre-Sem period; the possibility of /'7m/ having actually formed one against /'dm/, /dm/, /dm(m)/ or /tm(m)/ is practically non-existent too, cf. above (on compatibility). For common Sem, there is /7wV/ vs. /dwV/ which looks genuine, although some *Kulturwort* development in the latter appears to be responsible for part of its distribution; and /pr7/ vs. /prd/ which, however, are again so close in meaning that common origin is a possibility at least. Phonological distinction thus hangs essentially on one reasonably assured minimal pair which again suggests incipient development towards the end of the proto-Sem period.

Against the glottal phoneme, there are two possible pre-Sem ones, /b7l/ vs. /bhl/ and /7l(l)/ vs. /hl(l)/ (or also /'l/, /'hl/). The former, however, is uncertain because of the considerable phonetic variation in the Eth Eg entries of /bhl/; the latter because all the roots involved are primarily or purely nominal and the respective primary nouns all of different types. For common Sem, there is /7wV/ vs. /'wV/ and /hwV/ which appears probably acceptable despite somewhat restricted distribution of both of the latter; further /cb7/ vs. /cb'/ likewise despite some phonological variation within the cognates of each one; /ml7/ vs. /ml'/ is suspect because the former appears to be root var. of /pl7/ and in Akk, /bl7/ corresponds to both. Here, however, the case for phonological distinction in proto-Sem is somewhat stronger than against /t/ and /d/ which reminds of the assumption above that the rearward articulation of /7/ may have shifted away from the glottis during that period in most of Sem. Therefore we must still check on the dorso-velar stop(s) for the existence of minimal pairs.

For pre-Sem, there is /7p(p)/ vs. /kp(p)/ which appears acceptable; /'7m/ vs. /'gm/ hardly so; /7l(l)/ vs. /kl(l)/II questionable; for common Sem also /n7p/ vs. /ngp/ (with /k/ for /g/ in Akk Arab var.), acceptable; /7wV/ vs. /kwV/ (and /gwV/) likewise; /r7b/ vs. /rkb/ likewise; and possibly others. The pre-Sem evidence is rather scanty, but in the light of the relatively small overall occurrence of /7/ this may be accidental, and so the overall evidence for pre- and proto-Sem also supports the assumption that the rearward articulation was secondarily shifted to the dorso-velar position during the latter period.

11. /c/. Pre-Sem: /byc/, /bc/, /yc'/, /mc'/, /ncr/, /&c/, /cb&/II, /chr/, /cwV/,

/cx(x)/, /clm/, /cpr/, /cpr/III, /cwr/IV, /cr(r)/, /cr(r)/III, /qwc/, /qc(V)/, /'rc/, /prc/, /rwc/; possibly also /mxc/, /rxc/, /xmc/, /cxn/, /cl(l)/, /clV/, /cm'/, /cr(r)/II, /crp/, /qcb/, /rqd/[39], /qrc/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /cxn/, /clV/, /crp/?, /qcb/, /rqd/) plus /xc(c)/, /xlc/, /ncV/, /&cd/, /&cm/, /npc/, /pcx/, /qpc/, /cb'/, /cb7/, /cwx/, /cl(l)/II, /cmd/, /cnq/, /c&n/, /c&p/, /c&r/, /cpV/, /cpx/, /cwq/, /crx/; and possibly /xrc/.

This sound is closely related to the preceding item which often actually represents it particularly in Aram and several South Sem languages and also outside Sem. It has so many different realizations in historical languages that its pre-Sem phonetic identity must be considered largely conjectural. Its close connection with /7/ and analogous realizations in other branches of the phylum, however, indicate that it must have had similar phonetic structure, including a double articulation basis in roughly the same positions along the vocal tract. The frontal articulation as a sibilant found in traditional pronunciation of Hbr (including SamH) and largely in Arab and elsewhere in Sem cannot have originated at an early period, as it is not attested outside Sem.[40]

The sound appears incompatible with the other sibilants and stops of the denti-alveolar region, and also with the dorso-velar stop(s) and possibly with the glottal phoneme, as the root final /'/ could be secondary and in /chr/, /h/ could likewise be secondary, as a hollow root var. is widespread particularly in South Sem.

Minimal pairs with the glottal phoneme are found in /cwV/ vs. /hwV/; /cwr/IV vs. /'wr/; and possibly /ncr/ vs. /nhr/; /cr(r)/, /cr(r)/II and /cr(r)III/ vs. /'r(r); as well as /qrc/ vs. /qr'/ in the pre-Sem material. The validity of all of these for the pre-Sem period, however, is made doubtful by the doubtful phonemic status and partly very existence of the glottal sounds in the relevant positions during that period; /cwV/ occurs also with the consonantal radicals in reverse order and its basic conjugation has the D-stem pattern in distinction from the primary stem pattern of /hwV/ which also has /hyV/ as an original root var.; again, /cwr/IV and /'wr/ are both nominal roots, probably with an originally different vowel in the primary noun. For the common Sem period, however, most of the others must be considered valid, and as the common Sem material furnishes still other acceptable ones (/cpV/ vs. /'pV/; /crx/ vs. /'rx/; /cx(x)/ vs. /'x/; /cl(l)/ vs. /'l/, /hl(l)/); we may conclude that as soon as the glottal phoneme did acquire phonemic status, it was distinct from that represented by /c/. With /k/ and /g/ again, there are minimal pairs attributable to the pre-Sem period: /cwV/ vs. /kwV/; /cr(r)/ and /cr(r)/III vs. /gr(r)/; /cwr/IV vs. /gwr/; /'rc/ vs. /'rk/; possibly also /cwV/ vs. /gwV/; /cl(l)/ vs. /kl(l)/II and /gl(l)/; /clV/ vs. /klV/II and /glV/; /cr(r)/II vs. /gr(r)/ and

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[39] On the basis of cognate languages.

[40] Jungraithmayr and Shimizu (*Chadic lexical roots II* p.20) reconstruct an "emphatic" /s'/, but it does not appear in the cognates of Hbr /c/-containing roots.

/cr(r)/ plus /cr(r)/III also vs. /kr(r)/II; /ncr/ vs. /nkr/; /ncV/ vs. /nkV/; and although most of these, taken singly, are uncertain, some appear acceptable; and as a large number of potential ones also must have some cumulative effect, we may conclude that /c/ originally represented a phoneme distinct from the dorso-velar stop(s).

With /t/ and /d/, there are /byc/ vs. /byt/; /cwr/IV vs. /dwr/; and possibly /clV/ vs. /tlV/ and /dlV/ for the pre-Sem period. None of these, however, seems assured; /byc/ and /byt/ are both primarily nominal, the former patchily attested and usually structurally differentiated (sg. is fem., occasionally other structural and also phonological differences); /cwr/IV and /dwr/ seem likewise primarily nominal with different vowels in the respective primary nouns; and in the last case, the pre-Sem origin is doubtful for all the three roots involved. As for the common Sem, there are several acceptable pairs: /xc(c)/ vs. /xt(t)/ and /xd(d)/; /pcx/ vs. /ptx/ and /ptx/II; /prc/ vs. /prd/; /cwr/IV vs. /twr/ (with reservations); possibly also /bc/ vs. /bd(d)/; /rwc/ vs. /rwd/; /cr(r)/, /cr(r)/II and /cr(r)/III vs. /dr(r)/; and perhaps others still. Accordingly, while phonological distinction between /c/ on the one hand and /t/, /d/ on the other seems doubtful for pre-Sem times, for the common Sem period it must be considered certain.

Relationship to /7/ remains to be determined. For the pre-Sem period, there is one possible pair, /cl(l)/ vs. /7l(l)/, but apart from doubts regarding the pre-Sem origin of both, they are semantically so close (dew being found usually in shady places) that common origin is plausible, particularly as the Aram SEth cognates have /7/ in /cl(l)/ too. For common Sem, there is /cwV/ vs. /7wV/, but again, the fact that the former, where verbal, follows the D-stem pattern and may have the consonantal radicals in reverse order and other structural varr. makes it doubtful; in /cxn/ vs. /7xn/, the patchy attestation of the former together with several transpositions and phonological varr. make it doubtful even for common Sem; and the *Kulturwort* character of the latter has a similar effect — grinding a quern was hardly practised much before the neolithic revolution, and the word probably spread with the practice. In /xlc/ vs. /xl7/, the latter is attested in Aram Arab Tu? only, and as the relevance of the Tu entry is rather less than probable, the root may be of late origin. In /cl(l)/II vs. /7l(l)/, the central meaning of the former, filtering water or other liquid, has so much in common with dew (commonly conceived as having quietly descended from the sky) that common origin cannot be ruled out; NB. in SEth (though not in Aram!), /7/ corresponds to Hbr /c/ in this root too. Likewise, /cpx/ appears to have split off /7px/; NB. some cognates show /s/ or /ʃ/ for /c/. It appears then that /c/ and /7/ were hardly distinct phonemes during the common Sem period either which agrees with the fact that /c/ is not found in the non-Sem cognates of the relevant roots either. True, the regular Eg /ǧ/ for /c/ suggests that systematization of allophones took place in pre-Sem already; but in /7b&/ at least it corresponds to Sem /7/ and the fact that in Cpt, /t/ is the most usual equivalent suggests that the ultimate differentiation took place dialectally in Eg.

In some cognate languages, /c/ has more than one equivalent. In Ug, /c/ and /¢/ correspond regularly and /γ/ occasionally; in Aram /c/ regularly, /&/ intermittently and in some earlier texts, /q/ (and /χ/?) occasionally stands for such a /&/; in Arab, /c/, /Λ/ and /¢/ regularly; in ESA likewise; in Mhr, /c/ and /¢/ regularly and /ź/ at least partly; in Soq, /c/ and /Λ/ regularly and /z/ occasionally; and in G&z, /c/ and /Λ/ regularly. More than one equivalent is occasionally found in Te, SEth and outside Sem too, but the cases are so few and partly uncertain (possibly LWW) that they are disregarded in this connection.

As such additional equivalents are usually posited as proto-Sem phonemes, we must here examine how far this is justified for the pre-Sem period at least in the light of our material; and as the examination of the pre-Sem material alone may not be sufficient to settle the issue, the common Sem material too will again be taken into account. For a start, we check the pre-Sem roots one by one for relevant material.

Pre-Sem: /'rc/ Ug /c/; Aram /&/, (/q/); Arab ESA /Λ/ (Som /l/. Chad /'tl/); /byc/ Aram /&/; Arab /Λ/; Mhr /¢/ (Chad /tl/); /bc/ Aram /c/; Arab /Λ/ (Som =); /yc'/ Ug /c/, /¢/; Aram /&/; Arab Soq /Λ/; ESA /Λ/, /¢/; G&z /Λ/, /c/; (Har /7/, /č/, Gur /7/,?Chad /s/); /mc'/ Ug /c/, /γ/, /¢/; Aram /c/; Arab /Λ/; ESA /¢/, /Λ/; Soq /7/; G&z /c/; (Gur /7/, Cush /d/, /t/, Tu /Λ/, Chad /t/); /ncr/ Ug /γ/; Aram /7/; Arab ESA /c/, /¢/; Mhr /¢/; G&z /c/; (Ebl /z/); /&c/ Ug /c/; Aram /&/ (/q/, /χ/?); Arab /c/, /Λ/; ESA G&z /Λ/; (Te /¢/, /c/, Har /nč/, /7/, Ch /¢/, Sdd Wol /n¢/, Bed /nd/, Som /Λ/; ?Chad /'y/, /č/, /nč/, /ṅč/, /ṅs/, /dz/, /dez/, /des/; ?Eg /t/); /prc/ Ug /c/; Aram /c/, /7/; Arab /c/, /Λ/; (SEth /7/, Eg /č/, (Dem. Cpt) /ğ/); /cb&/II Ug Aram Arab ESA Soq G&z /c/; Mhr /ψ/; (Te /¢/, Har Sdd /7/, Ch /t/, Wol /n7/, Bed /g/, Bil /¢/, Chad /d/, Eg /ğ/, (Dem.) /d/, /t/); /chr/ Ug /¢/; Aram /c/, /7/; Arab /Λ/, /¢/; ESA /¢/; Mhr /¢/, /ź/; Soq /c/, /7/; G&z /c/; (Ch /¢/, /7/, Sdd Wol /7/, Tu /Λ/, Chad /t/); /cwV/ Aram Arab Mhr G&z /c/; /cwr/IV Ug /γ/; Aram /7/; Mhr /c/;?Soq /c/, /z/; (Berb /¢/); /cx(x)/ Aram ESA Mhr Soq /c/; Arab G&z /c/, /Λ/; (Ch /¢/); /clm/?Ug /¢/; Aram /c/, /7/; Arab ESA /c/, /¢/; Mhr /¢/; Soq /7/; G&z /c/; (Te /c/, /¢/, /7/, Har Sdd /¢/, Ch Wol /¢/, /7/, Bed /d/, Bil /¢/, Caf /7/, Tu /Λ/, Chad */d/); /cpr/ Sem (-Eth) /c/; (Ch /g/, Cush /ʃ/, /s/, /č/, /k/, /x/; ?Eg /č); /cpr/III Aram Mhr Soq /7/; Arab /¢/; G&z /c/; (Har /7/, Gur /7/, /¢/, Bil /¢/, Quara /7/,?Tu /t/, /Λ/); /cr(r)/ Ug Aram Arab ESA Mhr /c/; Soq /c/, /s/; /cr(r)/III Aram /c/, /7/; Arab ESA /¢/; (?Tu /¢/; Cpt /ğ/); /qwc/ Ug /7/; Aram /c/; /qc(V)/ Sem(-) /c/; Soq /c/, /z/; (Har Wol /¢/, Rif /c/, /s/, Tu /Λ/, Chad

/s/, /ts/, /c/, /’tl/, Cpt /ğ/; ?Ebl /z/); /rwc/ Ug /¢/; Aram /7/; Arab /Λ/; G&z /c/; (SEth /7/; Cush /d/, Berb /l/, /r/).

These twenty-one roots, deemed assuredly pre-Sem, seem sufficient and reliable enough for the establishment of cross-correspondences between Sem languages and also give some orientation with regard to non-Sem equivalents. The following Sem patterns emerge:

a) Hbr Ug /c/ — Aram (/q/) /&/ — Arab ESA G&z /Λ/: /’rc/; /byc/ (+ Mhr /¢/); /yc’/ (Ug ESA varr. /¢/, G&z var. /c/; + Soq /Λ/; SEth /7/); /&c/ (Arab var. /c/; Te var. (Gur) /¢/, Har /7/); /prc/ (Aram Arab varr. /c/; SEth /7/);

b) Sem /c/: /cb&/II (Mhr /ψ/; Te /¢/, SEth /7/ +); /cwV/; /cx(x)/ (Arab G&z varr. /Λ/; Ch /¢/); /cpr/ (Ch /g/); /cr(r)/ (Soq var. /s/); /qc(V)/ (Soq var. /z/; SEth /¢/);

c) Hbr G&z /c/ — Ug Arab ESA Mhr /¢/ — Aram Soq (SEth) /7/: /chr/ (Aram Soq varr. /c/, Arab var. /Λ/, Mhr var. /ź/; Ch var. /¢/); /clm/ (Aram Arab ESA varr. /c/; Te SEth varr. /¢/, Te var. /7/); /cpr/III (Mhr /7/; Gur var. /¢/); /cr(r)/III (Aram var. /c/); /rwc/ (Arab /Λ/); ?/ncr/ (Ug /γ/, Arab ESA varr. /c/); outside these patterns remain four roots showing varr. contradictory to each of them and also to each other; two (/bc/, /qwc/) possibly because of a too scanty attestation for a pattern to emerge, the two others definitely because of a too large heterogeneity of representation in different languages and even in one and the same language (/mc’/ Ug, cf. Aram vs. Arab ESA; /cwr/IV Ug Aram SAr each diverging differently).

The three patterns, however, are not well established either, as the list of varr. to nearly every root indicates; there are just two which conform completely to the respective patterns, even of them one (cwV) perhaps merely because of limited attestation which is not complete for the other one either. Of course, not every var. is certain to be relevant; in /bc/, the Aram entry may be of Can origin; /cpr/ is a wandering word which no doubt accounts for Ch /g/, but it is remarkable that /c/ exhibits no other varr. in Sem; and generally the varr. are semantically overlapping or anyway so close that it is hard not to assume common origin: in /ncr/ Arab ESA varr., help is a form of protection which again is usually the main purpose of guarding or watching; on /clm/ Aram Arab ESA varr. see the note s.v. in the list of roots; NB. the same meaning with /¢/ in Ug(?) ESA; in /cx(x)/ Arab G&z varr. Ch, the sun is certainly the main source of light, brightness and heat; and so forth. Even if one or two varr. proved to be of separate origin, the overall result remains such an amount of variation, with hardly two roots agreeing on every individual language or sometimes even one root within a single language that the only plausible conclusion is that pre-Sem differences between Arab ESA /c/, /Λ/, /¢/ (and Ug “anomalous” /γ/) were at best allophonic and even as such not much systematized.

To check on the correctness of this conclusion, however, we still subject the material, this time including doubtful pre-Sem and all common Sem roots, to the test of minimal pairs. In the assuredly pre-Sem material, there are two obviously contrasting pairs, /cpr/ vs. /cpr/III and /cr(r)/ vs. /cr(r)/III; in addition, /chr/ having a hollow root var. in some languages, it may contrast with /cwr/IV. However, the hollow root varr. of /chr/ occur mostly in languages in which /cwr/IV is not attested; of the two remaining, Ug has the "anomalous" /γ/ for /c/ in /cwr/IV, while the Soq attestation of this is closer in meaning to the probably cognate /cr(r)/III and purely nominal, while the Soq hollow root var. of /chr/ is purely verbal. As for /cpr/ vs. /cpr/III, the former is primarily nominal and a wandering word, the latter too primarily nominal, not verbal in languages in which the former is verbal, and nominal types clearly distinct from those of the former everywhere. Again /cr(r)/ is primarily verbal, whereas /cr(r)/III is primarily nominal and probably cognate with /cwr/IV. The list of doubtful pre-Sem roots adds /cr(r)/II to this complex, but it could have originated as a special case of /cr(r)/, if originally referring to fighting at close quarters, as would have been natural in early times and between fellow-wives. The common Sem material adds /cl(l)/ vs. /cl(l)/II; but as can be inferred from the discussion in connection with /7l(l)/ above, the two are probably ultimately interconnected apart from the fact that /cl(l)/ is primarily nominal and /cl(l)/II primarily verbal. The test of minimal pairs thus does not yield clear positive evidence even for the common Sem period. This agrees very well with the above conclusion that /c/ was hardly a phoneme distinct from /7/ either during that period.

12. /s/. Pre-Sem: /xsr/, /prs/; possibly also /'sr/, /nsk/, /sb(b)/, /sk(k)/, /psx/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /nsk/?, /sb(b)/, /psx/) plus /sl(l)/, /smk/, /s&V/, /drs/; and possibly /skr/.

The original phonetic value of this sound is not clear; seeing that the Greeks used it for the combination /ks/ indicates that still in early historical times it can hardly have been the simple apico-alveolar (or -dental) sibilant of the traditional Hbr pronunciation. The scanty attestation, itself an indication of late origins, makes it purposeless to try to determine incompatibilities; but it may be more useful to study phonetic varr.

In the pre-Sem roots, /prs/ has Ug var. with /$/; /'sr/ Akk varr. /c/, /z/; ESA var. /$/; /nsk/ Akk var. /ʃ/; Chamir /¢/; /sb(b)/ ESA /$/; /sk(k)/ appears cognate with /ʃ/sk(k)/; /psx/ Syr var. /c/; common Sem: /smk/ ESA /$/, Gur /ʃ/; /s&V/ G&z /$/; /drs/ Syr /ʃ/. The frequent varr. within Sem sub-branches and even single languages support the assumption of phonetic fluctuation until historical times.

There are three possibly pre-Sem minimal pairs with /t/ and /d/: /sb(b)/ vs. /db(b)/; /sk(k)/ vs. /dk(k)/; /psx/ vs. /ptx/II. However, as /sk(k)/ is cognate with /ʃ/sk(k)/, and /sb(b)/ and /psx/ are not assuredly of common Sem origin either and /prs/ is possibly cognate with /prd/, phonological distinction between /s/ and /t/-/d/ is not confirmed for common Sem either.

With /7/ and /c/, there is a pre-Sem pair in /prs/ vs. /prc/; but again, the meanings are so similar, partly overlapping (Arab, Eg) that common origin is a possibility at least; in the common Sem material, /psx/ vs. /pcx/ again suffers from the fact that /psx/ is not certain even for that period; /pcx/ too appears to be a secondary expansion of /pc(c)/, like /pc&/, and the meaning of the G&z attestation is in fact more like the latter (which is not attested in Eth at all); in /sl(l)/ vs. /7l(l)/, the latter is again suspect even for common Sem; the former too is patchily attested and consists largely of a *Kulturwort* only which makes the validity of /sl(l)/ vs. /cl(l)/ and /cl(l)/II equally suspect. Accordingly, the phonemic status of /s/ against the phonemes discussed above is not confirmed even for the common Sem period.

13. /z/. Pre-Sem: /'zn/, /zb(b)/, /zbx/, /zwb/, /znb/, /zrm/, /nzl/; possibly also /rzV/; common Sem: /gz(z)/, /gzm/, /yz&/, /zkr/, /zrV/, /zr&/, /'xz/, /kzb/, /nzV/II, /&z(z)/, /&zb/; and possibly /z'b/, /zmr/III, /zr/, /&zq/.

This sound, commonly regarded as a voiced counterpart of the preceding one, apparently correctly for most of the historical period anyway, has again more than one equivalent in some cognate languages, to wit: Ug /z/, /ð/ regularly and /d/ intermittently; Aram /z/ regularly and /d/ intermittently; Amor /z/, /ð/ regularly (and /d/, /$/ occasionally?); Arab /z/, /ð/ regularly; ESA likewise; Mhr likewise; Soq /z/ regularly and /d/ intermittently. Multiple equivalents in SEth and non-Sem cognates appear to be of secondary origin and therefore not relevant here. As the alternative equivalents are commonly posited as separate proto-Sem phonemes, we examine our material again for the validity of this for the pre-Sem period and subsequently.

No possible minimal pairs appear in our material for the pre-Sem nor for the common Sem period. The examination will therefore be confined to possible patterns of representation in different languages emerging from the material and interpretation of such patterns.

We begin again with detailed examination of the Pre-Sem material: /'zn/ Ug Aram Soq (Chad Eg) /d/; Amor Arab ESA Mhr /ð/; /zb(b)/ Aram Soq /d/; Amor Arab Mhr /ð/; (Caf /y/, Chad /s/); /zbx/ Ug Aram (Som Eg Ebl) /d/; Arab ESA /ð/; (Cpt /t/); /zwb/ Ug Aram /d/; Arab ESA /ð/; (Eg /z/); /znb/ Ug Amor Arab ESA Mhr /ð/; Aram Soq (Cush) /d/; (Akk var. /s/; Rif /ø/); /zrm/ Sem (Sus Eg) /z/; (Gur var. Cush Hsa /d/); /nzl/ Sem (Berb) /z/; and the possible /rzV/ Aram (Berb?) /z/; Arab /ð/. Apart from the last item, the patterns are fairly clear-cut within Sem: a) Ug Aram Soq /d/ — Amor Arab ESA Mhr /ð/: /'zn/, /zb(b)/, /znx/, /zwb/, /znb/ (Ug /ð/!); b) Sem /z/: /zrm/, /nzl/. Because of the scantity of the material, we shall see still whether the common Sem material will fit these patterns in the main at least (for details see the list of roots s.vv.): a) /'xz/ (Ug var. /ð/); ?/gzm/ (Aram Arab

Soq varr. ESA Mhr /z/, Arab var. /d/; Akk /d/,?/s/); /zkr/ (Phoen Akk varr. /s/, Amor var. /$/); /zrV/ (Berb /z/); /zr&/ (Aram Arab Mhr varr. Amor? /z/); /yz&/ (Arab var. /z/); /kzb/; /nzV/II (Arab var. /z/); and the possible /z'b/ (Bed /d/, Eg /z/, /d/); b) /gz(z)/ (Akk var. /c/, Arab var. /ð/); /zr/ (Ug /d/; ?Eg /g/, /d/, (Dem. Cpt) /t/); /&z(z)/; /&zb/ (Arab var. ESA /ð/; G&z /s/); and the possible /zmr/III (Soq /c/); /&zq/ (Akk varr. /s/, /ʃ/).

The patterns are considerably more regular than in the case of /c/ which appears to indicate farther reaching systematization; yet, most roots show again deviations from the normal patterns, a widely attested one (/gzm/) to the extent that the choice of the pattern followed is practically arbitrary; the patchily attested /rzV/ also runs counter to both main patterns. The plausible conclusion is thus that, although the two main allophones have been largely systematized in pre- and common Sem already, consistent phonological distinction is still lacking; this is corroborated by the complete lack of minimal pairs. It could be argued, of course, that such a lack is secondary, created in Hbr through the omission of one member of the pair after it had become homonymous with the other; but this is hardly convincing grounds for the disuse of entire *roots* which, after all, exist in their derivatives only — which then presupposes complete duplication of homonyms in the two members of the pair and systematic disuse of those based on one of the two roots only. At least residual remnants of the other member would be expected. Accordingly, we conclude that /z/ and /ð/ were not phonologically distinct during pre- and common Sem periods.

The material is again too scanty for systematic study of incompatibilities, but as there are no contiguous other sibilants nor denti-alveolar stops, it is appropriate to test these for minimal pairs. With /s/, there is one possible pair, /zb(b)/ vs. /sb(b)/; but the latter is uncertain not only for pre-Sem, but common Sem as well and primarily verbal, whereas /zb(b)/ is purely nominal and shows considerable variation in the 1st rad., including the fact that /z/ is not found in non-Sem attestations at all. For common Sem, there is /zkr/ vs. /skr/; the latter is supported by the cognate /sgr/ which makes the attestation in Sem fairly complete; for Eth, however, there is still one attestation only, in Te, and as this could be a loan from Arab, its common Sem origin is not assured either. It appears then that /z/ was not phonologically distinct from /s/ during pre- and common Sem periods.

With /t/ and /d/, there are possibly pre-Sem pairs in /zb(b)/ vs. /db(b)/ and /rzV/ vs. /rdV/; but for the former, the reservations against /zb(b)/ just given are valid here as well, and the attestation of /db(b)/ consists largely of a wandering word, including all the non-Sem ones (although in Tu used figuratively); in the other pair, the Berb cognates of /rzV/ are basically monosyllabic and also semantically somewhat remote, and as the Sem attestation of the root is also rather limited, it is doubtful even for common

Sem. The common Sem material furnishes /yz&/ vs. /yd&/ which may have to be accepted as valid because of the widespread and generally frequent use of the latter, although the former is usually differentiated either functionally (Aram Akk) or when verbal, structurally (Ug NEth); NB. the irregular variation (Akk Arab SAr G&z) and occasional lack (ESA var. Soq? Cush) of the 1st rad. of /yd&/ too, indicating that it began to be prefixed to the original biradical root (or as a consonantalization of a root initial vowel?) rather late in the common Sem period or just upon its dispersal. As for /zr/ vs. /dr(r)/, the former is primarily nominal and largely so heterogeneous that its common Sem origin is not assured; the latter, where nominal, is reduplicated and distinct in type from the (possible) derivatives of /zr/; in /&z(z)/ vs. /&d(d)/, v. Soden derives the Akk entry for the latter from /y&d/ of which the present root could indeed be a specialized offshoot and perhaps not of unitary origin, cf. the Eth forms with /m/ as the 3rd rad. instead of the geminated /d/. Phonological distinction between /z/ and /t/-/d/ thus remains dependent on the validity of the /yz&/ vs. /yd&/ pair which in such circumstances can hardly be considered fully reliable either.

As for /7/-/c/, a possibly pre-Sem pair is found in /zwb/ vs. /7wb/; but again, not only the single non-Sem (Chad) attestation of /7wb/ is suspect, with hardly a rad. fully agreeing with the Sem root, but also the only Eth one being probably loan from Arab, the root is not demonstrably even of common Sem origin; moreover, in Akk Arab SAr (Te), /i/ is presupposed as the original stem vowel, whereas in /zwb/, /u/ is found in every language where ascertainable, besides /h/ in ESA and /'/ in Eg as a middle rad. in root varr. For the common Sem, there is /nzV/II vs. /ncV/II; but again, the former appears to have been originally biradical and has in Eth a dorso-velar or pharyngal consonant as a 3rd rad. instead of the root final vowel which is then probably not common Sem in origin; /zbx/ vs. /7bx/, but they are so close in meaning that common origin is evident; /&z(z)/ vs. /&c/, but the former is primarily adjectival and only occasionally are substantives, evidently of late origin, derived from it; whereas the latter is purely substantival and the primary noun purely biradical still often in historical languages; possibly also /nzV/II vs. /n7V/; but here again, the reservations given above against the former are valid, while the Akk Eth attestations of the latter are semantically doubtful and with that, the common Sem origin of the root; finally /zr/ vs. /cr(r)/, /cr(r)/II, /cr(r)/III is suspect for reasons given above (/zr/ vs. /dr(r)/) which make the common Sem origin of /zr/ doubtful. All in all, then, phonological distinction between /z/ and /7/-/c/ during the pre- and common Sem periods still remains unproven.

14. /ʃ/. Pre-Sem: /'ʃk/, /bwʃ/, /xbʃ/, /lbʃ/, /yʃn/, /yʃ&/, /lʃ/, /mʃ(ʃ)/, /nʃp/, /&ʃ/sV/, /&ʃ/sr/, /xpʃ/, /npʃ/, /pʃ/sV/, /yqʃ/, /qʃV/, /ʃ'l/, /ʃd(d)/, /ʃwb/, /ʃwV/, /ʃlm/, /ʃm/, /ʃm&/, /ʃyn/, /ʃn(n)/, /ʃn(V)/, /ʃ/s&r/, /ʃp/, /ʃqV/, /ʃ/sr(r)/, /ʃ/srp/,

/ʃrʃ/, /ʃyt/; possibly also /'ʃ/, /'ʃl/, /b'ʃ/, /bʃr/, /ngʃ/, /xʃb/, /nʃk/, /rpʃ/, /qʃr/, /xrʃ/, /krs/[41], /ʃ/sbk/, /ʃd/, /ʃkm/, /ʃkn/, /ʃmn/II, /ʃ&r/, /ʃwq/, /ʃwq/II, /ʃr(r)/, /ʃ/sr7/, /ʃtV/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /'ʃl/, /ngʃ/, /rpʃ/, /ʃd/, /ʃwq/II, /ʃkm/, /ʃ&r/?, /ʃr(r)/, /ʃ/sr7/) plus /'ʃr/, /r'ʃ/, /bʃl/, /dbʃ/, /dwʃ/, /xdʃ/, /yʃb/, /lwʃ/, /plʃ/, /mʃk/, /mʃl/, /rmʃ/s/, /'nʃ/, /'nʃ/II, /nʃ'/, /nʃ'/V/, /yrʃ/, /prʃ/s/, /rʃV/, /ʃb7/, /ʃbr/, /ʃyb/, /sdq/[42], /ʃxn/, /ʃw7/, /ʃ7x/, /ʃ/sk(k)/, /ʃkr/, /ʃlV/, /ʃlp/, /ʃ/sym/, /ʃm/II, /ʃpl/, /ʃql/; and possibly /'ʃ(ʃ/V)/, /qdʃ/, /lxʃ/, /grʃ/, /kʃp/, /xlʃ/, /lʃd/, /xmʃ/, /ʃbl/, /ʃb&/II, /ʃb&/III, /ʃg&/, /ʃkb/, /ʃl7/, /ʃlʃ/, /smk/[43], /ʃpk/, /ʃʃ/II, /tʃ&/.

This sound, presumably a voiceless lamino-postalveolar fricative (sibilant) in late historical times anyway, has again more than one equivalent in many cognate languages and even in some pronunciation traditions for Hbr itself. It is commonly assumed that through most or all of the history of Hbr as a spoken language, the letter ש was used to mark in writing two distinct phonemes, one as described above, the other not much different, but nevertheless consistently distinct, perhaps with a lateral outlet; towards the end of the biblical period or soon afterwards, this second phoneme was amalgamated in pronunciation with /s/ (cf. no.12 above), largely if not entirely under the influence of Aramaic; /s/ was then largely substituted for it even in writing in post-biblical Hbr, occasionally even in the Bible; and when the Masoretes provided the Bible with punctuation, they marked the pronunciation as /s/ with a special sign. In the present work, the presence of such a special sign is indicated by the sign /$/ in transliteration, except that in the roots among the derivatives of which forms so marked are attested in our materials besides unmarked forms, this alternative is indicated by the digraph /ʃ/s/.[44]

Of cognate languages, the following show more than one equivalent to this sound: Ug /ʃ/, /θ/ regularly; Aram /ʃ/ regularly, /t/ and /s/ intermittently; Amor /ʃ/, /$/ regularly; OAkk likewise (Akk /ʃ/ regularly, /s/ rarely); Arab /θ/, /$/ regularly, /s/ mostly; ESA /ʃ/, /θ/ regularly, /s/ mostly, /$/ rarely; Mhr /θ/ regularly, /ʃ/, /s/, /$/ mostly, /h/ occasionally; Soq /$/ regularly, /ʃ/ mostly, /s/, /t/, /h/ occasionally; G&z /$/ regularly, /s/ mostly; Eg /s/ mostly, /ʃ/ occasionally. In the other non-Sem branches of the phylum, regular correspondences (if any) are yet to be established; in Eth outside G&z, multiple correspondences appear to be of secondary origin and therefore not relevant here. NB. as the phonetic values of the signs are not always nearly accurately

[41] Cf. the cognates.

[42] Cf. the cognates.

[43] Cf. the cognates.

[44] NB. occasionally, no forms so marked are found in our materials in roots which in the Tiberian punctuation are pronounced with /s/; such roots are transliterated with /ʃ/ only in the present work.

known, the same symbol could sometimes have quite different phonetic values (e.g., Amor OAkk vs. ESA /$/).

As the alternative equivalents are again usually posited as separate proto-Sem phonemes, we must check on the validity of this for the pre-Sem period to begin with. Our pre-Sem material contains one possible minimal pair, /ʃr(r)/ vs. /ʃ/sr(r)/; and taking cognate languages into account, another one still, /ʃr(r)/ vs. /ʃrʃ/. The meanings of the latter pair, however, are so closely related that common origin appears evident; the Hbr form is an apocopated reduplication of the more original biradical stem still appearing in several South Sem languages (occasionally with a different kind of augment) and everywhere outside Sem (with some occasional augments in Chad). As for /ʃr(r)/ vs. /ʃ/sr(r)/, they are attested almost entirely in different languages, Hbr and possibly Ug being the only one(s) having both; and both roots being purely nominal, the latter shows a type uniform and different from those in the other root, as far as can be ascertained. A possible one is /ʃwq/ vs. /ʃwq/II, but apart from the fact that the pre-Sem origin of both is doubtful, the latter appears to be a root var. of MT /ʃq(q)/ to which the G&z entry is structurally closer, and perhaps ultimately related to /ʃqV/ too with which the Cush entry is formally and in a sense (through causal nexus) also semantically in connection. Its Sem attestation is so patchy that without non-Sem support it cannot be regarded as common Sem either.

In the common Sem material, there is /'nʃ/ vs. /'nʃ/II; but again, the meanings are so similar that they may be ultimately related; and in /ʃm/ vs. /ʃm/II, but both of these are primarily (often purely) nominal and primary nouns are vocalically and also otherwise structurally different; possibly also /ʃb&/II vs. /ʃb&/III; but the former is not really a coherent root, as it is a conglomerate of adjectival and verbal forms separately derived from the Nn for 7 which as a numeral must be regarded as a *Kulturwort* and therefore not assuredly of common Sem origin; even a derivation from the latter root cannot be ruled out (cf. Section C s.v.). The test of minimal pairs thus does not support positing the multiple equivalents as distinct phonemes for pre-Sem nor even for proto-Sem; however, we still subject the assuredly pre-Sem material to a detailed analysis again to see whether consistent patterns discriminating between the different equivalents emerge:

/'ʃk/ Ug Syr Akk /ʃ/; G&z /s/; (Som /s/, Chad /ʃ/, /h/); /bwʃ/ Ug /θ/; Aram /t/; Amor /ʃ/; Akk /ʃ/, (/l/); Arab /θ/, /s/; (Cush Om /s/, Berb /ʃ/); /xbʃ/ Ug Aram Akk ESA var.? /ʃ/; Arab ESA (?) Mhr Soq G&z (Eg Cpt) /s/; /xpʃ/ Ug (Eg Cpt) /ʃ/: Aram var. Arab G&z /$/; Aram (var.) (Dem.) /s/; /yqʃ/ Ug /ʃ/;?Arab /c/;?G&z /$/, /s/; (Tu Chad /s/); /yʃn/ Ug Aram Akk Mhr Soq /ʃ/; Arab ESA (Cush? Chad) /s/; /yʃ&/ Amor ESA /ʃ/; Arab (Eg Cpt) /s/; /lbʃ/ Ug Aram Akk (varr.) (?Dem.) /ʃ/; (Akk var.) Arab Mhr G&z (Berb ?Eg) /s/; (Akk var. /l/); /lʃ/ Ug Aram Akk (incl. OAkk) Mhr Soq (Zenaga) /ʃ/; Arab

ESA G&z Ebl (?Om (var.) Berb(-) Eg Cpt) /s/; (Chad /s_3/); /mʃ(ʃ)/ Aram Akk /ʃ/; Arab ESA G&z (Tu) /s/; /npʃ/ Ug Aram Akk (var.) Soq var. (Ebl) /ʃ/; Amor Soq var. /$/; (Akk var. /l/); Arab ESA Mhr (varr.) Soq (varr.) G&z (Bil Tu Chad (var.)) /s/; Mhr var. Soq var. /h/; Mhr var.? (Bed Som Chad var. Eg Cpt) /ø/; /nʃp/ Aram Amor Akk (Eg Cpt) /ʃ/; Arab Mhr (var.) Soq (var.) /s/; Mhr var. Soq var. /$/; /&ʃ/sV/ Ug (Cush var.) /ʃ/; ESA (Cush var.) /s/; /&ʃ/sr/ ?Ug Akk ESA (Eg Cpt) /ʃ/; Aram var. Arab Mhr Soq G&z /$/; Aram (var.) /s/; /pʃ/sV/ Aram (Bil var. Tu) /s/; Arab /$/; ESA Soq (Eg) /ʃ/; (Bil (var.) /d/, Quara Chamir /z/); /qʃV/ Aram /ʃ/; Arab Mhr (Tu) /s/; /ʃ’l/ Ug Aram Akk ?Soq var. (Tu ?Chad) /ʃ/; Amor /$/; Arab ESA G&z (Ebl?) /s/; Soq (var.?) /h/; /ʃd(d)/ Akk (Eg Cpt) /ʃ/; OAkk Arab var. ESA /$/; Arab var. G&z (Bil) /s/; /ʃwb/ Ug Arab (var.) ESA Mhr /ϑ/; Amor Akk (Eg Cpt) /ʃ/; Aram Arab var. (Cush (var.)) /t/; (Cush var. /7/); /ʃwV/ Aram (Eg Cpt) /ʃ/; Arab Mhr Soq (Tu (var.)) /s/; (Tu var. /c/); /ʃyn/ Ug Arab /ϑ/; Aram Akk (Cush) /ʃ/; Syr /t/; G&z /$/; /ʃyt/ Ug Syr Akk (incl. OAkk) Mhr Soq (Som Om) /ʃ/; Amor /$/; Arab (Eg Cpt) /s/; (?Berb /z/); /ʃlm/ Ug Aram Akk (Eg late) /ʃ/; Amor OAkk /$/; Arab ESA Mhr G&z (Ebl Bil Eg) /s/; /ʃm/ Ug Aram Akk Soq (var.) (Cush var.) /ʃ/; Amor OAkk /$/; Arab ESA G&z (Cush(-) Om ?Eg ?Cpt) /s/; Mhr /h/; Soq var. /ʃh/; (Chad /s_3/); /ʃm&/ Ug Aram Amor Akk (incl. OAkk) (Ebl) /ʃ/; Arab ESA G&z (?Eg ?Cpt) /s/; Mhr Soq (var.) /h/; Soq var. /’/; (Chad /s_3/); /ʃn(n)/ Ug Aram Akk (Tu var.) /ʃ/; OAkk (Zenaga) /$/; Arab (var.?) G&z (Tu (var.)) /s/;?Arab var.?ESA?Mhr var. /ϑ/;?Soq /t/; (Chad /s_3/); /ʃn(n/V)/ Ug var. Aram var. Amor Akk (var.) Soq /ʃ/; Ug (var.) Arab (var.) ESA (varr.) Mhr (var.) /ϑ/; Akk var. ESA var. /$/; Arab var. ESA var. Mhr var. G&z (Eg) /s/; /ʃ/s&r/ Ug Akk ESA Mhr var. Soq var. (Bil) /ʃ/; Aram var. Arab Mhr (var.) Soq (var.) G&z (var.) /$/; Aram (var.) (Eg Cpt) /s/; G&z var. /c/; (Som /Λ/, Saho Afar /t/, Sus /z/); /ʃp/ Ug Akk ESA (?Chad) /ʃ/; Aram var. OAkk Arab Soq /$/; Aram (var.) (Eg Cpt) /s/; /ʃqV/ Ug Aram Akk (incl. OAkk) /ʃ/; Arab ESA G&z (Cush Tu) /s/; Mhr (var.) Soq (var.) /h/; Mhr var. Soq var. /ø/; (?Chad /s_2/); /ʃ/sr(r)/ Ug Akk /ʃ/; Amor OAkk /$/; (Eg /s/); /ʃ/srp/ Ug Akk /ʃ/; Aram var. Mhr /$/; Aram (var.) (Ebl Eg) /s/; /ʃrʃ/ Ug Aram Akk ESA var. /ʃ/; .OAkk Arab (syr.) Soq G&z (Chad) /$/; Arab (var.) ESA var. (Cush) /s/; (Bil /z/).

The main patterns emerging are: a) Ug Aram Amor Akk /ʃ/; Arab SAr G&z (Eg) /s/: /’ʃk/; /xbʃ/ (ESA var.? /ʃ/); /yʃn/ (Mhr Soq /ʃ/); /yʃ&/ (ESA /ʃ/); /lbʃ/; /lʃ/ (Mhr Soq /ʃ/); /mʃ(ʃ)/; /npʃ/ (Soq var. /ʃ/, Amor Soq var. /$/, Mhr var. Soq var. /h/, Mhr var.? /ø/); /nʃp/ (Mhr var. Soq var. /$/, Eg /ʃ/); ?/&ʃ/sV/; /qʃV/; /ʃwV/;?/ʃyt/ (Mhr Soq /ʃ/, Amor /$/); /ʃm&/ (Mhr Soq /h/, Soq var. /’/);?/ʃn(n/V)/ (Soq /ʃ/, Ug var. Arab var. ESA var. Mhr var. /ϑ/, Akk var. ESA var. /$/; /ʃqV/ (Mhr Soq /h/, /ø/); b) Ug Aram Akk /ʃ/; Amor OAkk /$/; Arab SAr G&z (Eg) /s/; /ʃ’l/ (Soq (var.?) /h/); /ʃd(d)/ (Arab var. ESA /$/, Eg /ʃ/);?/ʃyt/ (cf. above); /ʃlm/; /ʃm/ (Mhr /h/, Soq /ʃ/, /ʃh/); /ʃn(n)/

(?Arab var. ?ESA?Mhr var. /θ/,?Soq /t/); /ʃrʃ/ (ESA var. /ʃ/, Arab (syr.) Soq G&z /$/); c) Ug Arab ESA Mhr /θ/; Aram Soq /t/; Amor Akk (Eg) /ʃ/; G&z /s/: /bwʃ/ (Arab var. /s/); /ʃwb/ (Arab var. /t/); /ʃyn/ (Aram var. /ʃ/, G&z /$/); ?/ʃn(n/V)/ (see under a); d) Ug Akk ESA /ʃ/; Aram (Eg) /s/; (Aram var.) Amor OAkk Arab Mhr Soq G&z /$/: /xpʃ/ (Eg (var.) /ʃ/); /&ʃ/sr/ (Eg /ʃ/); /pʃ/sV/ (Soq (Eg) /ʃ/); /ʃ/s&r/ (Mhr var. Soq var. /ʃ/, G&z var. /c/); /ʃp/; /ʃ/sr(r)/; /ʃ/srp/; but /yqʃ/ is too irregular to be even tentatively assigned to one of these patterns.

The patterns follow mostly the differences in the multiple equivalents; the first two are closely related, the only difference being the treatment of the sibilant when not parallelling Ug Arab /ϑ/ in Amor OAkk; in /npʃ/ and /ʃyt/ the treatment differs, OAkk agreeing with later Akk, and so the affiliation is uncertain, in /npʃ/ further complicated by the multiple Mhr Soq varr.; NB. in /ʃyt/ too these two deviate from the normal pattern, as also in /yʃn/ and /lʃ/; in addition, the frequently attested /h/ further complicates the picture in both patterns; ESA too often shows irregularity or (occasionally dialectal) var. /&ʃ/sV/ is uncertain mainly perhaps because of the scanty attestation in Sem; but affiliation with pattern d) seems excluded, although here it would be comparatively more consistent to swap the transcription signs, /ʃ/ and /$/ in ESA. The third pattern is surprisingly scantily attested in this early material, although comparatively consistent in the three first, the Arab var. in /ʃwb/ being evidently loan from Aram, while in /ʃyn/, onomatopoeic influence may be present; /ʃn(n/V)/, however, shows every sign of an early phonetic and structural split duplicating this pattern with the first one — of course, it would have been possible to take the easy way out and split the root in two, but the concept of year is so closely connected with both repetition and change that such a solution hardly reflects actual origins of the root. In late times, the word for year may have become a *Kulturwort*, but hardly much before our era; and even otherwise it does not account for all the variation. The usually (if not always) lateral sibilant transliterated /$/, traditionally the main distinctive constituent of the fourth pattern, is not confirmed to it either, but is found in varr. in all the others too, even apart from Amor OAkk in which the sound so marked could have been different (cf. also the later positional var. /l/ in Akk). It seems then that although there is evidence for an incipient distinction between /ʃ/, /θ/ and /$/ in the pre-Sem period, it is far too inconsistent to warrant the positing of distinct phonemes; this agrees with the lack of valid minimal pairs even for the common Sem period. For our present purpose, it appears superfluous to continue the search for emerging patterns in the doubtfully pre-Sem and common Sem materials.

The sound appears incompatible with the other sibilants only; with /7/ too there is only one common Sem example of contiguity; with /t/-/d/, there are several, including at least one in the pre-Sem material. The test of minimal pairs is therefore best begun with the sibilants.

With /s/-/z/, there is /ʃwb/ vs. /zwb/, apparently acceptable, although some doubt has been expressed with regard to the non-Sem attestation of the former; possibly also /nʃk/ vs. /nsk/ for both of which pre-Sem attestation appears at least a distinct possibility. The common Sem material adds /ʃkr/ vs. /zkr/ (and possibly /skr/) which appears fully valid; essentially also /nʃ'/V/ vs. /nsV/II despite some phonological variation, and likewise /yʃ&/ vs. /yz&/; /'ʃr/ vs. /'sr/; and possibly /rʃV/ vs. /rzV/; /zr/ vs. /ʃ/sr(r)/ and /ʃr(r)/; however, /ʃ/sk(k)/ appears to be cognate with /sk(k)/. The evidence, then, is not large, but seems to indicate beyond reasonable doubt that there was a phoneme distinct from /s/-/z/ in pre- and common Sem times, although it is not clear whether it covered the entire range of Hbr /ʃ/; for an independent phoneme /$/ there is no positive evidence anyway.

With /c/-/7/, the pre-Sem material shows /ʃp/ vs. /7p(p)/, the latter apparently also primarily with short 2nd rad. and more widespread than the present attestation, cf. the evidently related /7wp/, /n7p/, /ʃ7p/, of which /n7p/ too forms a pre-Sem pair vs. /nʃp/. As /byc/ also shows /u/ in most Chad attestations and /i/-/y/ appears to be mostly of late origin, it may have formed a pair vs. /bwʃ/ in pre-Sem times, as nominal use of the latter is conceivably as old as the verbal one; /bc/ could also be relevant, as the length of vowels may not have been phonologically distinctive; /ʃwV/ vs. /cwV/ is objectionable because of the structural varr. of the latter, but these may be of secondary origin, and so possibility should be left open; in /ʃlm/ vs. /clm/, both are verbally and nominally amply attested, and so no doubt valid; /ʃ/sr(r)/ (and possibly /ʃr(r)/) vs. /cr(r)/, /cr(r)/III (and its cognate /cwr/IV; and possibly /cr(r)/II) also provide so many opportunities to contrast that a possibility at least must again be accepted; in /qʃV/ vs. /qc(V)/, actual contrast must be considered probable despite a somewhat patchy attestation of the former; /ʃ/srp/ vs. /crp/, however, may be a pair of cognates. All in all, the evidence seems sufficient to conclude that /ʃ/ represented a phoneme distinct from /7/-/c/ in pre-Sem times, although its phonetic quality and delimitation against some other phonemes are still uncertain.

Against /t/-/d/, there are so many contrasting pairs that no discussion is needed to establish that /ʃ/ represented a phoneme distinct from it in the pre-Sem period.

15. /r/. Pre-Sem: /'wr/, /'rV/, /'rk/, /'rc/, /b'r/II, /brd/, /brk/, /kbr/, /gwr/, /gr(r)/, /grm/, /gr&/, /dwr/, /bhr/, /hrg/, /hrV/, /chr/, /yrx/, /yrq/, /srm/, /'xr/, /nxr/, /bkr/, /mrx/, /xsr/, /ʃ/s&r/, /prV/, /prx/, /prs/, /prc/, /cpr/, /cpr/III, /ncr/, /cwr/IV, /cr(r)/, /cr(r)/III, /bqr/, /yqr/, /qr'/, /qr'/V/, /qrb/, /qrb/II, /qrx/II, /qrn/, /r'/, /r'V/, /rb(b)/, /rbV/, /rgl/, /rgn/, /rdV/, /rwx/, /rxc/, /rkb/, /rwm/, /rm(m)/II, /rn(n)/, /rq(q)/, /ʃ/sr(r)/, /ʃ/srp/, /ʃrʃ/; possibly also /'r(r)/,

/'rV/II, /'rx/, /br(r)/, /brq/, /dbr/, /drk/, /mhr/, /nhr/, /yrV/, /bxr/, /xrb/, /xrb/II, /xrʃ/, /kr/II, /kr(r)/II, /krs/, /kr&/, /nkr/, /'mr/, /gmr/, /'sr/, /&rp/, /ʃ&r/, /prq/, /cr(r)/II, /crp/, /dqr/, /qrx/, /qr&/, /qrc/, /rqd/, /ʃr(r)/, /ʃ/sr7/, /bʃr/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /bwr/?, /dqr/, /xrb/, /xrb/II, /kr/II, /mhr/?, /nhr/?, /&rp/?, /prq/?, /crp/, /qrx/?, /qr&/, /ʃr(r)/, /ʃ/sr7/) plus /'br/, /xbr/, /xbr/II, /&br/, /qbr/, /ʃbr/, /grb/, /xgr/, /drg/, /drs/, /mdr/, /yrd/, /yrk/, /zr/, /zrV/, /zr&/, /xr(r)/, /xrm/, /p7r/, /q7r/, /zkr/, /ʃkr/, /mr(r)/, /mr7/, /mrq/, /b&r/, /&rb/, /c&r/, /xpr/, /pr(r)/, /prd/, /pr7/, /prʃ/s/, /&cr/, /crx/, /nqr/, /r'ʃ/, /rxm/, /rxq/, /r7b/, /rmʃ/s/, r&d/, /r&V/, /rp'/, /rq(q)/II, /yrʃ/, /rʃV/, /'ʃr/, /ytr/, /twr/; and possibly /grn/, /grʃ/, /dr(r)/, /xrc/, /zmr/III, /xmr/, /nwr/, /rb&/II, /rwd/, /r&V/, /rpq/.

The sound, presumably an apico-dental approximant, although there may have been a dorso-uvular allophone, appears to be incompatible with /l/ and maybe /n/ only; it is true that with /t/ also there is only one common Sem example of contiguity, but this may be accidental, due to the scanty overall occurrence of /t/, as there are several more examples with /d/, including two (possibly four) pre-Sem ones. There are also several minimal pairs with /t/-/d/: /'rV/ vs. /'tV/; /kbr/ vs. /kbd/; /dwr/ vs. /dwd/; /rgl/ vs. /dgl/; /ʃ/sr(r)/ vs. /ʃd(d)/ and possibly other pre-Sem and certainly common Sem ones. The relationship to /l/ and /n/ can be determined only after the discussion of these sounds.

16. /l/. Pre-Sem: /ʃ'l/, /bl(l)/, /qbl/, /gyl/, /gl(l)/, /glV/, /dgl/, /rgl/, /'hl/, /hl(l)/, /yld/, /nzl/, /xyl/, /b7l/, /ykl/, /kl(l)/II, /klV/II, /lb(b)/, /lb'/, /lbʃ/, /lhb/, /lwV/, /lxm/, /hlk/, /lq(q)/, /lʃ/, /b&l/, /&lV/, /npl/, /plg/, /clm/, /qwl/, /ql(l)/, /ʃlm/, /q7l/; possibly also /'ʃl/, /'l/, /blV/, /dlV/, /bhl/, /xlb/, /xl7/, /xlm/, /7l(l)/, /lxk/, /plV/, /plx/, /cl(l)/, /clV/, /ptl/, /tlV/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /'l/?, /'ʃl/, /xlb/?, /xl7/, /xlm/, /7l(l)/, /lxk/, /plV/?, /plx/, /tlV/) plus /'lp/, /xbl/, /xbl/II, /kbl/, /gld/, /gdl/II, /xlc/, /7xl/, /'kl/, /kwl/, /kl'/, /kl'/II, /klb/, /nkl/, /lbn/, /lx/, /lxV/, /lV/II, /lqx/, /lq7/, /lwʃ/, /ml'/,/ml7/, /mlk/, /sl(l)/, /&lq/, /p&l/, /pl7/, /plʃ/, /qpl/, /ʃpl/, /cl(l)/II, /qlV/, /qlp/, /ʃql/, /bʃl/, /mʃl/, /ʃlV/, /ʃlp/; and possibly /'bl/, /ʃbl/, /&gl/, /xlʃ/, /lxʃ/, /lkd/, /lmd/, /lʃd/, /mlx/II, /ʃl7/, /ʃlʃ/, /gml/. Again, this presumably apico-dental lateral approximant shows incompatibility with /r/ and /n/ only; and as there are also other indications that the three sounds form a closely related group apart from the other sounds, we classify the material for /n/ still before discussing all three together.

17. /n/. Pre-Sem: /'np/, /'bn/, /bnV/, /gnb/, /'zn/, /znb/, /xnV/, /kwn/, /knp/, /'mn/, /ymn/, /myn/, /nwd/, /nhm/, /nzl/, /nxr/, /n7p/, /nwp/, /npʃ/, /ncr/, /ynq/, /nʃp/, /&yn/, /pnV/, /qnV/, /qrn/, /rn(n)/, /yʃn/, /ʃyn/, /ʃn(n)/, /ʃn(n/V)/, /ntn/; possibly also /'nʃ/, /'nʃ/II, /xnk/, /xnp/, /cxn/, /b7n/, /ʃkn/, /ʃmn/II, /n'p/, /ng&/, /ngʃ/, /nhr/, /nkV/, /nkr/II, /nsk/, /npl/, /nʃk/, /mtn/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /'nʃ/II?, /b7n/, /xnk/, /xnp/, /n'p/, /ng&/,

/ngʃ/, /nhr/?, /nkV/?, /nsk/) plus /lbn/, /dyn/, /xnq/, /7xn/, /ʃxn/, /q7n/, /mnV/, /nb(b)/, /nb'/, /nb&/, /ngp/, /nd'/, /nwV/, /nzV/, /nwx/, /nkl/, /nwm/, /npV/, /npx/, /npc/, /ncV/, /nʃ'/, /nʃV/, /cnq/, /c&n/, /xpn/, /grn/; and possibly /gn(n)/, /gnV/, /kn/II, /knV/, /dpn/, /qn'/.

Again, this presumably apico-alveolar (or -dental) stop and nasal approximant shows incompatibility with /l/ (and maybe /r/) only. Even with /r/, this is not completely assured, as there are two pre-Sem examples and one common Sem of contiguity in the sequence /rn/. The order of the sounds may be significant, as this sequence is found elsewhere as a secondary development of a cacuminal (or "retroflex") /n/.[45] Moreover, /rn(n)/ being originally biradical may not have had the radicals contiguous in early times at all; and /grn/ being of the nature of a *Kulturwort* is not assuredly common Sem; in the case of /qrn/, the fact that South Sem and Cush have largely omitted one member of the sequence and/or subjected it to other phonetic developments also may indicate practical incompatibility in early times.

With /l/ being apparently incompatible with both /r/ and /n/, it is best to first test it for minimal pairs against these two. In the assuredly pre-Sem material, we find /gl(l)/ vs. /gr(r)/, but the meanings are close enough to make common origin a possibility at least; in the latter, Akk G&z attestations in fact agree semantically better with /gl(l)/; however, as we established above that /g/ and /k/ were allophones of one and the same phoneme in pre-Sem times, /gl(l)/ appears supported by /kl(l)/II; but the latter is primarily nominal and so largely represented by one noun only which differs clearly in type from the one nominal derivative of /gl(l)/ which may have pre-Sem origin that no real contrast can have been created between them, as indicated also by the fact that the latter itself has /k/ for /g/ in Bil Saho Tu var. As distinction between /z/ and /c/ also remained doubtful, /nzl/ vs. /ncr/ is another possible contrast; but as the former is intransitive and has patchy attestation some of which is doubtful, actual contrast is hard to assume; the fact that all the non-Sem attestations actually have /r/ for /l/ points in the same direction. Again, /lb(b)/ vs. /rb(b)/ is equally unlikely to have formed contrasts, as the former is purely nominal and through pre- and common Sem times evidently monosyllabic, while the latter is primarily adjectival and also verbal, with the early monosyllabic adjective having a vowel different from /lb/ and hardly likely to have been syntactically connected either. /lq(q)/ vs. /rq(q)/ seem to form another contrast; but again, the latter is very patchily attested in Sem, even including its root var. /yrq/; to wit, besides Hbr, in Aram where /lq(q)/ is not found at all, and in Eth where the latter occurs in R-stem only; moreover, in Cush, /r/ as the 1st rad. is replaced by /l/, while Som has /raq/ for /lq(q)/. It appears thus that phonological distinction between /l/ on the one hand and

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[45] E.g., in some Australian languages; cf. Dixon, op. cit. p.135.

/r/, /n/ on the other is not demonstrable for the pre-Sem period; the roots classified as possibly pre-Sem do provide several additional pairs, but as the whole category consists of uncertain cases, these cannot be considered positively decisive.

For the common Sem period, however, there is no doubt that phonological distinction has commenced at least. Examples are: /'lp/ vs. /'np/; /xbl/ and /xbl/II vs. /xbr/ and /xbr/II; /kbl/ vs. /kbr/; /7xl/ vs. /7xn/ and /cxn/; /kwl/ vs. /kwn/; /nkl/ vs. nkr/; /xlm/ vs. /xrm/; /cl(l)/II vs. /cr(r)/, /cr(r)/II and /cr(r)/III; /bʃl/ vs. /bʃr/; /qlV/ vs. /qnV/ and /qr'/V/; /bl(l)/ vs. /br(r)/; /ml7/ vs. /mr7/; and many other at least possible ones. Not all of those listed are equally evidential, but the large number tends to support also those less well attested. Accordingly, /l/ appears to have been a phoneme distinct from /r/ and /n/ during the common Sem period, to a considerable extent at least.

The relationship of /r/ to /n/ remains to be examined. In the unqualified pre-Sem material, there are /prV/ vs. /pnV/; /qr'/V/ vs. /qnV/; and /ʃ/sr(r)/ vs. /ʃn(n)/; the evidential value of the first however, is reduced by the fact that /prV/ appears to be primarily nominal and of a different nominal type than the early nominal forms of /pnV/ which seems to be primarily verbal; moreover, its /n/ is also mostly replaced by /l/ or /r/ in Cush. In the second pair, /qr'/V/ is originally biradical and primarily nominal; moreover, in Tu, /m/ replaces the root final vowel found mostly elsewhere. In the third pair, again, the first member is purely and the other primarily nominal; but the former is attested only in NSem Eg and the vowel of the primary noun is distinct from that of /ʃn(n)/ everywhere. It appears thus that phonological distinction is not demonstrable for /r/ and /n/ either during the pre-Sem period. In the common Sem material, however, the distinction is again evident, cf. /'br/ vs. /'bn/; /'mr/ vs. /'mn/; /ʃkr/ vs. /ʃkn/; /q7r/ vs. /q7n/; /rwm/ vs. /nwm/; /rʃV/ vs. /nʃV/; and possibly others.

As a result the conclusion may be made that there was no consistent phonological distinction between /r/, /l/, /n/ during the pre-Sem period, but subsequently, well before the dispersal of the common Sem linguistic community, such distinction began to be made between all of them.

18. /m/. Pre-Sem: /'m/, /'mn/, /rgn/,[46] /dm/, /hmV/, /nhm/, /xm/, /xm(m)/, /xrm/, /lxm/, /clm/, /ʃlm/, /ymn/, /myn/, /m&7/, /mc'/, /mrx/, /mʃ(ʃ)/, /mwt/, /mt/, /ʃm&/, /7&m/, /qwm/, /grm/, /zrm/, /rwm/, /rm(m)/II, /ʃm/, /tm(m)/; possibly also /'mr/, /'gm/, /gmr/, /'dm/, /dm(m)/, /xmc/, /'7m/, /ʃkm/, /xlm/, /mhr/, /mxc/, /mtn/, /cm'/, /qmx/, /rmV/, /ʃmn/II; common Sem: the preceding category (except /'gm/, /'7m/, /dm(m)/?, /xlm/, /mhr/?, /ʃkm/) plus /'m/II, /&gm/, /qdm/, /gzm/, /rxm/, /ywm/, /xkm/, /m'/, /md(d)/, /mdr/, /ml'/, /ml7/,

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[46] Cf. the cognates.

/mlk/, /mnV/, /m&/, /mr(r)/, /mr7/, /mrq/, /mʃk/, /mʃl/, /mtq/, /nwm/, /smk/, /&md/, /&mq/, /&cm/, /cmd/, /rmʃ/s/, /ʃ/sym/, /ʃm/II; and possibly /gml/, /zmr/III, /xmr/, /xmʃ/, /pxm/, /lmd/, /mlx/II, /qm7/.

This sound, apparently a bilabial stop and nasal approximant, was placed here rather than after the simple labials, as it forms a natural transition from the preceding front oral nasal to these and also makes a similar transition from the labial stops to the semivowels possible. It does not, however, appear incompatible with the other nasal and also forms minimal pairs with it, although not many pre-Sem ones: /rm(m)/II vs. /rn(n)/; /ʃm/ vs. /ʃn(n/V)/; and possibly /ʃkm/ vs. /ʃkn/; /mhr/ vs. /nhr/; /mtn/ vs. /ntn/; but the first two anyway appear reasonably valid despite the patchy and partly uncertain attestation of /rm(m)/ (the basic meaning of decay is present in both Sem and Cush) and the third too is pre-Sem more probably than not; and as the pre-Sem attestation of both sounds is also rather limited, the small number of minimal pairs may be due to this, and so we may conclude that /m/ and /n/ represented different phonemes in pre-Sem times already.

On the other hand, the sound does appear incompatible with all the other labials; but its relationship to them can be determined only after the discussion of these.

19. /p/. Pre-Sem: /xp(p)/, /xpʃ/, /7p(p)/II, /n7p/, /q7p/, /'kp/, /kp(p)/, /'np/, /knp/, /nwp/, /npʃ/, /&wp/, /npl/, /p(V)/, /plg/, /pnV/, /prV/, /prx/, /prs/, /prc/, /pʃ/sV/, /cpr/, /cpr/III, /nʃp/; possibly also /n'p/, /hdp/, /ypV/, /plV/, /plx/, /psx/, /prq/, /ptx/II, /ptl/, /&rp/, /crp/, /rpV/, /rpʃ/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /hdp/, /ypV/, /n'p/, /&rp/?, /plx/, /psx/, /prq/?, /ptx/II, /crp/?, /rpV/, /rpʃ/ = maybe all but /plV/, /ptl/) plus /'pV/, /ngp/, /hpk/, /xpn/, /xpr/, /7px/, /&7p/, /'lp/, /qlp/, /ʃlp/, /npV/, /npx/, /npc/, /c&p/, /p'/, /pdV/, /p7r/, /pl7/, /plʃ/, /pr(r)/, /prd/, /pr7/, /prʃ/s/, /ptx/, /p&l/, /pcx/, /pqd/, /cpV/, /cpx/, /qpl/, /qpc/, /rp'/, /ʃpl/; and possibly /dpn/, /pxm/, /rpq/, /kʃp/, /ʃpk/, /ktp/.

In pre-Sem times, this sound was presumably a voiceless bilabial stop, although a fricative is found instead in historical South Sem languages, as far as ascertainable, and also largely in other branches of the phylum; in Eg both as distinct phonemes. It appears to be incompatible with the other labials only; lack of contiguity with /z/ is no doubt accidental, due to the scanty overall occurrence of this sound, as it is not shared by any other sibilant (the equally infrequent /s/ included); on the other hand, /ypV/ seems to breach the incompatibility with the other labials, as it is generally accepted that the 1st rad. was originally /w/. However, it is also generally accepted that such a /w/-/y/ as the 1st rad. is a secondary augment to an originally biradical root; and in this case there is concrete evidence for it too, as Syr has a root var. /p'V/ with the meaning of Hbr /ypV/; it may also be useful to note that /w/ occurs only alongside /f/ and /y/ alongside /p/ in the actual attestations.

For the present, only the relationship of /p/ to /m/ can be determined. In the pre-Sem material, there are /xp(p)/ vs. /xm/ and /xm(m)/; /p(V)/ vs. /m/; /prx/ vs. /mrx/; /ʃp/ vs. /ʃm/; possibly also /rpV/ vs. /rmV/; /crp/ vs. /clm/; /mtn/ vs. /ptl/. The first four may be regarded as valid, although some reservations can be made against the first in so far as /xp(p)/, originally biradical, has a root var. /xpV/ representing it in Te verbally; and /xm/ is not likely to be used in the same contexts; and also against the fourth as the respective primary nouns seem to have had different original vowels; but there is evidence for early vocalic variation; and as the other two appear valid without reservations (the Eth var. /mrg/ is connected with a *Kulturwort* meaning), we may conclude that at least incipient distinction was made between /p/ and /m/ in pre-Sem times already. That the distinction was not complete nor universal is suggested, e.g., by the fact that in the next pair, /rpV/ has /rmV/II as a cognate, while /rmV/ has /rbV/II as a root var. The common Sem material, however, shows beyond any reasonable doubt that the distinction was complete during that period, cf. /nwp/ vs. /nwm/; /pnV/ vs. /mnV/; /prq/ vs. /mrq/; /prc/, /pr7/ vs. /mr7/; /rpʃ/ vs. /rmʃ/s/; /p'/ vs. /m'/; /ʃlp/ vs. /ʃlm/; /c&p/ vs. /7&m/; /pr(r)/ vs. /mr(r)/; and possibly others. It appears thus that the phonological differentiation of /p/ and /m/, started during the pre-Sem period (cf. the Chad pre-nasalized stops too) was completed in common Sem. However, the picture is not complete without /b/ being taken into account.

20. /b/. Pre-Sem: /'b/, /'bd/, /'bV/, /'bn/, /b'r/II, /bhr/, /bw'/, /b7l/, /bkV/, /bkr/, /bl(l)/, /bnV/, /b&l/, /byc/, /bc/, /bq&/, /bqr/, /brd/, /brk/, /bwʃ/, /byt/, /yhb/, /lhb/, /zb(b)/, /zbx/, /zwb/, /znb/, /xb('/V)/, /xbʃ/, /kbr/, /rkb/, /lb(b)/, /lbʃ/, /gnb/, /cb&/II, /qbl/, /qrb/, /qrb/II, /rb(b)/, /rbV/, /ʃwb/; possibly also /b'ʃ/, /bhV/, /bhl/, /bxr/, /b7n/, /blV/, /br(r)/, /brq/, /bʃr/, /nbx/, /gb/, /gbr/, /db(b)/, /dbr/, /7b&/, /7wb/, /xlb/, /sb(b)/, /r&b/, /qb/, /qcb/, /xrb/, /xrb/II, /rmV/,[47] /xʃb/, /ʃ/sbk/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /bhV/, /bxr/?, /b7n/, /7wb/, /xlb/?, /xrb/, /xrb/II, /sb(b)/, /qb/, /qcb/, /ʃ/sbk/) plus /'br/, /bdq/, /b&r/, /bʃl/, /btq/, /dbʃ/, /xbl/, /xbl/II, /xbq/, /xbr/, /xbr/II, /7bx/, /r7b/, /kb(b)/, /kbl/, /kzb/, /klb/, /lbn/, /nb(b)/, /nb'/, /nb&/, /&bV/, /&br/, /&zb/, /cb'/, /cb7/, /&qb/, /qbr/, /grb/, /&rb/, /yʃb/, /ʃb7/, /ʃbr/, /ʃyb/; and possibly /'bl/, /nb(b)/, /bd(d)/, /z'b/, /xb7/, /ʃkb/, /nwb/, /nqb/, /rb&/II, /ʃbl/, /ʃb&/II, /ʃb&/III.

This sound, generally recognizable as the voiced counterpart of /p/, is again incompatible with the other labials only. With /p/, the following minimal pairs are found in the pre-Sem material: /bnV/ vs. /pnV/; /xbʃ/ vs. /xpʃ/; and possibly /blV/ vs. /plV/; /brq/ vs. /prq/; /rbV/ vs. /rpV/. The first two seem valid; however, /bnV/ being strictly transitive and /pnV/, where used verbally, primarily intransitive or reflexive, there is not much chance of real contrast in a larger context; on the other hand, as the primary meaning of /xpʃ/ appears to have been *taking something into one's hands*, this is so close to the meaning of /xbʃ/, particularly in the simple circumstances that must be assumed for the pre-Sem period that common origin for the two roots cannot be excluded. Phonological distinction between /b/ and /p/ is thus unprovable for the pre-Sem period.

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[47] Cf. the cognates and root var. /rbV/II.

In the common Sem material, we find /xb(b)/ vs. /xp(p)/; /xbr/, /xbr/II vs. /xpr/; /7bx/ vs. /7px/; /kb(b)/ vs. /kp(p)/; /&rb/ vs. /&rp/(?); /'bV/ vs. /'pV/; /b&l/ vs. /p&l/; /brd/ vs. /prd/; /qbl/ vs. /qpl/; /br(r)/ vs. /pr(r)/; /nbx/ vs. /npx/; and possibly others. Again, not all of these are fully evidential, but as most appear apt to form actual contrasts, it may be unnecessary to go into greater detail. We establish thus that, in contrast to the sounds previously examined, voice alone appears to be phonologically distinctive between the bilabial stops during the common Sem and perhaps even pre-Sem period. However, as in the case of /&/ vs. /x/, the voice is perhaps not the only distinctive factor in this case either; this is suggested by the fact that /p/ appears to have been spirantized in large parts of the ancestral dialects of the phylum during the pre-Sem period already; in such dialects, the spirantization would have been an additional distinctive factor; and examination of the relationship between /b/ and /m/ could reveal still another one.

In the pre-Sem material, we find the following contrastive roots: /'b/ vs. /'m/; /'bn/ vs. /'mn/; /znb/ vs. /zrm/; /rb(b)/ vs. /rm(m)/II; and possibly /b'r/II, /bhr/, /bhl/ vs. /mhr/; /gbr/ vs. /gmr/; /db(b)/ vs. /dm(m)/; /rbV/ vs. /rmV/. None of these contrasts, however, is fully valid: /'b/ and /'m/ are purely nominal and show distinct nominal types; /'bn/ is likewise purely nominal and cannot have contrasted with the primarily verbal /'mn/ in early times; /znb/ and /zrm/ are both primarily nominal, again with distinct nominal types and the latter with widespread varr. so that original consonantism is unascertainable (incl. /znb/ in Har Sdd); /rm(m)/II is very patchily attested even if the word for pomegranate does derive from it which appears highly doubtful; without it, the only language it shares with /rb(b)/ is Arab in which it is passive in the primary verbal stem (vs. transitive /rb/) and the related noun distinct in type from those of the latter. All the rest are doubtful with regard to their pre-Sem origin, /mhr/ and /dm(m)/ even for common Sem; /rbV/ is intransitive-reflexive vs. /rmV/ transitive; their non-contrastive nature is also illustrated by the root var. /rbV/II of the latter; /gbr/ is primarily nominal and, when verbal, intransitive; /gmr/ primarily verbal and transitive. Phonological distinction is thus unprovable for /b/ vs. /m/ too in pre-Sem times.

In the common Sem material we have /'br/ vs. /'mr/; /bdq/, /btq/ vs. /mtq/; /xb(b)/ vs. /xm/, /xm(m)/; /cb'/ vs. /cm'/; /grb/ vs. /grm/; /bl(l)/, /br(r) vs.

/mr(r)/; /brq/ vs. /mrq/; and possibly several others. While not as many as for /b/ vs. /p/, they nevertheless suffice to show that during this period /b/ is phonologically distinct from /m/ too. In this context, the Chad pre-nasalized /^{m}b/ may also be more relevant, as it suggests that in a part of the pre-Sem dialects, perhaps prior to the split-up, this sound was created as a transitional var. perhaps more widely than its present distribution suggests, and functioned then as an additional distinctive factor between /b/ and /p/.

21. /w/. Pre-Sem: /hwV/, /yzn/,[48]/yld/,[49]/yc'/,[50] /yqr/,[51] /yqʃ/,[52] /yrx/,[53] /yrq/,[54] /yʃn/,[55] /yʃ&/,[56] /xwV/II, /kwV/, /lwV/, /cwV/, /qwV/, /ʃwV/; possibly also /'y/,[57] /'rV/II, /gwV/, /yd(d)/,[58], /ykl/,[59] /ypV/,[60] /yrV/,[61] /xwV/III, /&wV/, /rwV/; common Sem: the preceding category (except /'y/, /gwy/, /xwV/III, /ykl/, /ypV/?, /&wV/?) plus /'wV/, /dwV/, /yz&/,[62] /yxd/,[63] /yrd/,[64] /yrk/,[65] /yʃb/,[66] /ytr/,[67] /&wV/, /nwV/; and possibly /yrʃ/[68].

Identifiable as a voiced bilabial approximant or semivowel, this sound also appears to be incompatible with the other labials and also with the other semivowel; non-attestation of a contiguous /s/ is no doubt due to the scanty overall occurrence of both that sound and the present one. The distribution is also rather stereotypic, in so far as the sound (apart from the uncertain /'y/, /'rV/II) only occurs in root initial where it is generally recognized as a secondary augment; and as the second radical before a root final vowel in which position it corresponds to the root vowel of the hollow roots with a consonantal final radical. In that position, it is evidently a consonantal allophone of the /u/ vowel which suggests that in root initial too it might have originated as a consonantalization of the initial of a more original root initial /u/.

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[48] See the cognates.
[49] See the cognates.
[50] See the cognates.
[51] See the cognates.
[52] See the cognates.
[53] See the cognates.
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[64] See the cognates.
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[66] See the cognates.
[67] See the cognates.
[68] See the cognates.

There are a few minimal pairs with the other labials; in the pre-Sem material /hwV/ vs. /hmV/, /'bV/; /yc'/ vs. /mc'/; /yqr/ vs. /bqr/; /xwV/II vs. /xb('/V)/; and possibly /ykl/ vs. /bkr/; /yrV/ vs. /plV/, /pnV/, /prV/; /rwV/ vs. /rbV/, /rpV/, /rmV/; and in common Sem several more. Again not equally evidential, they may nevertheless suffice to show that the sound represented a phoneme different from the other labials ever since its creation. On the relationship to the other semivowel see the next item.

22. /y/. Pre-Sem: /hyV/, /xy(V)/, /yd/, /ymn/; possibly also /'y/, /'y/II, /yqr/, /yrx/; common Sem: /yrx/, /ywm/; and possibly /yrʃ/.

Because of the very scanty attestation, determination of incompatibilities is not possible, and test of minimal pairs also appears purposeful only against the other semivowel. In the pre-Sem material, the following contrasts seem to appear: /hyV/ vs. /hwV/; /xy(V)/ vs. /xwV/II; and possibly /yd/ vs. /yd(d)/; /yqr/ and /yrx/ as also the possibly common Sem /yrʃ/ are possible early instances of the development /w/ > /y/ in root initial. Of the three pairs, the first may be an instance of such development inside the root, the roots being undoubtedly cognate; as to the second, /xwV/II occurs in Sem in Aram Arab only, in the former in D-stem, in the latter with transposition; and outside Sem in Eg only in a basically biradical form; while /xy(V)/ shows a root var. /xwV/ in Phoen Ug Har; and Tu, as the only non-Sem attestation, also seems to presuppose /w/-/u/ as the 2nd rad. It may be, then that the prevalent /y/ is the result of a secondary development in this root too; in any case, actual contrast is hardly possible here either. Finally, /y/ in /yd/ may also be of secondary (albeit early) origin, as it is absent in many languages, replaced by /'/ or word initial vowel; or (in Eg) totally lacking; while /yd(d)/, apart from being doubtful with regard to pre-Sem origin, shows /d/ regularly geminated in historical Sem; and being primarily verbal is not likely to contrast with the purely nominal /yd/ in early times. It appears then that there was no phonological distinction between /y/ and /w/ during the pre-Sem and probably also common Sem period.

The consonantal phonemes of the pre-Sem language ancestral to Hbr appear thus to have been the following: /'/-/h/; /x/; /&/; /q/; /k/-/g/; /t/-/d/-/7/-/c/-/s/-/z/; /ʃ/; /r/-/l/-/n/; /m/; /p/; /b/; /w/-/y/; or, using capital letters for acrophonemes with multiple representation in biblical Hbr: /H/; /x/; /&/; /q/; /K/; /T/; /ʃ/; /N/; /m/; /p/; /b/; /W/; however, even of these, /m/, /p/, /b/ appear to have constituted just one phoneme (/M/ or /^{m}B/?) at a somewhat earlier time; and earlier still, perhaps /K/ and /T/ also. The common Sem phonological inventory seems to have been substantially larger, but at this stage it cannot be determined accurately; not being relevant to our present purpose, it will be discussed in Part Two.

Vowel phonemes remain to be determined. Here, however, it is not purposeful to start from our Hbr material, as its varied nature would make the task unnecessarily complicated; instead, we use the commonly recognized fundamental three vowel system /a/, /i/, /u/ as a basis.

It is commonly accepted that the early Sem vowel system had these three short vowels as its basic constituents. Forgetting for the moment the possible existence of long vowels and the problem of their phonemic status or otherwise, we first ask whether the same triad had the same status in pre-Sem times already.

To find a reliable answer, a reliable method must be devised. It is not possible to use roots only for material, as these consist mainly of consonants; and even where a radical is represented by a vowel, there is so much variation between single languages and sometimes between different inflectional forms of the same root in a single language that manifestly secondary developments must be assumed to have taken place. Something less changeable and more universal than vocalic elements inherent in two or three patterns of irregular roots must be found. It appears that a reliable basis is provided by *nominal types and verbal stems traceable to pre-Sem times* without essential variations.

Such nominal types and their attestations are (in the order of frequency of assuredly pre-Sem attestations; common Sem roots are added as supportive evidence):

1. */qatl/: /'bn/, /'np/, /'rc/, /b7n/, /grm/, /xmc/, /yld/, /yrx/, /knp/, /krs/, /npʃ/, /&rb/, /qrb/II, /qrn/, /ʃwr/III, /ʃ/s&r/; common Sem: /gbr/, /dwr/, /zr&/, /xbl/, /xyl/II, /yrk/, /kbd/, /klb/, /&cm/, /r'ʃ/; uncertain cases: /'br/, /'hl/, /'lp/, /byc/, /byt/, /gnb/, /dm&/, /xyq/, /xlc/, /7&m/, /ywm/, /y&r/, /kbʃ/s/, /lhb/, /lxV/, /lxm/, /mwt/, /mtn/, /&wp/, /&yn/, /&rp/, /plg/, /p&m/, /prx/, /clm/, /cl&/, /qbr/, /qdm/, /qr'/V/, /ʃd/, /ʃmʃ/, /ʃrq/II, /txt/.

2. */qal/: /'b/, /dm/, /xy(V)/, /xm/, /yd/, /kp(p)/, /ʃp/, common Sem: /'x/, /ywm/(var.), /ql(l)/, /ʃm/II; uncertain cases: /'xV/II, /bn/, /br(r)/, /gg/, /gwV/, /dwd/, /ʃl(l)/, /lʃ/, /&m(m)/, /cl(l)/, /qʃ(t)/, /ʃ/sr(r)/.

3. */qatal/: /brd/, /znb/, /xlb/, /yld/; common Sem: /'ʃr/, /bʃr/; uncertain cases: /'dm/, /'xr/, /brq/, /gml/II, /mʃl/, /&pr/.

4. */qutl/: /'zn/, /bkr/, /klV/II; common Sem: /'nʃ/, /xpn/; uncertain cases: /'kl/, /'nʃ/II, /b'r/II, /brk/, /x7m/, /xlm/, /&nq/, /cpr/III.

5. */qul/: /'m/, /kl(l)/II, /mt/; uncertain cases: /'wr/, /bc/, /gb/, /db(b)/, /xc(c)/, /ʃ/sk(k)/, /ʃm/.

6. */qitl/: /cb&/II, /rgl/, /prV/; uncertain cases: /'br/, /gld/, /dbʃ/, /drk/, /zbx/, /kl'/II, /mdr/.

7. */q/: /m/, /p(V)/.

8. */qil/: /ʃn(n)/; common Sem: /'ʃ/, /m'/; uncertain cases: /'l/, /lb(b)/, /m&/, /&c/, /p'/, /cl(l)/, /ʃyn/, /ʃyt/.

/a/ is clearly the preponderant vowel; it occurs 32 times in all in the material traceable with reasonable certainty or probability to the pre-Sem period, and additionally 18 times in common Sem cases; /u/ is found 6 times in pre-Sem and twice in common Sem; /i/ 4 times in pre-Sem and twice in common Sem; while in two instances, no permanent vowel can be identified. Taking the uncertain cases into account, a number of minimal pairs can be found between /a/ on the one hand and /u/ or /i/ on the other, but even so none between the two latter: /'abn/, /'abr/ vs. /'ibr/; /'a(h)l/ vs. /'il/, /'ur/(?); /matn/ vs. /midr/; /'ab/ vs. /'um(m)/; /dam/ vs. /dub(b)/; /kap(p)/ vs. /gub(b)/; /ʃap(t)/ vs. /ʃum/; /7al(l)/ vs. /cil(l)/; /ʃ/sar(r)/ vs. /ʃin(n)/. Although only one of the pairs is thus fully valid, the doubt attached to some others is not very serious either, and so we may conclude that /a/ constituted an independent phoneme, whereas the nominal material does not provide any positive evidence for phonological distinction between /u/ and /i/ in pre-Sem times; rather the contrary, seeing that the two vowels often interchange within the same word, cf. Hbr /'em/ for /'um/ and /ʃem/ for /ʃum/ in the material just quoted; however, /i/ does occur for more original /a/ too, cf. Aram Arab var. in /ʃp/ cognates. NB. no long vowels were present in the nominal types traceable to the pre-Sem period.

With regard to verbal stems it appears that widespread harmonization has taken place which makes it harder to discover the original vocalization of individual stems. We may therefore start here with still more general patterns and establish that G&z provides a good illustration of a typically Sem verbal system being functionable with two (originally) short vowels only. However, the system makes use of some (originally) long vowels, and the next question is how far back and to what kind of origins these can be traced.

In the verbal stem itself, long vowels occur in the third form of the G&z primary stem, that with a long vowel after the 1st rad. The vowel is usually /a/, and only two such roots appear traceable to the pre-Sem period, to wit, /brk/ and /q^{w}cr/, the latter appearing to be cognate with Hbr /qʃr/; /c/ appears in Akk Arab var. too, and G&z itself has a var. with /Λ/, while /7/ appears in SEth. The long vowel, however, has no support outside Eth where it does appear everywhere, occasionally along with a (secondary) lengthening of the 2nd rad. The only reason for its origin I can conceive is semantic, the meaning of the root being rather intensive and also largely conative which sense is usually associated with this feature. In any case, it can hardly date even from proto-Sem, let alone pre-Sem times; the fact that in G&z the form with a short vowel is much more frequent and that a form with a long 2nd rad. also occurs strongly suggests that even in Eth, the long vowel is a rather late secondary development. As for /brk/, the long vowel does occur everywhere in South Sem; but even there, Arab uses D-stem too in the same meaning; and in Hbr, the SamH forms with long /rr/ throughout show that D-stem underlies the Masoretic forms too. Accordingly, the long vowel is a secondary South Sem development here too, parallel to or perhaps partly replacing the prolongation of the 2nd rad. The reason appears here also to be the meaning, apt to be accompanied by intense emotion which is liable to be expressed phonetically, easily leading to a prolongation of the associated sounds. In some of our Hbr materials, notably SamH, verbal stems with a permanent vowel after the 1st rad. and an ungeminated 2nd rad. do occur, but the vowel is not (originally) long; the feature is thus confined to South Sem and thus probably not traceable even to common Sem times.

It would seem, then, that in the pre-Sem antecedent of Hbr there were no long vowels; or anyway that length of vowels, if it occasionally did exist, was not phonologically distinctive. However, the fact that our pre-Sem material does contain some roots with a long vowel as a permanent feature in one primary stem form at least must still be accounted for. The roots are: /’wr/, /bw’/, /bwʃ/, /byc/, /byt/, /gwr/, /gyl/, /dwd/, /dwr/, /zwb/, /xwʃ/, /xyl/, /kwn/, /mwt/, /myn/, /nwd/, /nwp/, /&wp/, /&yn/, /cwr/IV, /qwl/, /qwm/, /qwc/, /rwx/, /rwm/, /rwc/, /ʃwb/, /ʃwq/II, /ʃyn/, /ʃyt/; and possibly /7wb/, /qy’/, /ʃwq/.

The list looks impressive; but there are indications that, in most of them at least, the length is not permanent nor universal. For /’wr/, Akk Soq Caf have forms presupposing an original short vowel; for /bw’/, at least most non-Sem attestations likewise; for /bwʃ/, Cush Berb likewise; for /byt/, Chad likewise (cf. also SamH pl); for /gyl/, cf. the probably cognate /gl(l)/; for /dwd/, Akk var. Soq Chad have again short vowels; for /dwr/, Soq Gur Tu likewise; for /xwʃ/, Soq? Bil likewise, and /xʃ(ʃ)/ could be cognate; /xyl/ occurs in R-stem only in Aram Soq Eg-Cpt; /kwn/ is short-vocalic in part of Cush, cf. Ch, and /kn/II is semantically close enough to be cognate; /mwt/ is short-vocalic in Berb; /myn/ is short-vocalic in Te primary stem, although it could be secondary formation after the more original L-stem, cf. tL-stem and the noun; /nwd/ may be cognate with /nd(d)/; /nwp/ is short-vocalic in Soq (mostly reduplicated) and Tu; /&wp/ in Soq Eg; /&yn/ partly in Te Gur Ebl? Chad and mostly in Cush Om; /cwr/IV in Sus and /cr(r)/III is cognate; /qwl/ is short-vocalic in Chad and /qhl/ is probably cognate; /qwc/ is short-vocalic in Tu; /rwx/ in Som (primary stem) and Chad (with final /n/-augment); /rwm/ in Eg (with initial augment) and has root var. /rm(m)/; /rwc/ is short-vocalic in Cush (partly with an initial augment); /ʃwq/II is short-vocalic in G&z which is indeed structurally closer to the MT root var. /ʃq(q)/ and in Bil which is closer to /ʃqV/ which could be related too; /ʃyn/ is short-vocalic in Te (noun) Gur Cush Om; /ʃyt/ in Syr Arab Soq Som Caf ?Berb; /7wb/ in Soq (maybe secondarily) and has root var. /y7b/; /qy’/ short-vocalic in Soq (secondarily?) and Tu. All in all, with few exceptions, the non-Sem attestations of these roots have forms showing (or presupposing original) short vowels, often also some Sem languages, usually those situated on the fringes of the Sem-speaking area. All this agrees with the assumption that a relatively systematic lengthening of stem vowels in a number of biradical verbal stems leading to the creation of the hollow roots commenced in the Sem speaking community about the time of the dispersal of the pre-Sem linguistic communities, but did not reach its maximum extent until after the Sem community too had begun to disintegrate (or perhaps more probably, never reached its full extent in the more outlying dialects). The fact that most forms of the agential primary stem (those underlying the verbal noun of agent and the afformative conjugation) still show or presuppose a short stem vowel in hollow roots agrees with this; and all these results further agree with the conclusion reached earlier that there were no phonologically distinctive long vowels in pre-Sem times.[69]

The question remains whether /u/ and /i/ can be found to have been distinct phonemes. In the list of pre-Sem roots above, there were eight (possibly 9) out of a total of 30 (or 33) whose prevalent historical vocalization appears to presuppose pre-Sem /i/. Apart from the uncertain /qy'/ whose Tu attestation has indeed /u∼w/, all these roots end in /c/, /t/, /l/, or /n/ whose articulation basis is closest to that of the /i/ vowel and may therefore be assumed to favour this. A pre-Sem /i/ in such a position could thus well be allophonic; there are no minimal pairs to disprove it either. Moreover, there are varr. with a back vowel which could well be inherited from earlier times: for /byc/ Chad (2 out of 3); /byt/ Chad (1 of 2); /gyl/ Aram var. Arab Te var. Som var.; /xyl/ Eg? Cpt, cf. Soq /a/; /ʃyn/ Wol (Gur?) Cush (varr.); /ʃyt/ (cf. Arab var. /a/). The front vowel could thus be secondary in these roots too.

In Chad Eg, the /i/ vowel does occur occasionally in pronominal forms to differentiate a fem. form from masc., a function similar to that in Sem; this suggests pre-Sem origin and hence, pre-Sem phonemic status for /i/. However, as the systems are otherwise largely different, their pre-Sem origin is doubtful; /i/ could have been used simply because /a/ and /u/ had been previously engaged in contrastive functions. This will be discussed in more detail in Section D; here, it is sufficient to establish that phonological distinction between /u/ and /i/ in pre-Sem times is not provable by that means either. We thus end up with a distinct open vowel phoneme /a/ and an undifferentiated close vowel which may have had /u/ and /i/ for principal allophones, the former occurring substantially more frequently.

One more problem, however, still remains. We established above (no. 21) that pre-Sem /w/ occurs only in root initial where it may represent an earlier root initial vowel, presumably /u/; and as the 2nd rad. in roots where it is followed by a root final vowel; in which position it corresponds to the stem vowel in hollow roots. As the /u/ vowel never occurs in these positions, we can say that /u/ and /w/ occur in complementary distribution. As can be seen from the list no. 22, the same is the case with /i/ vs. /y/, only that the examples are far fewer which again agrees with the conclusion above concerning the relative frequencies of /u/ vs. /i/. We conclude then that there was a pre-Sem phoneme with two principal consonantal and likewise two principal vocalic allophones, and as the vocalic function appears to have been primary and also more frequent, assign to it the symbol /U/.

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[69] In the pl. afformative too, non-Sem evidence either presupposes short vowels or is inconclusive; details in Part Three.

We thus end up with thirteen (late) pre-Sem phonemes altogether: /H/, /x/, /&/, /q/, /K/, /T/, /ʃ/, /N/, /m/, /p/, /b/, /U/, /a/.[70]

d) Other phonological and general linguistic comments

The main purpose of the comments on single entries below is again to justify the reconstructed Hbr forms, where these are not deemed self-explanatory; familiarity with the sub-section *c* above is presupposed. Material from other than the systematically quoted languages may also be adduced without explicit reference or quietly presupposed, if it is in a standard work (above all, K-B^{3}); material from recently discovered and/or deciphered documents is added to the end of the comments on the entries in the text section, as it becomes available[71], and is then also presupposed here.

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[70] It is possible, of course to argue that our material is too scanty to warrant such a definitive conclusion and that, in fact, no sufficient attention has been paid to the effects of linguistic change in reaching it. One might argue, e.g., that according to glottochronological time scale, little more than one fifth of the pre-Sem vocabulary would have been preserved in biblical and early post-biblical Hbr at the very best, as we have dated the pre-Sem period to the time before the neolithic revolution, i.e., to the 9th millennium B.C. at the latest. However, apart from the fact that a fixed glottochronological time scale has now been generally abandoned even by those scholars who (like myself) still find lexicostatistics useful for more relative purposes, lexicostatistical method has much narrower scope than the present study, as it 1) operates with single words, whereas the present study operates with entire roots; and 2) does not allow for any semantic shift at all, whereas in the present study the semantic aspect is relevant only in so far as it is needed to establish etymological connection between cognates, often through the mediation of additional languages. It is true that the lexicostatistical test lists consist of vocabulary items for which the retention rate is the highest, and some of them are the only representatives of the respective roots; but the latter are not many, and the effects of the high retention rate fall far short of matching those of the limitations quoted above. Thus, e.g., at least 90 of the Hbr equivalents to the Swadesh-100 list (cf. Rabin in *Hamito-Semitica* ed. Bynon p.87 ff) have pre- or common Sem roots (where applicable), and even of the rest, most are common WSem, according to the principles applied in the present study.

[71] Unfortunately, with my minimal knowledge of Sumerian and rather inadequate resources on it (even of Deimel's *Lexicon*, the first half of Teil 2 is missing), I may not have got out of the Ebla text publications everything there is in them relevant to this volume, as I prefer sins of omission to those of commission; for the same reason, I decided to omit the so-called pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions of Byblos, although it does seem to me that Dhorme's decipherment is roughly on the correct track; but because of the small amount of the total material (less than one thousand signs altogether, even of them one third in fragmentary texts the interpretation of which seems to me rather doubtful, where not quite incoherent) compared with the large amount of different signs (72 even according to Dhorme/Jirku), the accuracy of *any* decipherment must be deemed inherently improbable, as the system can only have been syllabic at best and therefore comprised at least twice as many signs as those preserved. Furthermore, there are some oddities

As to the reconstructed nominal types, it is not assumed that every single noun of each type actually once had the form reconstructed for it, but only that the noun follows the structural pattern reflected in it. Thus, e.g., many of the nouns reconstructed as belonging to the */quttūl/ type no doubt were vocalized according to the */qittūl/ pattern (arisen from */quttūl/ by dissimilation of the short vowel) from the very first, as this type proliferates greatly in the late biblical and early post-biblical period. That the prevalent original type was indeed */quttūl/ (Brockelmann) rather than */qattūl/ (B-L) is made probable by the fact that the vast majority of the nouns affiliated to it are evidently related to the verbal D-stem in which the /u/-vocalism appears to have been prevalent in early times (cf. Akk) and that otherwise no */quttūl/ would be represented in Hbr at all, whereas an original */qattūl/ would have been partly preserved, partly differentiated to */qittūl/ without any apparent reason for the differential treatment.[72]

Long sounds are posited for the reconstructed prototypes only where the evidence unequivocally points to their existence since the formation of the relevant nouns and there is no structural contraindication to make their originality improbable, such as in the case of a long ("geminated") final radical which is likely to have arisen secondarily in connection with the creation of declension (if not later still); and as there is also evidence of prolongation of sounds being used to create new formative patterns, in cases of conflicting evidence from different sources patterns with short sounds are generally assumed to be more original, unless there are cogent reasons to believe otherwise.

The /m-/-preformative is generally posited with /a/-vowel, as it appears to be originally identical with the interrogative and indefinite pronoun in which the /a/-vowel is likewise original (see Section D s.v.) and there is also inner Hbr evidence for the secondary origin of the Tib /i/; in some types with a passive connotation, however, /u/ may be original, as they are of relatively late origin. The original vowel of the /t-/-preformative may likewise have been /a/, as this is generally in evidence where not reduced and in cognate

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even in the interpretation of the two major texts; e.g., their authors remain anonymous, although speaking in the first person and naming other persons; or if we assume that one of the persons named is the author (so perhaps *Lilu in text c), the author speaks of himself first in the first, then in the third, then again in the first person, and mentions other persons' works in between. While not impossible, it is nevertheless strange and suggests that something has gone astray in the decipherment; and mainly because of the more general considerations given above I decided not to use these texts in the present work. As to the Neto inscription, its authenticity appears doubtful; on other reported American finds I have no scholarly information.

[72] B-L 14*v* does not explain it either; in the examples given there, /i/ is also mostly result of dissimilation, where not prevented by the phonetic environment; sometimes quite secondary, replacing a Shwa precluded by the impossibility of word initial clusters of three consonants. More detailed discussion in Part Three.

languages too; but again, in late types with passive connotation, /u/ cannot be excluded.

On the other hand, the vowel of the /-n/-afformative is generally posited as /ō/, as this is universally found or presupposed in all the branches of the Hbr tradition, and there are indications of a similar original colouring of the long /ā/ in some cognate languages, such as the /w/ originated as a glide in some broken plural types in South Sem and in pl. afformatives elsewhere too.[73]

Where a sound or group of sounds in a reconstructed prototype is enclosed in round brackets, this indicates secondary origin, usually for incidental reasons; e.g. in /'ubid(a)t/, the /a/ vowel has originated as a svarabhakti to prevent the assimilation of /d/ with /t/, both being structurally significant; again, in /'ab(a)dōn/, the second /a/ breaks up the cluster /bd/ in the branch of Hbr tradition underlying NT (at least), leading to a secondary alternative prototype */qatalōn/.

In the classification of verbs, a third fundamental category besides the traditional transitive (Vt) and intransitive (Vi) ones is distinguished to designate those verbs in which the action is essentially confined to the agent (as in Vi), but involve relationship with or movement towards/from some outside object or factor; as this is characteristic of secondary reflexive or reciprocal stems too, we designate this category reflexive (Vrfl).[74]

Comments on single entries:

/'bd/: see above; in /'ubdān/, the vowel of the afformative dissimilated to /a/ after /u/ as the stem vowel.

/'bs/: the short /u/ dissimilated to /e/ in Bab (=Tib) before the long one.

/'bq/II: in the second entry, reduction of vocalism (as generally characteristic of the construct state) plus dissimilation of the first vowel assumed.

/'gm/: On /'ugmān/ cf. /'bd/ above; Lat (=Tib) may have been made secondarily conform to a more common pattern.

/'dm/: The vb. originally denominative (cf. Sam), conformed secondarily to D ps in Pal (+Tib). For /'adum/, the Sam prototype seems to be different (normally, */'ādom/ would be expected); the fem. form suggests */'udm/ with which the masc. too is compatible; but this occurs also as a Ns (below) and the pronunciation (in Gn 25:30) may have been influenced by the pun intended, cf. the last entry too (pronounced as the Npr Edom).

/'hl/: In the (denominative) verb, the Sam form recorded by B-CH and Pet is evidently more original, cf. the noun in which the Sam form presupposes a transitional stage */'ohol/ (or */'o'ol/); NB. the stem vowel as /a/ in many Pal entries too (but the Bab /a/ is secondary reproduction of Tib Qamäc).

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[73] More detailed discussion again in Part Three; for the present purpose, establishment of the originality of /ō/ in Hbr is sufficient.

[74] More detailed discussion again in Part Three.

/’wlm/: The pronunciation with /u/ is likely to be more original, as the front vowel is nowhere indicated in the Hbr consonant text and may indeed be due to the influence of /’ayil/, /’e^{y}l-/ frequently occurring in the same passages (Ez 40:16-36). The original root may be /’wl/ (cf. Arab etc.), but as this root does not occur otherwise in our material and the word is a technical term (*Kulturwort*), the entire consonantism is included in the root here.

/’wn/: The variation between vocalic and consonantal /w/ in Pal is evidently secondary, as there is no corresponding semantic distinction, cf. Tib (where there is, but both derivable from the same original meaning of uncanny power).

/’wr/: The last entry seems to be a secondary compound sg. from /’ūrīm wtummīm/.

/’zn/: The last entry is based on the Tib vocalism, even that partly equivocal; the Sam form is compatible with almost any original vocalization.

/’x/: The fem. afformative is reconstructed in analogy with the /-ōn/-afformative (as also the pl.fem. one), as all the recorded Hbr forms are compatible with it.

/’xr/: In /’axrōn/, the Sam fem. and pl. forms presuppose a short afform. vowel with which the sg.masc. form too is compatible. The shortness of the vowel, however, is likely to be secondary, as Sam also otherwise shows tendency to brevity in the pronunciation of unaccented vowels; in the fem. and pl. forms, the vowel is accentuated, but as these occur less frequently than masc.sg., the latter determines the analogy to be followed by the other forms.

/’kp/: Dissimilation of the first vowel in Bab, of the second in Tib Aram Arab, with secondary gemination of /k/ in Tib Aram.

/’l(l)/II: Although forms with initial /e-/ are attested in Akk, the Hbr entry is more likely to be based on the common middle-to-late-Bab form with /u-/, with secondary dissimilation.

/’lh/: The /n/ of the Phoen pl. forms is likely to have originated as a glide, as the sound also otherwise occurs in that function, e.g., in the form of the 1st sg. sf. after vowels, in Phoen also elsewhere, particularly in the 3rd pl.sf.

/’lm/: cf. /’bs/ above.

/’lm/II: The Sam verb is denominative, with the 3rd rad. still geminated as in the noun; in Tib, the gemination has been shifted to the 2nd rad. in analogy with the normal D-stem form. The afform. vowel of the Sam noun pl.sf. form may be due to anticipation of the sg.sf. form occurring soon afterwards. In /’ullam/, the reconstructed vocalism is conjectural, but the Sam form is in any case hardly derivable from the same prototype as Tib /’illem/.

/’m/: In an ancient word, the vocalism is more likely to conform with consonantism, therefore /u/ is more probably the original vowel in the word for mother; the word for nation is a late creation. In /’ummat/, the Sam pl.sf.

form has again /a/ in the afformative, but the word could have been understood in a sg. sense; if it was not, Aram influence must be assumed. However, the short /m/ in my and Petermann’s recordings suggests that the Samaritans themselves were not sure of the identity of the word; B-CH has long /mm/, but /a/ as the others.

/’mn/: /’umnat/ vocalised so on the assumption that it was originally n.unit. to /’umn/. /’umunt/ agrees best with the attested Sam forms (the var. included; /t/ shortened again secondarily); in the other vocalized forms, the second vowel would have been dissimilated before the reduction of the first; if the Am form is relevant, it is still more strongly contracted.

/’mc/II: The prototype is based of Tib; the Lat form is not incompatible with it, but allows several alternatives.

/’mr/: There is no need to postulate other prototypes besides /’umr/; the /i/ vowel in pl.cs. is again a secondary substitute for Shwa, cf. the note on */qittūl/ above. In /’umirat/, however, irregularities are found which make the unity of the entry doubtful; some may in fact derive from /’amīrat/, but even that does not remove all difficulties, cf. the Greek and Pal pl.(abs.) form, even if /’i^{y}ma$_{2}$rta$_{2}$k/ be due to the punctuator’s mistake.

/’nʃ/: Again, /u/ seems likely to be the original vowel (cf. Arab Ebl), although /a/ may have been an early var., cf. Aram Eth (where both seem to have existed side by side); /i/ is likely to be secondary everywhere, due to partial assimilation to the front oral nasal or sibilant immediately following; or to dissimilation before a following /ā/ or /ȧ/.

/’nʃ/II: /’īʃ/ derives from this root through the assimilation of the nasal to the following sibilant, subsequent shortening of the word final consonant, assimilation of the vowel to the sibilant (or earlier to the front oral nasal) and prolongation of the vowel as in the sg. of some other frequently used biconsonantal words (/yōm/, /&īr/, /rō(’)ʃ/, /bēt/). In the last entry, the afform. vowel, devoid of accent, has been shortened again in Sam.

/’sp/: In the last entry, the Sam form could again have been created through secondary shortening of the unaccented last syllable vowel.

/’sr/: The vocalism of /’usar/ is based on the assumption that it is originally npat of Q ps; this is compatible with the Sam and suffixed Tib forms; the Bab (=unsuffixed sg. Tib) form has then been created through secondary gemination of the 2nd rad., common enough in Q ps forms, and assimilation of the first vowel to the following sibilant. A prototype */’isar/ is incompatible with the Sam forms, */’asar/ would not normally create secondary gemination of the 2nd rad.

/’pd/: Dissimilation of the 1st vowel in the main noun, in Sam also secondary gemination of the 2nd rad.; in the other noun, dissimilation of the 2nd vowel in Sam, secondary gemination of the 3rd rad. in Pal Bab (=Tib).

/’pV/: According to the post-biblical usage, the last entry too belongs to this root; it is then evidently a late formation, presupposing quiescization of /’/; and with passive connotation, the /u/ vowel may be original.

/’pl/: /o/ for /e/ in Eb 22 is characteristic of this ms., as also vice versa.

/’pn/: /’upn/ is compatible with all attestations except Bab (= Tib, cf. Aram); but the word being an old *Kulturwort*, the more unusual form is likely to be original.

/’ps/: Secondary breaking up of the cluster in the noun in Sam pl.cs. var. and Pal arch.

/’pr/: The back vowel preserved in Sam ms. var.; frontation elsewhere agrees with the front oral articulation of /f/.

/’c(V)/: The root behaves partly as a hollow one (/’yc/?), partly as a IIIV one, with the root final vowel consonantalized.

/’rn/: The original first vowel is uncertain, but /a/ agrees with Syr Akk.

/’rnb/: The Bab pl. form looks anomalous; probably punctuator’s mistake.

/’ʃn/: Dissimilation of the 1st vowel.

/’t’/V/: The stem vowel of the noun appears anomalous; cf. the consonant text in Ez 40:15 (MT).

/’tn/: The geminated 2nd rad. in Sam makes the originality of the preceding /a/ doubtful; but it does agree with the cognate languages, and Aram-Syr have also geminated forms despite /a/. The word may be a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

/bgd/: In /bigd/, most Bab forms show metaplastic influence from the more common */qatl/ type.

/bhn/: On the Sam form cf. /’hl/ above.

/bhq/: The noun has become a wandering word, hence irregularities in form.

/bw’/: In the last entry, the Sam forms presuppose /u/ as the preform. vowel, and as the others are compatible with it, it was posited in the prototype, although it could have originated from an earlier /a/ by assimilation to the long vowel.

/b7’/: The Sam forms suggest denominative origin for the verb, cf. the last entry; Pal Bab (= Tib) forms have then been assimilated to the normal D-stem pattern.

/b7n/: On the evidence of Am and most cognate languages, /a/ must be accepted as the original stem vowel; the /i/ of Pal suffixed forms may have originated as a result of reduction in sonority in connection with the shift of the word accent on to the suffix; the frontal articulation basis of /7/ also agrees with it, although its dorsal coarticulation would seem to reduce the effect. The Sam /ē/ is comparable to that in /yar(a)q/ etc.

/byn/: For /bēnēm/, /bēnaym/ could have been posited as well; on the last entry, cf. /bw’/ above.

/byt/: On the evidence of Sam pl. forms, supported by the gemination of /t/

in other traditions too, the stem vowel may have been originally short, cf. the non-Sem cognates too. The long vowel and diphthongal/bisyllabic formations in sg. must then be secondary.

/bkV/: Here, the Sam /ē/ has arisen from partial assimilation to the long /ī/ in the next syllable in the two nouns.

/bkr/: In the first two nouns, Sam follows the verbal npt pattern.

/bl(l)/: In /tabl/, the Sam form is comparable to /b7n/ above. In the last entry, the Sam form would admit other prototypes, but hardly the Tib alternative.

/bn/: As the vowel of the sg. forms varies greatly and in Arab is lost altogether, that in pl. is more likely to be the original one.

/bsr/: the secondary vowel in Q follows the quality of the original one; cf. /bkr/ (main noun) and Sam forms in /’hl/, /bhn/, /r’ʃ/ etc.

/bcq/: The Sam noun forms are best derived from a monosyllabic prototype.

/bqʃ/: The Pal noun is probably defectively vocalized.

/brd/II: Sam follows again the verbal npt pattern (cf. /bkr/ above).

/brk/: In /burk/, Q has and Sam seems to presuppose the back vowel; but /i/ could have coexisted with it ever since the close vowel phoneme was differentiated.

/g’V/: Pal /g’awweʰ/ may be punctuator’s mistake.

/gbh/: Pal /gbeʸheʸ/ appears to be created through metaplastic frontation of the second stem vowel.

/gbx/: Again, Sam is hardly derivable from the same prototype as Bab (= Tib) in the adjective.

/gbr/: On Sam /gēbar/, cf. /b7n/ above.

/gdl/: On /gudl/ cs. cf. /bsr/ above.

/gdl/II: The Sam var. agrees better with the consonant text, but the type is strange (*/qutal/? even then, the prolongation of the 3rd rad. is abnormal).

/gdr/: On the main noun Sam form, cf. /gbr/ above.

/glm/: The last entry prototype is based on the Tib form; G Lat seems to presuppose different consonant text too, but assuming dissimilation of the 2nd vowel and subsequent centralization of the 1st, the vocalism is combinable with the Tib one.

/gmd/: Should the G form be original (rather than influenced by /m/), the prototype is /gumad/.

/gnb/: The suffixed Sam form of the first noun seems to follow the alternative (*/qutal/) pattern of Q ps npt.

/gnV/: Variation in the quality of the root final vowel, particularly in the last entry.

/gnz/: /ganz/ vocalized according to the original (Old Persian) prototype.

/gpn/: The Q (= Aram) back vowel may be due to the influence of /p/, cf. (Akk) Arab.

/dbr/: On the Sam form of the main noun, cf. /gbr/ etc. above.

/dbʃ/: The variation of vocalism in different languages makes the prototype uncertain; /u/ could be due to the influence of /b/.

/dg/: In the last entry, the Sam (Bab var.?) /i/ may be due to dissimilation, but cf. also /tīraʃ/ often occurring in a hendiadys-like combination with it.

/dhr/: The Pal attestation may be defectively vocalized.

/dwV/: In /dawat/, the Sam /b/ seems to presuppose an early long /ww/, but in the light of other traditions and languages this may be secondary anyway, perhaps due to the influence of /dawway/.

/dwk/: The noun frontal stem vowel in Bab apparently secondary, cf. Tib and the cognate languages.

/dl&/: Dissimilation of the first vowel plus secondary prolongation of the 2nd rad. in the pl. stem (if correctly identified).

/dpn/: The Bab pl.sf. attestation suggests /a/ as the noun stem vowel, cf. Syr; but the back vowel is so widespread (cf. Tib too) that it is difficult to attribute it to the influence of /p/; /i/ is conceivable as a result of reduction of sonority from both; and /ä/ occurs as a var. of /i/ not infrequently in Bab (cf., e.g., the next entry).

/dptr/: NB. Bab /ä/ for the Gr /i/ (cf. the preceding entry).

/drk/: In the main noun, metaplastic influence of the more common */qatl/ type in Pal (= Tib) and some (mainly unsuffixed sg.) Bab forms.

/zbx/: Likewise in unsuffixed sg. Bab forms. For /mazbix/, Sam could have had /mazbax/ as the prototype, but this may be due to secondary influence of the pharyngal, cf. similar Pal Bab varr.

/zm(m)/: In the nouns, the widespread /i/ is due to dissimilation before a subsequent long /ā/ and causes secondary prolongation of the following labial nasal, where this was not long originally.

/xb('/V)/: The biradical form is attested in Q (D ps af) and Sam (N-stem).

/xyd/: The (denominative) verb follows the more common */qwl/ pattern.

/xkm/: /xakim/ as a var. of /xakam/ may be due to Arab influence.

/7b&/: The second vowel of the noun is uncertain; /a/ could be due to the influence of /&/; but the Sam /e/ could also have arisen secondarily after its quiescization.

/7hr/: On the unsuffixed Sam form of /7uhr/, cf. /'hl/ above.

/7wr/: The Lat entry in the second noun could have been influenced by the first (occurring in the beginning of the same verse), but this is hardly provable.

/7px/: The original stem vowel of the main noun is uncertain, as Bab (= Tib) /o/ could be due to the influence of /p/; but Bab /ä/ could also be secondary result of a development parallel to Sam.

/y’r/: The Sam pl. var. appears to be a recent innovation; no vocalized ms. known to me (including a rather recent one) indicates accent on the last syllable.

/yd&/: /dē&ā^h/ is probably secondary st.abs. formation from /da&at/, with dissimilation of the (unstressed) stem vowel.

/ywm/: The sg. form secondarily lengthened; cf. the note on /’nʃ/II above.

/ysd/: The long vowel of /yusūd/ seems contrary to Pal Bab (= Tib) /ō/; but the noun is evidently a late creation, hardly attested in pre-exilic literature and has a fem. synonym with /ū/ in Tib; and as there is also otherwise interchange between long /o/ and /u/ in nouns of analogous structure, the variation in the present noun may be analogous to it.

/ysp/: On /mawsap/ cf. the preceding note, although here, the variation is in the preformative vowel.

/ysr/: On /mawsar/ cf. the preceding notes.

/yqd/: Ditto (on /mawqad/, /-qid(at)/).

/yr’/: In /yar’at/, /i/ results again from dissimilation; in /ma(w)ra’/ the Sam form seems to have been created without the root augment.

/yrk/: In the main noun, the monosyllabic prototype seems to underlie all Sam forms (except pl.?) and Bab cs. (= Tib).

/yʃ&/: In /yaʃ&/, the front vowels have arisen through the influence of the front oral consonants. The last entry is formed without the root augment and seems in fact closer to the root var. /ʃw&/.

/ks’/: The stem vowel is uncertain; but /s/ favouring /i/, this is hardly original.

/k&s/: The Sam forms presuppose /u/ as the stem vowel, cf. /’hl/ etc.

/lb(b)/: On the consonantism, cf. /kb/; on vocalic variation, /ysd/ above.

/lʃ/: The frontal stem vowel in Sam may be due to the influence of the sibilant, in Aram Akk Arab reinforced by the dissimilatory effect of the subsequent long /ā/. In the Sam suffixed forms with the prep. /l-/, contraction has taken place in the forms recorded by me (= Pet).

/m’/: The Sam forms seem to presuppose a prototype with /a/, as a contraction of */i’a/ into /ā/ has no parallels in the dialect; /i/ is conceivable as a result of dissimilation; however, Aram may have had influence on Sam, as /’/ has largely grown quiescent in that language, cf. the du. form in Hbr too; and the word being evidently a wandering one, the issue must be left undecided.

/mwt/: As there is no evidence of a diphthongal formation in the main noun in languages attested earlier than Hbr, it is assumed to be secondary in Hbr too. The /o/ vowel is conceivable as a result of secondary differentiation of the back vowel, cf. Sam Pal and /ysd/ etc. above.

/mxq/: The noun, evidently = Aram nag, is assumed to have had its original vocalism, as in Tib too.

/m7r/: On the Sam noun form, cf. /dbr/ etc. above.

/ml(l)/: The Sam noun var. looks anomalous, and there is no indication of gemination in any vocalized ms. known to me.

/mlx/: In the light of cognate languages, the /ä/ vowel of Bab (=Tib) in the main noun may be secondary, perhaps influenced by /l/ which may have been dorsal, being as it is contiguous in several forms to the pharyngal.

/mlk/: Variation in the vocalism of the main noun appears ancient; cf. Section A, notes on nos. 979, 981. /mulk/ is phonologically hardly derivable from /hlk/, and etymology from the present root is plausible semantically too.

/mnV/: /manāt/ and /minyān/ may be Aram LWW.

/mc(c)/: /maccat/ in the sense of unleavened bread could be a *Kulturwort*; cf. Gr μαζα, commonly derived from μασσω, but on that etymology, ξ would be expected for ζ apart from accentual irregularities (agst. Masson, *Recherches* p. 8). The origin of the word thus remains uncertain.

/nwx/: In /nuxux/, dissimilation of the primary vowel.

/nʃ'/II: In /maʃa'/, the Sam entry seems to be affiliated to /nʃ'/.

/&b(b)/: On the vocalization cf. Tib.

/&bd/: In /&ubudat/, the 2nd vowel dissimilated in Sam and reduced in G; the 1st fronted in these and reduced elsewhere.

/&bt/: The Sam noun var. with sounded /&-/ seems to be a recent innovation, as no vocalized ms. known to me indicates it, nor did my informant (Yusef Abu-l-Hassan of Nablus) sound it.

/&wr/III: The first Sam entry of the noun seems to be understood differently.

/&nV/II: The last entry may be loan from Aram.

/&rk/: On the second noun cf. K-B^3 s.v. /&eräk/ 2b.

/plgʃ/: The Sam forms are difficult to combine with the prototype, but the Aram form suggests that the long 1st syll. vowel is a Hbr innovation anyway, cf. the Gr Lat forms too; the Sam varr. with short /i/ are secondary contractions.

/cb/: Prototype vocalized after Akk, cf. Q.

/c&r/: The Sam var. for /mac&ar/ is anomalous, as pharyngals are not normally assimilated regressively, nor consonants usually geminated after the /m-/-preformative.

/cpn/: The Sam noun may be influenced by Aram.

/r'V/: In /mar'e/, the Sam var. is contracted.

/rxq/: /ruxq/ corresponds to Tib /(me)råxoq/.

/rk(k)/: /marak/(?) is an exception to the rule that consonants are not geminated after /m-/-preformative in Sam; however, the word could be understood as /ruk/ (just before) with the PTpr /min/.

/ʃlm/: For /ʃul(u)m/ (cf. Akk), usually /ʃalām/ is posited as the prototype (cf. Arab). The Sam sf. form and Ios, however, are hardly combinable with the latter, while they agree well with the former with which the rest are also compatible, assuming an early break-up of the final cluster and subsequent dissimilation of the original vowel.

/t'/: The /u/ vowel posited on the strength of the Q Aram /w/, presumably ultimately derived from the Akk case vowel, centralized in Tib and fronted in the transcriptional tradition.

/t'm/: In the Sam noun, dissimilation of the original vowel and subsequent centralization of the secondary one.

/twk/: Dissimilation of the stem vowel in the adjective; except perhaps in Bab, but even there, the originality of the first /o/ is suspect, as in that ms., /e/ and /o/ frequently interchange — however, here the expected counterpart is /i/.

/ty'/: The prototype posited after Tib.

/tlV/: The Sam npt var. contracted.

/tmh/: The noun prototype posited partly on the basis of Tib; frontation of the second stem vowel in Sam conceivably dissimilatory.

/tn/: The root posited on the basis of Tib (Hos. 8:9f; in the dictionaries under /tnV/, but assumption of a root final vowel unnecessary); /'tn/ would be a conceivable alternative, but as the meaning is clearly related to /ntn/ whose 1st rad. is obviously secondary (see s.v.), it is simpler to interpret the initial /'/ as a stem preformative.

/trʃt/: The prototype posited on the Persian form.

There would have been many more Sam (and occasionally Bab) examples of /e/ where, on Tib form, /a/ was expected, but as similar variation occasionally occurs within Tib itself and the vocalization in Sam has largely developed differently otherwise too, it would have been unnecessary duplication of much of the forthcoming full discussion in Part Two to record all such cases here. The same applies to the interchange of /e/ and /o/ in the Bab Ms. Eb 22.

ADDENDA TO THE PROVISIONAL LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung.
AHwb = Soden, W. von, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.
AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
Amh = Amharic.
AmhS = the Shoan dialect of Amharic.
Amm = Ammonite.
arch. = archa(ist)ic.
BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
Bed = Bedauye / Bedja.
Berb = Berber.
Bil = Bilin.
BK = Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament.
B-L = Bauer,H. & P. Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache.
Boh. = the Bohairic dialect of Coptic.
CAD = Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.
Caf = Cafaitic.
Can = Canaanite.
Ch = Chaha.
Chad = Chadic.
Chadr. = the Chadramaut dialect of Arabic.
CIH = Corpus Inscriptionum Himyariticarum (= CIS IV).
Cpt = Coptic; Vycichl, W., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte.
Cush = Cushitic.
Dem. = the Demotic dialect(s) of Egyptian.
Ebl. = Eblaite.
E-G = Erman, A. & H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.
ESA = Epigraphic South Arabic.
Fass = Berber spoken at Fassāṭo.
Gis = Gisiga.
Gur = Gurage; Leslau, W., Etymological dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic).
G&z = Ge&ez (= Old Ethiopic).
Har = Harari.
Hitt = Hittite.
Hsa = Hausa.
JAL = Journal of African Languages.
JANES = Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
Kab = Kabyle.
KAI = Donner, H. & W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.
Lib = Libyan.
Lih = Lihyanite.
mane = monographs on the ancient near east.
MAss = Middle Assyrian.
MBab = Middle Babylonian.

Mhr = Mehri.
NAss = Neo-Assyrian.
NBab = Neo-Babylonian.
NEth = North Ethiopic.
NPu = Neo-Punic.
NSem = North Semitic (= NWSem + Akk).
NWSem = North-West Semitic.
OAkk = Old Akkadian.
OAmh = Old Amharic.
OAss = Old Assyrian.
OBab = Old Babylonian.
Om = Omotic.
pal. = Arabic spoken in Palestine.
Pu = Punic.
Qat. = the Qatabanian dialect of ESA.
RA = Revue d'Assyriologie.
RQ = Revue de Qumran.
RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali.
SAE = Südarabische Expedition (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien).
Saf = Safaitic.
SAL = Studies in African Languages.
Sdd = Soddo.
Sem = Semitic.
SEth = South Ethiopic.
S-H = Semito-Hamitic.
Sid = Sidamo.
Som = Somali.
Soq = Soqoṭri; Leslau, W., Lexique soqoṭri.
Te = Tigré.
Tham = Thamudic.
Tu = Tuareg.
U-F = Ugarit-Forschungen.
UH = Dahood, M., Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology.
UT = Gordon, C.H., Ugaritic Textbook.
vS = Soden, W. von, Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten.
Wb = Wörterbuch.
Wol = Wolane.
yemen. = Arabic spoken in Yemen.
ZÄS = Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZS = Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete.

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THE LIST OF ROOTS

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'B: Phoen /'b/, Ug /'ab/, Aram /'ab(b-)/, Syr /'ab/, Amor /'ab/, Akk /ab/, Arab /'ab/, ESA /'b/, Mhr /xayb/, Soq /'iif/, G&z /'äb/, Te /'äb/, Har /āw/, Ch /ab/, Sdd /abi/, Wol /abot/, Bed /bāba/, Bil (/abbä/), Som /āb/, /abb/, Tu /abba/, Sus /bāba/, Fass /bābā/, Hsa /bābā/, /ubā/, Gis /baba/, Tangale /pube/, Cpt (/apa/) *father*; Eg /'bt/ *family*.

It is generally accepted that the Semitic prototype is /'ab/; but it is questionable whether the same is true of the entire phylum, as forms with initial /b/ (with occasional var. /p/) are common in Cushitic, Berber and Chadic languages (in Omotic, the root seems to be lacking); and as the word appears to have originated in infants' babble, the labial is more natural than the glottal stop as the original initial; the latter is plausibly explicable as a result of dissimilation before the second /b/. The Bilin and Coptic forms appear to be based on Greek αββα (itself of Aramaic origin). Mhr /x-/ is the petrified PTdt (Johnstone). Ebl /a-bù/ *father*; /a-bu/ *elder*.

'B(B): ?Ug /'ib/ *shining? (a lunar goddess)*; or *a gem*; Aram /'b(b)/ *grow, ripen*, /'ibb/ *fruit*; Syr /'ebb/ =; ?Amor /'abab(ān)/ *?* (Ns); Arab /'abb/ *meadow, grazing*; Te /&mbb/, /&nbb/ *flourish*; Sdd /ibbäbä/ =; Wol /abäba/ *flower*; ?Bil /ambäb/, /anb-/ *blossom*.

The root seems connected with /&nb/ (q.v.), whether originally or secondarily is hard to decide; in Sem, /'b(b)/ may be original anyway, the Te (and Tigrinya) forms showing nasal increment not uncommon in Eth; in Cush, the root may be loan from Eth. The Ug entry may have to be regarded as a Npr, but no doubt originated as a meaningful epithet and therefore relevant, as the moon was generally considered responsible for dew and thus vital for vegetative growth.

'BD: Phoen /'bd/ *destroy*; Ug /'itbd/ *(Qt) perish*; Aram /'bd/ =, *be lost*; Syr /'bd/ =; Akk /abāt/ *destroy*; Arab /'bd/ *take fright, grow wild*; ESA /'bdt/ (pl.) *wild, savage*; G&z /'bd/ *run away (slave); go mad, insane; be stupid*; Te /'bd/ *(D) deceive*; Som /abād/ *decay*; Tu /ebdeh/ *be exhausted (after running or marching)*.

The Som Tu entries are semantically evidently related but cannot possibly be loan words; the root is thus common to Sem Cush Berb, although somewhat patchily attested in Sem too. NB. the voiceless 3rd rad. in Akk.

'BV: Ug /'abynt/ *misery (?)*; Aram /'bV/ *be willing*; Arab /'b/ *desire*, /'by/ *refuse, disdain*;/'abyān/ *needy* (Guillaume); ESA /'by/ *(tD/St) refuse*; G&z /'by/ =; Te /'bV/ =, *hate*; Ch /epä/ *refuse, disobey*; Wol /ambe/ =; Bil /abäy/ *enemy*; Caf /bay/, /bağ/ *refuse, prevent*; Tu /aba/ *be no more*; Hsa /bā/ *not be in the process*; Eg /'by/ *wish, desire*, /yby/ (Dem /'by/) *thirst* (Ns); Cpt /eibe/ *be thirsty*.

The root appears to be common to the whole phylum, even if the semantic link of the Tu Hsa entries is rather tenuous; but Hsa, not implausible either, and if Hsa is accepted, Tu is too close to it to be rejected either. The contrariety exhibited in Sem meanings can have arisen through euphemistic usage, cf. Hbr /brk/ etc., or (perhaps more probably) from a more general meaning still reflected in Tu Hsa through intensification of either the positive or the negative point of view. The Hbr */’abyoːn/ is semantically supported by the last Arab and also by the Ug entry; even if its meaning cannot be defined exactly, the parallel /’anχ/ presupposes misery as a rough primary reference anyway; and the Eg Cpt reference to thirst is not far either. Arab /lwb/ may be closer semantically, but I am not sure that thirst is its primary meaning, and phonologically it is hazardous. If the designation of the caper-fruit reflects its reputation as an aphrodisiac, it also belongs here. In Arab, the positive meaning has been differentiated morphologically through apocopation of the root final vowel; connecting it with the root /’b(b)/ above seems to me semantically too far-fetched. ?Ebl /a-ba-um/ *be willing (?)*.

’BL: ?Ug /’abn/ *mourning (?)*; Aram /’bl/ *mourn*; Syr =; Akk /abāl/ *dry up*; Arab /’bn/ *D compose elegy (for a dead person)*; ?Te /hbal/ *funeral songs*; /’bbal/ *an unlucky hair*.

On the strength of Te /’bbal/, if semantically close enough, the root could be common Sem even if /hbal/ be loan from Arab where final /-l/ also occurs dialectally (cf. Leslau, Gur III 38 under /aläbəl/ where “and Cushitic” should be omitted, cf. the ref. ib.). /n/ for /l/ is rare in Asiatic Semitic, but common in most Gur (cf., e.g., Hetzron, *The Gunnän-Gurage languages*, 1977, p.40f) and occurs also in Eg and Berb in comparison with Sem. The Ug entry is uncertain. Cush Om /bVl(l)/ (cf. Dolgopolsky p. 198f) seems to be cognate and the root thus basically biradical.

’BN: Phoen /’bn/, Ug /’abn/, Aram /’abn/, Syr /’abn/, Amor /’abn/, Akk /abn/, ESA /’bn/, Mhr /xaubin/, Soq /’oben/, G&z /’bn/, Te /’bn/, Har /ūn/, Ch /əmər/, Sd /əmmayyä/, Wol /un/, /ūn/, Tu /ablal/, ?Sus /awwūr/ *stone, rock*; Eg /ybnw/ *a mineral; alum?* (Dem.) /’bn/ *alum*; Cpt /obn/ *alum*.

The root appears common to Sem Berb Eg; it is too difficult for me to accept that the Eg Cpt entry with such a specialized meaning (not attested in Sem, to my knowledge) could be a loan from Sem. The original stem vowel may be /a/; South Sem */u/ may result from an assimilation to /b/; Mhr /xa-/ is the petrified PTdt. Bed /awe/ Eg /ynr/ are phonetically vague.

’BN7: Eg ?/bnd/ *wrap*; cf. *βυνητος an Egyptian garment*.

The Hbr word is evidently borrowed from Eg, although the Eg prototype has not been found.

’BS: Phoen /’bst/ *bowl*; Akk /abūs/, /-uss/ *magazine; stable*.

The Hbr verb is denominative; the noun may be a *Kulturwort* with “feeding facility for animals” as a primary “umbrella”-meaning.

'BQ: Aram /'bq/ *entangle, twist; cling (to)*; ?Amor /'bq/? *?* (vb.).

Unfortunately there is no clue as to the meaning of the Amor entry, and as even the identity of all the radicals is uncertain, the chances of the root being common North-West Sem are slim. The Arab /'bq/*tD* seems semantically remote.

'BQ II: Aram /'abq/ *dust*; Syr =; ?Arab /'bq/ *run away (slave); evaporate, vanish (substance).*

The semantic link with the Arab entry is rather tenuous, particularly as elsewhere, the noun is evidently the primary one.

'BR: Ug /'ibr/ *bull(ock), humped buffalo*; Aram /'äbr/, /'ebr/ *arm, wing, pinion*, (also /'e^{y}bår/) *limb; penis*; Syr /'ebr/ *limb, wing/pinion*; Akk /abr/ *wing, fin; strong, firm (?);* ?Arab /'ibrat/ *needle*, /hbr/ *be fat; A be strong;* Ch /abər/ *young (person, animal) in his prime.*

The root appears to be common Sem, although patchily attested; in Eth, Amh /abret/ *dominance, overbearingness* may also be connected with it, but hardly G&z /'ber/ Te /'br/ *D* with their reference to old age diametrically opposed to the central meaning. Arab /wbr/ refers primarily to softness. Ebl /a-bar-tum/ *eagle.*

'BRK: Phoen /hbrk/ *steward*; Akk /abarakk/ =, *butler, vizier.*

The Hbr and Phoen entries are loans from Akk (itself derived from Sumerian, cf. v. Soden, AHwb *sub voce).* Ebl /'abarakum/, var. /'ag-/ *superintendent.*

'GD: Phoen /'gd/ *gather (for o.s.)*; Aram /'gd/ *tie, bind.*

The Phoen and Aram entries represent different aspects of the more comprehensive Hbr meaning.

'GZ: ?Ug /&rgz/ *a (medicinal?) plant or fruit*; Aram /'(ä)goz/ *nut(-tree)*; Syr /gawz(t)/ =; Arab /ğawz/ =; G&z /gäwz/ =; Te /gäwz/ *nut(s)* (coll.).

A *Kulturwort*, of non-Semitic origin; if the Ug entry is relevant, perhaps from old substrate; but the connection is phonetically difficult and semantically uncertain.

'GM: Aram /'agm/ *reed, marsh, wasteland*; Syr /'egm/ *marsh, reedy water*; Akk /agamm/ *marsh, reedy pond*; Arab /'ağamat/ *brushwood, thicket*; /'ğm/, /'ğn/ *become tainted (water)*; ?Tu /ăğəlmam/ *natural water body (sea/lake, pond etc.).*

The Hbr (Pal) Na is denominative, based on Is 58:5 interpreted in the light of Ns */'ugmān/. As the root thus centres around reeds or environments characterized by reeds, the semantic link of the Tu entry is tenuous, even if not completely absent; Sus /agum/ *draw water* does not strengthen it either. NB. /n/ as a var. of /m/ in Arab.

'GN: ?Phoen /'gnn/ *(bird) prepared in a bowl?*; ?Ug /'agn/ *bowl (?)*; Aram /'aggån/, /'ugg-/ *bowl; pond*; Syr /'aggān/ *jar*; Akk /agann/, (late Bab) /agg-/ *bowl*; Arab /'iččānat/ *urn, washing-tub, amphora*; Berb: Sus /tikint/ *vase*; ?Hsa /kwānō/ *(metal) bowl, basin, pan*; Eg /ykn/ *bowl.*

The Ug entry occurs parallel to /'ift/ *fire* and Gordon assigns it the same meaning comparing Lat *ignis* and Sanscrit *agni*. However, parallelism need not imply synonymy, and in the relevant context, a (metallic) bowl on fire seems to me quite conceivable. The Hsa entry is somewhat difficult phonetically, but as a *Kulturwort* the word may be expected to show some irregularities; even some Eth terms (G&z /gän&/, /&äyġän/ etc.; Cush /gän/) may be ultimately of the same (Eg?) origin, but apparently transmitted through different channels and therefore not included in the list above.

'GS: ?Syr /'gys/ *kind of plant*; Arab /'iğğāc/, (syr.) /'inğ-/ *plum*, (syr.) *pear.*

Another *Kulturwort*, though not widespread; if the Syr entry is relevant, hardly of Sem origin.

'GP: Aram /'(a)gapp/ *wing, shoulder, side*; /gapp/ *wing(s); town gate*; Syr /gapp/ *wing, arm, branch(es)*; Akk /gapp/ *wing*, /agapp/ =, *(eye-) lash, one of double door(s)*; Arab /ğf/ *R gather (camels), tR (bird) bristle its feathers*; /ğaff(at)/, /ğuff(at)/ *numerous company.*

The root does not seem to have retained any central meaning, although connection with wing is prominent; the notions of gathering and enclosing are related to it (cf. Mt 23:37 etc.); and numerous company or horde results from gathering. The root may indeed be secondary, based on /gp(p)/; if so, the present Hbr entry cannot be borrowed from Akk, but rather from Arab, though hardly directly, if the relevant passages (in their present form) derive from Ezekiel himself.

'GR: Aram /'gr/ *gather; benefit; D heap up*; Arab /'ğl/ *collect* (Guillaume).

'GR II: Ug (nag.f.) /'agrt/ *employ*; Aram /'gr/ =, *rent, lease*; Syr =; /'agr/ *wages, price*; Akk /agār/ *hire, rent*; /igr/ *rent, reward*; Arab /'ğr/ *hire, reward*; /'uğrat/ *salary, hire*; ?ESA /'gr/ (coll.) *mercenaries (?)*; Mhr /'əgār/ *rent*, /lagərē/ *for (the sake of)*; Soq /'egareh/ *salary, wages.*

As the meaning of the Hbr word is not entirely clear, the relevance of the above list is not certain; but the context makes the connection with this root certainly more plausible than with any other possible homonymous Sem root (cf. D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* (1970) s.v.). I also find it difficult to accept that the Hbr entry, let alone the entire root, is loan from Akk, as verbs are normally not borrowed except at the latest stages of the borrowing language becoming extinct, and the Hbr noun is phonetically irreconcilable with the Akk one of (roughly) similar meaning; also Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter* p.5 discusses the word for *baked brick* only, not the present root (agst. K-B^3 sub /'gr/).

'D: ?

Cf. K-B^3 sub /'ed/, although it does not fully satisfy me. The Judeo-Aram entry is read /'adwåtå/ by Dalman, p.9, cf. also Jastrow, p. 15.

’D(D): Aram /’udd/ *tow-cotton, wool*, /&uʷdåd/ *a flock of wool*; Syr /&uʷdd/ *a flock of wool*, /&uʷdād/ =, *especially as used by a woman to check on menstruation.*

Etymology obscure; the second Syr entry suggests derivation from /&d(d)/, but as this meaning does not occur in Hbr Aram, /r/ also occurs as 3rd rad., and the 1st rad. is mostly spelt /’/, it may be a popular etymology in Syr.

’DM: Phoen /’dm/ *man*; Ug /’adm/ =, /’dm/ *N rouge o.s.*; Aram /’adm/ *blood; soul, live human being*, /’(a)damt/ *earth*; Syr /’adamt/ *earth, soil, dust*; Amor /’dm/ *be red*, /’adam/ *red*; Akk /adam(m)/ *red*, /adamat/ *red blood*; Arab /’dm/ *be brown*, /’adīm/ *skin*, /’adam(at)/ *human skin*; /’iʸdāmat/ *hard, stoneless ground*; ESA /’dm/ (pl. =, /’dymt/) *slave, servant, vassal*; G&z /’ädim/ *tanned skin, leather*; /’ädamawi/ *ruddy*, /’dm/ *D be pleasant*; Te /’ädim/ *skin, leather*; ?Som /idin/ (/idm-/) *leather strap*; ?Berb: Sus /iləm/ *skin*; Tu /elăm/ *skin, leather, body (of living beings); (natural) colour*; ?Eg /ynm/ *skin, surface, (skin) colour*; ?/(y)dmy/ *red(?) linen*; ?Cpt /anom/ *skin.*

The non-Sem entries are phonetically difficult (except Som which could be Arab loan); and as they all mean or refer to skin or leather, they could have spread as cultural loans (in Eth also); in the second Eg entry, the initial /y/ (sometimes not present) may not be radical, the root accordingly different (/dm/ *be sharp*? Baer); the G&z verb is well connectable with the Sem meanings, red being popularly regarded as a pleasant colour all over the world, and other terms connected with human beings having similar connotations (cf., e.g., Arab root /’ns/). Ultimately, the root may be denominative from /dam/ *blood*, albeit a very early one. The Berb entries may rather belong to /grm/ below (q.v.). Ebl /a-dam/ *man.*

’DN: ?Aram /’uddån/ *(foot-)stool*; ?Akk /adatt/ *nest; encampment.*

It is hard to see how the Hbr word could be a loan from the Akk entry; both sg. and pl. types differ and semantically, not much is in common. As all the attestations are post-exilic, connection with Aram is plausible, particularly as on the rules of incompatibility, /d/ contiguous to /n/ could hardly have been preserved in an early root. The Aram meaning makes it possible to connect the entry with */hadum/ (see below, sub /hdm/); in Hbr, the final /n/ could also have originated as a partial assimilation to the preceding /d/. The entry is thus probably another *Kulturwort* of non-Semitic origin.

’DR: Phoen /’dr/ *empower; annoy (?)*; (Na) *mighty, noble, glorious*; Ug /’adr/ *mighty, glorious.*

Akk /adār/ *D* hardly belongs here, cf. v. Soden, AHwb s.v.; should Phoen /’dr/ *annoy* be connected with it, this does not affect the present root otherwise. The Aram /’dr/ *D help* is probably spelling var. of /&dr/. Ebl (af) /a-dar/ *be mighty.*

’DR II: Aram /’(a)dår/ *the month(s) Adar*; Syr /’ådår/ =; Akk /ad(d)ar/ =.

Loan from Akk in Hbr Aram Syr.

’DʃK: ?

Not attested elsewhere.

’HB: Ug /’hb/ *love*; /’ahbt/ = (Ns); Aram /’(a)habt/ = (Ns).

The Aram entry is loan from Hbr.

’HL: Ug /’ahl/ *tent/dwelling*; Aram /’åh(å)l/ *tent; uncleanness caused by a corpse in closed space*; Syr /yahl/ *tribe, clan, crowd*; Amor /’ahl/ *tent, house*; Akk /āl/ *township, city*; Arab /’ahl/ *house(hold), family, (local) community; wife*; /’āl/ *family; dynasty*; ESA /’hl/ *community, tribe, people*; Tu /ehăn/ *tent (of skins); family, household.*

The Tu entry appears too deeply rooted in the language to be a loan and semantically too well in agreement with Sem meanings not to belong to this root; on the other hand, according to Baer, Eg /yhr/ is but a bad spelling for /yhw/ = Cpt /o(o)he/ and therefore hardly connected with this root at all. Arab /’āl/ may be of dialectal origin, cf. Saf Tham /’l/ (besides Lih Tham /’hl/). Ebl /al/ *city*.

’HL II: ?Aram /’ah(a)l/ *an alkaline plant; aloe(?)*; Syr /’lw’/ *aloe*; Arab /’aluww/ =.

The Aram entry could be related to the Hbr one (with a shift in meaning), even if it never referred to aloe; the Syr entry is a transliteration of, the Arab one direct borrowing from the Greek form.

’WB: Aram /’oʷb/ *revenant*; Arab /’wb/ *return; (star) set.*

As the etymology of the Hbr entry is uncertain, the relevance of those above is uncertain too; however, the Aram entry as well as Talmudic Hbr usage support the present interpretation. Hitt /a-a-pi/ *sacrificial pit* (Rabin) is semantically feasible, although geographically remote.

’WG: Syr /’awg/ *rhus cotinus.*

The meaning of the Hbr entry is on Dalman’s authority, that of the Syr one on Brockelmann’s; evidently, they are related, if not identical.

’WD: Aram /’uʷd/ *(wooden) poker; fire-brand*; Syr /’ūd/ *firewood, -brand*; Arab /&ūd/ *wood, rod* (Barth).

’WV: Phoen /’w/ *or*; Ug /’u/ =; Aram /’oʷ/ =; Syr /’aw/ =; /’wV/ *agree*; Akk /ū/ *or*; Arab /’aw/ *whether, or, unless*; /’wy/ *take shelter; receive s.o.; have pity*; /hwy/ *love, desire*; ESA /’w/, (Sab) /’hw/ *or*; Mhr /’aw/ =, *unless*; /twV/ *eat, (witch etc.) kill*; /taywi/ *meat*; /mətwē/ *green fodder, pasturage*; Soq /te/ *eat*; G&z /’äw/ *or*; Te /’äw ... ’äw/ *either ... or*; Har /aw/ *or*; Ch /wem/ =; Sdd /wäyyəm/, /-əʃ/ =; Wol /we/ =.

As generally recognized; the conjunction /’oʷ/ < /’aw/ was originally an imperative, “choose!”, cf. Hbr /pän/, Lat *uel* etc. Apparently due to weak consonantism, the verb has been largely disused except where reinforced by a firmer cons., such as the reflexive /t/ in Mhr Soq (besides Hbr) where the generally underlying meaning of desire or appetite is concretized to mean actual eating (NB. in Hbr too, the object of desire is mostly food, particularly meat). In Arab, the root appears split in two, and the innovating var. with glottal fricative is semantically closer to Hbr. Cf. /hwV/ below.

'WZ: Ug /'uz/ *goose*; Aram /'(a)wåz/, /-azz/, /w-/ = ; Syr /wazz/ = ; Akk /ūs/, (OAss) /(χ)us'/ *duck*; Arab /wazz/, /'iwazz(at)/ =, *goose*; Bed /wūʃ/ *goose*; ?Eg /z't/ *kind of duck*.

An ancient *Kulturwort*, found in Sumerian too, but hardly of Sumerian origin, cf. the OAss forms; NB. the shift in meaning in West Sem.

'WL: Mhr /xwl/ *be mad*, /xaywəl/ *mad;* ?Soq /halhal/ *beast; idiot*.

The Mhr /x-/ may be the petrified PTdt, as usual; the verb is accordingly denominative. The Arab /'wl/ does not seem relevant.

'WLM(?): Aram /'u^{w}lamm/ *entrance hall*; /'awl/ *beginning, olden times; spring*; Arab /'awwal/ *first, old, preceding, anterior*; Mhr /xāwīl/ *first; long ago*.

The first Aram entry is loan from Hbr; the rest are relevant, if the term is of Sem origin and /-m/ an afformative; the Ug /'awl/ is semantically obscure and hardly relevant; Te /'äwäl/ is a loan from Arab. Amm /'lm/.

'WN: ?Ug /'un/ *mourning (?)*; ?pl. /'anm/ *energy?*; Aram (Bab) /'wn/ *a disease*.

As the meaning of the Ug entries (particularly of pl.) is not clear, their relevance is uncertain, and as the Aram one may be loan from Hbr, the root could still be an inner Hbr creation.

'WR: Ug /'r/ *be bright, give light*; /'ar/ *light(?)*; Aram /'wr/ *grow light /clear*; Amor /'wr/ *shine*, /'ūr/ *light*; Akk /urr/ *morning, day, daylight*; Arab /'uwār/ (pl. /'ūr/) *ardour of fire; thirst*; Soq /'erir/ *give light*; G&z /'er/ *sun*; Har /īr/ = ; Wol /ayr/ = ; Caf /arrā/ *light*.

The root appears to be common to Sem Cush (cf. Leslau, Gur III sub /ayr/) Om; and as vocalization varies considerably even in Asiatic Sem, it seems to me simpler to derive the Eth Sem entries too from this root rather than either of the two alternatives mentioned by Leslau (ib.); terms for most basic everyday phenomena are normally not borrowed from other languages, and as the Akk Soq Caf (Zway Muher Masqan Gogot Qabenna Tembaro) forms presuppose a short stem vowel, the other ones long, and the distribution of short vs. long (or repeated) final radical is exactly the opposite, the plausible solution is that the prototype had short sounds throughout: *'ur/ (cf. Akk Amor, although Ug suggests that there may have been vocalic variation since very early times; but frontation of an originally short /u/ is not uncommon in Sem anyway, in SamH and G&z rather the rule), either the vowel or the 2nd rad. being lengthened as occasion arose. Semantically, light is present everywhere, fire being an important source of light just like the sun with which day is intimately connected.

'WR II: Aram /'(a)wer/, /'aww-/ *air; empty space*; G&z /'äyär/ *air, aura, ether*; Te /'äyär/ *air*.

A LW from Gr everywhere.

’WT: Aram /’åt/ *sign; letter (of the alphabet)*; Akk /itt/ *sign*; Arab /’āyat/ *sign, wonder, miracle; example; verse (of Qur’ān).*

The Hbr verb is plausibly derived from the noun, an agreement often involving a sign (cf. Akk; in Hbr, Ex 3:12 etc.). Entries are semantically too close to be divided between different roots, although there are phonetic difficulties; the easiest solution may be to assume that the root vowel varied originally, Akk Arab presupposing /ī/; in Akk, this was shortened when the fem. /-t/ was attached, while in Arab, the radical /t/ itself has been interpreted as the fem. afformative and the vocalism remodelled accordingly.

’ZB: Aram /’ezo^{w}b/, Syr /zōp/, Akk /zūp/, Arab /zūfā’/, G&z /’äzäb/, /-ab/, /-ob/, Te /’isop/ *hyssop.*

An ancient *Kulturwort* of non-Semitic origin; cf. also Gr υσσωπος; the Akk entry is a loan from Aram (cf. vS), not a source of borrowings; the G&z forms could derive from Hbr, the Te one from Gr.

’ZL: Aram /’zl/ *go on, depart, pass on, die*; Syr =; Arab /’azal(iyyat)/ *eternity*; /zwl/ *retire (from), pass away, cease, perish.*

The first Arab entry might be a loan, although source cannot be identified.

’ZN: Ug /’udn/ *ear*; Aram /’udn/ =, *handle*; Syr /’edn/ =; *bay, inlet*; Amor /’uδδunān/ *big-eared man*; Akk /uzn/ *ear; wisdom, understanding, intelligence*; Arab /’δn/ *listen*; /’uδ(u)n/ *ear, handle*; (mor.) /uden/ *ear*; ESA /’δn/ *understanding, obedience*; (vb.) *permit; St ask for (permission); receive (oracle)*; Mhr /’δn/ *call to prayer*; /xəyδēn/ *ear*; Soq /’idihen/ =; G&z /’zn/ =; Te =, *tribe, herd*; /’äzzan/ *big-eared*; Har /uzun/ *ear, handle*; Ch /ənzən/, Wol /əzən/ *ear, leaf*; Eg /ydn/ *ear (as a writing sign only).*

Also in Chadic: Birgit /’uduŋgi/, Jegu /-ge/ *ear*. As the Eg entry is attested as a writing sign only, and the hieroglyphic system is now known to be of foreign origin, it could be assumed that the sign was taken over as a part of the writing system and that the word never existed in the spoken language. However, the Chadic attestations show that the word has existed outside Sem; also the Eg verb /ydn/ *represent* is semantically conceivably related to "ear" (through "listening" and delivering the message). The root is, accordingly, probably common to Sem Eg Chad. The meaning of the last Hbr entry is not clear; but the Sam pronunciation suggests connection — or formal identity — with the preceding entry rather than with a root /zyn/; however, cf. SamT /zywnk/ Dt 23:3. SamM (pl.sf.) /’ēzḗ^{y}ne^{y}k/ *your ears* may be influenced by SamH.

’ZR: ?Phoen /’zrt/ *clan(?)*; Ug /m’izrt/ *a (folded) garment*; Syr /’īzår/, /mīzrån/ *girdle*; ?Akk /iʃr/ *a (woollen) bandage, garment(?)*; Arab /’zr/ *surround, (+D) wrap (in a veil, loin-cloth), strengthen.*

Originally probably a root var. of /’sr/; even therefore, the relevance of the Akk entry is doubtful, apart from the uncertainty in meaning. If the Phoen entry is correctly interpreted, the root is used in a figurative meaning.

’X: Phoen /’x/, (sf.) *ui; ?aun: brother*, /’xt/ *sister*; Ug /’aχ/, /a-χu/ *brother*, /’aχt/ *sister*; Aram /’(a)x/ *brother, mate*, /’(a)xåt/ *sister*; Syr

/’ax/ *brother (also fig.)*; /xåt/ *sister; cognate (thing)*; Amor /’aχ/ *brother*, /’aχat/ *sister*; Akk /aχ/ *brother; colleague etc.; one (...another)*; /’aχāt/, (late Bab) /-att/ *sister (also fig.), one(...another)*; Arab /’aχ/ *brother, friend, mate*; /’uχt/ *sister, (female) friend/ companion*; ESA /’χ/ *brother, cousin, ally*; /’χt/ *sister*; Mhr /γā(h)/ *brother*, /γayt/ *sister*; Soq /qaqa/, /γaγa/ *brother/sister*; /’a&xa/ *brother*, /’e&xet/ *sister*; G&z /’χw/ *brother, relative, friend, mate*; /’χt/ *sister, (female) relative, friend (etc.)*; Te /xu/ *brother, friend*; /xt/ *sister, wife*; Har /əx/ *younger brother, junior*; /əxit/ *younger sister*; Ch /ätämʷ/, Sdd /ätit/ *sister*; /ətiyye/ (voc.) *sister-in-law*.

The root is common Sem, but does not seem to occur outside, unless Iraqw /χiiya/, f. /χô’o/ *(my) brother/sister* be a cognate; but as it seems to be used as a vocative only, it could conceivably be borrowed from Sem, and/or undergone exceptional phonetic developments, like Soq /qaqa/, /γaγa/ which also may have originated as an intimate (diminutive) address form, perhaps also the Mhr entry which has then occupied the whole field; but with the voicing of the firm radical the main modification, the development could well have taken place without such semantic influence. On *aun* cf. Ch. Krahmalkov in JAOS 93 p.64. Ebl /a-χu-um/, f. /a-χa-tum/, /a-χu-tum/.

’X II: Eg /&χ/ *(ritual) fireplace*, (Dem.) *oven*; Cpt /aʃ/ *oven*.

The Hbr entry is a loan from Eg, with /&/ > /’/ because of incompatibility of /&/ with /x/. Arab /’x/ is semantically remote.

’X III: ?

An onomatopoeic word; does not seem to have cognates elsewhere.

’XD: Ug /’axd/ *unique, only one, alone*; ?/’xd/ *D unite(?)*; Arab /wxd/ *be unique, alone, apart, identical; D unify, identify*.

Based on the Nn for *one* (see Section C); cf. also root /yxd/ below.

’XV: Aram /’xV/ *sew together, patch up*; Syr /’x(w)/ *tA(?tQ?) become a brother*; /xyn/ *D declare relative*; Akk /axû/ *Qt/N fraternize, join as brothers; ʃt join, conspire*; Arab /’χV/ + *L fraternize, become intimately associated*; ESA /’χw/ *enter (tD: form, create) a fraternity*; G&z /’χw/ *tD/L unite in fraternity; practise brotherly love*; Te /xwV/ *tL fraternize*.

Based on the root /’x/ above.

’XV II: Ug /’aχ/ *meadow (swamp?)*; Aram /’axw/ *growth of reeds*; ?Akk /aχ/ *side; (river/sea) shore*; Eg /’χy/ (Dem.) *thicket of reeds*; Cpt /aχi/ *marshy/reedy plain*.

The Hbr entry is plausibly assumed to be loan from Eg; but for Ug this is anything but obvious, and so the Akk entry may be relevant, and the root Semito-Egyptian, although somewhat dissociated semantically. The Aram entry is loan from Hbr; the Eg one quoted from Vycichl, Cpt.

’XZ: Ug /’aχd/, var. /aχð/ *take hold (of), seize, obtain, occupy*; Aram /’xd/ *seize, take hold/possession*; Syr /’xd/ =, *obtain, hold, close*; Akk

/aχāz/ *take (hold of, possession, wife), obtain (information, refuge)*; Arab /'χð/ *take, seize; begin*; ESA /'χð/ *take captive, enslave, H try (to)*, /m'χð/ *dam*; G&z /'χz/ *take (hold, possession); begin*; Sdd /(y)izzä/, Wol /enzä/ *grasp, take (hold, possession)*.

The assumed Punic attestation appears quite uncertain; anyway, the root is common Sem. Ebl (nact) /χa-zu-um/.

'XR: Phoen /'xry/ *remainder*; Ug /'uχry(t)/ *last; later time*; Aram /'xr/ *be behind; D/A delay, retard*; Syr /('a)xråy/ *last, later, future*; Akk /aχār/ *stay behind; D* =, (rarely) *keep back, retard*; Arab /'χr/ *D delay, put/leave behind; tD be late/behind*; ESA /'χr/ *go on; D put aside*; (Na) *other, further, second*; Mhr /'χr/ *L postpone; Qt delay, come behind/late/last; ʃ come last*; Soq /txar/ *(Qt) remain, be left*; /xerhen/ *behind*; G&z /'χr/ *D/A delay, retard*; /'äχari/ *later, posterior*; Te /täxärä/ *delay, retard; Qt hesitate, stay behind*; /xar(it)/ *the other, rest, end*; /xaray/ *latter, last*; Har /äxär/ *next*; /äxär-be/, /-le/ *behind*; /tēxara/ *be/come later*; Ch /terä/, Sdd /tirä/ *be late in the afternoon*; Bed /ahar/, /(h)ar'/, /(h)ar'i/ *behind*; Iraqw /eehar/ *follow*; Tu /hurət/ *follow a track/footprints; imitate*; Eg /x'/ *behind*, (+ /x'w/) *back (of the head), backside*.

The root appears to be common to the whole phylum, although Om Chad are not attested (on central Cushitic, cf. Leslau, Gur III p.601 sub /terä/) and also other non-Semitic branches rather weakly represented; Eg /x/ for Sem /χ/ is also irregular. Nevertheless, as the semantic agreement is good and there is irregularity in etymological correspondence between /x/ and /χ/ even inside Sem, I think that the irregularity and weakness of non-Semitic representation is best accounted for by the fact that both glottals and pharyngals show tendency to phonetic weakening, amalgamation and total disappearance particularly among the non-Semitic members of the phylum, and /r/ too interchanges with other approximants, a root consisting entirely of these consonants tends to become homonymous with others or even totally unrecognizable and is therefore easily dropped out of use in favour of a synonym consisting of firmer radicals. Cohen's (no. 27) Cush entries could also have been secondarily reinforced.

'7: ?Arab /'7/ *(saddle) crack, (camel) groan*.

As the meaning of the Hbr entry is known but vaguely, I prefer a correspondence which does not involve metathesis and also better agrees with the background of slow travelling with animals.

'7D: Aram /'å7d/, /'å77/ *boxthorn*, (Bab) /'td/ *brier*; Syr /ha77/ = ; Akk /e77ett/ *a thorny bush*; Arab /'a7ad/ = (Guillaume).

Probably of non-Semitic origin, adopted and preserved in localities where the plant grows. Ebl /a-7a-dum/ *a plant*.

'7M: Aram /7mm/ *fill, stuff, stop up*; /'å7m/ *mass*; Syr /7m/ *close, shut up*; /'7m/ *become deaf*; Akk /7ummum/ *deaf*; Arab /7m/ *fill up*; ?Eg /tmm/ *shut up (wound, mouth)*.

The Eg entry is on Calice's authority (no.99). The Arab /'7m/ seems too remote semantically; the basic root appears to have been biradical: cf. /7m(m)/, /ʃ7m/ below.

'Y: Arab /('ibn) 'āwa^{y}/ *jackal*, /yu'yu'/ *kind of hawk*; Te /&aya/ *falcon*; Bil /&āyā/ *vulture*; Som /ey-/ *dog*; Eg /'w/, /'w'w/ =; ?/'/ (writing sign only) *Neophron percnopterus*.

The root is heterogeneous, of onomatopoeic origin; Te Bil entries may belong together, but whether borrowed one way or the other is unclear; the latter Eg entry is suggested by Vycichl with ref. to A. Ember. ?Ebl /a-a-tum/ *raven*.

'Y II: Phoen /'y-/, /y-/ *island*; Eg /yw/ = ; *gezira*.

Despite limited occurrence, hardly borrowed one way or other. The relevance of ESA /'wy/ is not clear to me. (For Hbr cf. Addenda p. 508 below.)

'YB: Ug /'ib/ *enemy*; Akk /ayyāb/ =; ?Arab /w'b/ *be ashamed, shrink (from); grow angry* (Guillaume).

If the Arab entry is relevant, the biradical root was originally probably short-vocalic; perhaps still so in Ug? Why the much used Akk entry should be West Semitic loan word is not clear, as it is not preserved in Amor either.

'YD: Arab /'idd(at)/ *misfortune*.

Appears semantically closer than /'wd/, although both may derive from a purely biradical */'d/.

'YL: Phoen /'yl/ *stag*; ?pl. /'lm/ *chiefs(?)*; Ug /'il/ *ram*, /'ayl/ *stag*, /-lt/ *doe*; Aram /'e^{y}l/, /'ayyål/ *stag*, /'(a)yalt/, /'ayyålt/ *doe*; Syr /'ayl/ *stag*, /-lt/ *doe*; Amor /'ayyal/, f. /-la(t)/ *deer*; Akk /ayyal/, (Ass) /ya('a)l/ *stag*; ?/nāl/, /nayyal/ = (Landsberger); ?/awīl/ *free man* (Tournay); Arab /'ayyil/, /'$\overset{i}{u}$yyal/ *deer, stag, mountain-goat*; G&z /häyäl/, /χ-/ *stag*; ?Chad: Kabalai /yilə/ *antelope*; Eg /yyr/, (Dem.) /'ywr/ *stag*; Cpt /eyūl/ (etc.) =, *doe*; /oyle/ *ram*.

Apparently largely wandering words, hence some irregularities in phonetic correspondence; G&z /χ-/ may be motivated by popular etymology. Ebl /á-al/ *stag*.

'YM: Aram /'e^{y}mt/ *fright, terror*; Arab /'aym/ *snake, (male) viper*; (yemen.) *devil*.

The Aram entry appears to be loan from Hbr; Akk /ūm/ *a mythical lion* is phonetically irregular and derivable from another source.

'YP: Eg /ypt/ (Dem. /ypyt/, /yypt/) *a measure of volume (for fruit)*; Cpt /oype/ (Boh. /oypi/) =.

A loan from Eg in Hbr. NB. the LXX spelling with φ.

'YR: Phoen /'yr/, var. /xyr/ *name of a month*; Ug /χyr/ =; Aram = Hbr; Syr /'iyår/ *the month of May*; Akk /ayyar/ (,?var. /χiar/ in Nuzu, Alalakh) *the 2nd Babylonian month*; Arab /'ayyār/ *the month of May*; G&z /'äyär/ *the second month of the Hebrews*.

A loan from Akk in Hbr. The Phoen var. is uncertain, the characters in the Cyprian inscription (KAI no. 40) not being intact and the other attestation being in a neo-Punic inscription (hence, /x/ possibly just a spelling var. for /'/).

'KL: Phoen /'kl/ *(fire) consume*; Ug /'kl/ *eat, consume*; /'ikl/ *eating*; /'akl/ *food*; Aram /'kl/ *eat, consume*; Syr = ; Akk /akāl/ = ; /ak(a)l/ *bread*; Arab /'kl/ *eat, gnaw, corrode (etc.)*; /'ukl/ *food*; ESA /'kl/ *food, nourishment*; G&z /'kl/ *food, corn*; Te = *corn*; Har /əχi/ *cereal, sorghum*; Ch /äχər/, Sdd /äkəl/, /ähəl/, Wol /əhəl/ *cereal, barley*.

The root is common Sem, but does not seem to occur elsewhere. Ebl /a-kà-lum/ *eat; food*.

'KP: Aram /'kp/ *concern; D saddle*; /'ukkåp/ *pack-saddle*; Syr /'kp/ *be concerned, urge, coerce*; /'ukkåp/ *pack-saddle*; Akk /ekēp/ *approach, come close, reach*; Arab /'kf/ *D/A saddle (a beast of burden)*; /'u̇kāf/ *pack-saddle*; Eg /'čp/ *loaded, burdened*; /-pw(t)/, (late) /'tpyt/ *burden*; Cpt /åtp/ *load, carry (a burden)*; /etpå/ *burden*.

The word for *pack-saddle* is another *Kulturwort*, spread along with the object; and the verb, to *saddle* evidently derived from it. The more original verb has preserved its concrete meaning in Eg-Cpt.

'L: Phoen /'l/, /'lm/ *god*; Ug /'il/ = ; /-lt/ *goddess*; Amor /'il(l)-/, /'el/ *god*; /'il(la)t/ *goddess*; Akk /il/, /el/ *god, deity*; ESA /'l/ = ; ?Chad: Kilba, Higi /hyɛl/, /-lɛ/, /-la/ = .

Combined with the expanded root /'lh/ (see below), the root is common Sem (minus Eth), but does not seem to occur elsewhere apart from the possible Chadic entries which must be considered to weaken the case for their relevance. Connection with Eg /r&/ (= Cpt /rē/), suggested privately by the late Harri Holma, does not seem possible. Ebl /i-lum/, /i-li/ *god*; /al-la-nu/ *oak (?)*.

'L(L): Aram /'(ä)li^{y}l/ *idol*; Syr /'allīl/ *weakly, good for nothing*; Akk /ulāl/ *mentally weak*; Arab /'l(l)/ *be decayed (tooth)*, /'alāl/ *useless*.

The Aram entry is borrowed from Hbr.

'L(L) II: Aram = Hbr; Syr /'ilūl/ *sixth month (August-September)*; Akk /elūn/, /-l/, /ulūl/ *a festival; the sixth Babylonian month*; Arab /'aylūl/ *September*.

The Hbr entry is a loan from Akk.

'LGBʃ: Ug /'algbθ/ *a certain stone*; Akk /algamiʃ/ *a rock crystal (corundum?)*; Eg /'a-ar-qa-bi-sa/ = (?).

Apparently from a substrate language; the Eg entry is rough transcription of the West Semitic term; the poet of Iob may have obtained the word from a source where the initial syllable had been mistaken for the Arab PTdt, as the story is localized in NW Arabia.

’LH: Ug (pl.) /’lhm/ *gods*, /’lht/ *goddesses*; Aram /’(ä)låh/ *god*; Syr /’al(l)åh/ =; ?Amor /’il(l)a/ =; Arab /’ilāh/ =; /’lh/ *tD adulate*; G&z /’elohe/ *God.*

The Amor entry may be Ndiv, the G&z one a petrified pl.cs. (interpreted as coll.?) borrowed from Hbr. The verbs appear to be denominative. Cf. the root /’l/ above; also Ug /’ilnym/ *gods (of the nether world)*; Phoen *alonim ualonuth: gods and goddesses.*

’LV: Phoen /’lt/ *oath; treaty*; Arab /’ly/ *A/tD/Qt swear, take an oath.*

’LV II: Aram /’alyt/ *fat tail (of sheep)*; Syr /’ē̊llīt/ =; Arab /’alyat/ *fat tail/buttocks*; /’ly/ *have big buttocks.*

The Arab verb may be denominative.

’LV III: Aram /’(a)li^{y}/ *kindling wood.*

The Hbr entry is a loan from Aram.

’LX: Arab /’lχ/ *Qt grow sour (milk)*; /lχ/ *Qt be mentally disordered (drunkard).*

Akk /elēχ/ appears semantically remote.

’LM: ?Akk /ullup/ *a plant*; /ellip/ *a poisonous plant (butter-cup?).*

As the meanings are not accurately known, the relevance of the entries remains uncertain.

’LM II: Phoen /’lmt/ *widow*; Ug /’almnt/ =; Aram /’lm/ *(+tQ) be(come) mute, silent*; /’(a)lummt/ (, /’ulm-/) *sheaf*; /’armalt/ *widow*; Syr /’armalt/ =; ?/’lm/ *grow angry*; Akk /almatt/ *widow*; Arab /’armal(at)/ *destitute*; /rml/ *(+A, tD) be widowed*; ?/’lm/ *suffer, be in pain.*

The etymology and indeed unity of the root is uncertain; as the Eg /ymr/ *tie, fetter* derives from a root /mr/ (Baer), the meaning, to *bind* could be secondarily derived from “sheaf”; moreover, Aram /’(a)lummt/ seems to be borrowed from Hbr. Otherwise, muteness is not incompatible with destitution and grief which may also be considered characteristic of widowhood; and if we are to assume identity of the first syllable with a negation, phonetically easiest is to posit a prototype */’al-mal/ *non-speaking*, cf. the root /ml(l)/ *speak*. The sequence of two /l/’s would then have been dissimilated differently in different languages and words, /’lm/ being created through dissimilatory elision of the final /l/.

’LP: Phoen /’lp/, -αλφ *ox, bull; chief(?); 1000*; Ug /’alp/ *ox/bull, cattle; prince; chief; 1000*; Aram /’alp/ *1000; first letter of the alphabet*; /’lp/ *learn, study, familiarize o.s. with*; Syr /’alp/ *1000*; (+/’ålap/) *1st letter of the alphabet (Gr, Syr)*; /’lp/ *D teach, train, tame*; Amor /’alp/ *bull*; Akk /alp/ *bull/ox, buffalo*; Arab /’alf/ *1000*; /’ilf/ *friend*; /’lf/ *be(come) tame, accustomed (to)*; ESA /’lf/ *1000*; Mhr /’ɛf/, /yəlēf/ *1000*; Soq /’alf/ =, *heifer*; (pl.) /’ahlāf/ *tribes*; G&z /’lf/ *large number, thousand(s)*; (accurately) *10,000*; Te /’lf/ *10,000*; (poet.)

1000, a large number; /mä’älläf/ *big animal (lion, elephant); great hero*; Har /alfi/ *1000*; Wol /əlf/ = ; Bed /(a)lif/ = .

Also in Afar: /alfi/ *1000*, Saho /alfe/ *10000*. It is not clear where the shift in meaning of the numeral has taken place, but the higher value appears confined to the area west of the southern end of the Red Sea. In any case, as the numeral may be regarded as a wandering word, the root is essentially confined to Sem. The verb may be denominative everywhere, the ideas of taming and familiarity being based on the tame herd of cattle headed by the bull and the community headed by the chieftain.

’LC: Aram /’ulcån/ *distress, famine*; Syr /’lc/ *press (hard), oppress, coerce, besiege, exact (tribute); be necessary*.

The meaning has somewhat specialized in Aram. Arab /lz/ seems too remote.

’M: Phoen /’m/ *mother; metropolis*; /’mt/ *maidservant*; Ug /’um/ (pl. /’umht/) *mother*; /’umt/ *family/clan*; /’amt/ (pl. /’amht/) *maidservant*; Aram /’imm/ *mother, bosom, principle, crossroads*; /’amt/, /’amh/ *maidservant*; Syr /’emm/ *mother, vine stem, origin, metropolis*; /’amt/ *maidservant*; Amor /’umm/, (very rare) /’imm/ *mother*; Akk /umm/ *mother (of goddesses and animals also), origin, tree/vine stem*; /amt/ *maidservant*; Arab /’umm/ *mother, source, prototype*; /’ummat/ *nation*; /’amat/ *maid, female slave*; ESA /’m/ *mother*; /’mt/ *handmaid*; Mhr /xām/, (rarely) /’ɛ̄m/, cs. (+PTgn or sf.) /xāmē(t)/ *mother*; Soq /’em/ (+sf.) = ; G&z /’m/ = *(also of animals), origin, cause, metropolis*; Te /’m/ *mother* (pl. /’mmat/ also: *cows)*; /’ämät/ (pl. /’amăt/) *handmaid*; Har /umma/ *grandmother*; Ch /(yäbet) əm/ *mistress (of the house), wife*; Sdd /əmmit/ *mother*; Wol /umi/ *mother’s brother*, /yumi ge/ *relatives on the mother’s side*; Bed /umma/ *people, nation*; Tu /ma/ *(my) mother*; pl. /mătt/, /-maw/ *mothers*; Fass /ammī/ *mother*; Hsa /māmā/, /umma/, /uwā/ = ; Gis /ma(ha)/ *mother (of)*; Eg /mwt/ *mother*; Cpt /maaw/ = .

Also in East and South Cushitic: Saho /imā/ (besides /inā/), Sid /ama/ *mother*; Iraqw /aama/ *grandmother*, /maamay/ *mother’s brother*; Warazi /mamu/ *father’s sister*; and for Berb and Chad, there are several more attestations. Accordingly, the root may be common to the whole phylum, although for Omotic, I do not have an example. As to the colour of the original vowel, seeing that the word is generally recognized as originating in infants’ babble *(Lallwort)*, it would seem more natural to assume that the vowel was homorganic with the firm consonant, i.e., /u/ with labial rounding, as it is also most commonly attested; /i/ is indeed better conceivable as a result of dissimilation at a later stage. At an early period, /i/ could be expected to have turned the labial nasal into an alveolar one, and perhaps the /n/-containing forms, frequent in Eth-Sem Cush Chad, have actually thus originated (cf. the Saho alternative). However, as this is hardly demonstrable, such forms are not included in the list above. The Mhr /x-/ is again the petrified PTdt (Johnstone). The word for *maidservant* lacking other plausible etymology and due to her frequent position as a concubine is also plausibly connected with this root; the lack of gemination of /m/ can hardly be considered a definite obstacle, as most non-Sem forms for *mother* also lack it and the word for *maidservant* may not be much later in origin (common Sem). Eg /xmt/ is phonologically remote. Ebl /ù-mu-mu/ *mother*; /i-ma-tum/ *female*.

’M II: Ug /’amt/ *cubit*; Aram /’ammt/ =, *arm; penis*; Syr /’ammt/ *cubit, (fore)arm*; Akk /ammat/ =; ESA /’mt/ *cubit*; G&z /’mmät/ =; *forearm*; Te /’ämmät/ =; *tribe, people; nature, intention*; /’mt/ *D point out; measure (with forearm)*; ?Som /’amā’amad/(!) *forearm, cubit*.

The root may be genuine in Sem only; the strange Som entry (quoted by Reinisch, not known elsewhere), if not printer’s error, is a phonetically distorted loan from an occasional source. Eg /’mm/ seems to be of different origin (Baer), hence its cognates in Cush Berb Chad too. ?Ebl /a-ma-tum/ (=ad-uʃ).

’MB7: Aram = Hbr; also /’ämbå7i^{y}t/ *bath-tub*.

A loan from Gr.

’ML: Phoen /’ml/ *enfeeble*; ?Akk /(w)amāl/ +*D veil (o.s., in mourning); grow/make dim, dark*; Arab /ml/ (+*tD/St) be restless, weary (of), disgusted (with)*.

It does not seem necessary to divide the root in two; common to all meanings is a state of emotional instability, with more concrete connotation in Akk.

’MN: Phoen (sf.) *emanethi: credentials*; (NPu) *ymmannai: craftsman*; Aram /’mn/ *H! believe, trust*; Syr /’mn/ *tQ remain (faithful), persevere*; Amor /’mn/ *be true*; Arab /’mn/ =; *be secure; A believe*; ESA /’mn/ *give in trust; H shelter, protect*; (+/’mnt/) *deposit, trust, security*; Mhr /’mn/ *H tell the truth; ʃ believe, give in, agree*; Soq /emon/ *tell the truth*; G&z /’mn/ *be true; have faith, believe, confide (in), tell the truth*; Te /’mn/ *believe, trust; tD pass.; trust, confess*; /’äman(ät)/ *truth;* /’eman/ *confidence, firmness*; Har /amäna/ *believe*, /imān/ *faith*; Ch /amärä/, Sdd /ammänä/, Wol /am-/ *believe, trust, confess, admit*; Bed /aman/ *trust*; Bil /amän/, /amen/ *believe, trust*; /imin/ *truth, reality*; Som /amān/, /amin/ *trust, praise* (vb. & n.); Eg /mn/ *remain, endure*.

All the entries with religious connotation may be secondary; as these include all the Cush ones, the genuine occurrence is confined to West Sem and Eg in which the lack of initial /’/ and meaning suggest ultimate connection with /ymn/ (cf. Eg /ymnyt/ *permanent offering)*. The Cush words for *house* may better be connected with /bnV/ below. ?Ebl /a-me-tum/, /a-me-num/ (=á-zi).

’MN II: Aram /’ummån/ *assigned portion of field, swathe*.

A loan from Gr.

’MC: Ug /’amc/ *strong*. ?OAmh /’amaca/ *rebel* (Littmann).

’MC II: ?Arab /wmΛ/ *shine faintly*.

As the meaning of the Hbr term is known only vaguely, the relevance of the Arab entry is uncertain.

’MR: Phoen /’mr/ *say*; Ug /’mr/ *Qt see; look at (?be visible?)*; /’amr/ *request? speech?* Aram /’mr/ *say, think; praise*; Syr /’mr/ *say, speak, think; command*; Amor /’mr/ *see; say, command*; Akk /amār/ *see, look (at), search, examine, meet, experience, learn, suffer, benefit, find out*; Arab /’mr/ *command; L/tL/Qt/St consult; Qt obey, be busy*; ESA /’mr/ *command; commander*; Mhr /’āmər/ *matter, order*; /&mr/(!) *say; extemporize poetry*; Soq /&emor/ *say*; G&z /’mr/ *show, indicate, signify, make known, demonstrate*; Te /’mr/ *D be clear, bright, intelligent, master; A know, understand, be intimate (with); AtL become acquainted (with); teach, let know*; Berb: Rif /’m(ma)r/, /mel/ *show, indicate*; Kab /məl/ =; Tu /aməl/ *say, inform, flatter, praise*; ?Fass /emel/ (pref /yemlū/) *say*; ?Eg /m’’/ *see, look*.

It might be closer to compare the Tu Fass entries with the root /ml(l)/II; but attestations from the other Berb dialects suggest that the two roots may be ultimately connected; together with the G&z and Te meanings these also form a connecting link between the two main meanings, to *see* and to *say*. In Mhr Soq the pharyngal may have been employed to differentiate secondarily between meanings; the first Mhr entry may be loan from Arab. Transposition in Eg, if relevant; Cohen’s (no. 9) Cush entries seem too remote.

’MR II: Phoen /’mr/ *lamb*; Ug /’imr/ (var. /’amr/?) =; Aram /’imm(a)r/ =; Syr /’emr/ =; Amor /’imm$\overset{i}{e}$r/ *sheep*; Akk /immer/ =; Arab /’immar/ *lamb*.

The Arab entry is on Fraenkel’s authority and to be considered loan from Aram. On the other hand, the relevance of all the above entries is ambiguous, as the Gr μηρια is semantically certainly closer to the Hbr entry; but the regular presence of /’/ suggests that it was folk-etymologically connected with the Semitic term.

’/YMR: cf. /mr’/.

If correctly interpreted and transmitted, a root var. of /mr’/ created through metathesis.

’N(N): ?Ug /t’ant/, /t’unt/ *mourning, weeping?* Aram /’nn/ *be sorrowful, mourn*; Syr /’n/ *sigh, mourn*; Arab /’n/ *moan*, /hn/ =, *sigh, weep*; Te /’nn/ *D (cow) low plaintively*.

Rain (cf. Gordon, UT s.v.) could be metonymically called “weeping of heaven” as an expression of sympathetic mourning. Cf. also root /’nV/ below.

’NGRM: Aram = Hbr; also /’agråd(e)mos/ *market-inspector*; Syr (pl.) /’gwr’nwmw/ =.

Loan from Gr in Hbr Aram; transliteration of Gr in Syr.

'NDRGNS: Aram = Hbr.

Loan from Gr.

'NV: ?Ug /t'ant/, /t'unt/ *(invitation to) mating?* Arab /'ny/ *mature, ripen.*

The different entries may seem not to have much in common; but they all describe more or less irresistible processes involving uncanny forces of nature or "acts of God". On the Ug entry cf. also root /'n(n)/ above; but the entry may perhaps better belong here because of the prep. /&m(n)/ in the context; as is well known, rain is also often interpreted mythologically as the heaven's mating with the earth.

'NV II: Ug /'any/ *ship, fleet*; Aram /må(')nå(')/ *vessel, utensil, garment*; Syr /må(')nå(')/ *vessel, ship, garment, measure, instrument, equipment*; Akk /unūt/, (Mari etc.) /en-/ *equipment, utensil*; Arab /'inā/ *vase, vessel*; G&z /nway/ *vase, vessel, instrument, utensil, ship*; Te /nway/ *weapon(s), instrument (for ploughing)*; ?Eg /yn/ *vessel* (Brockelmann).

The entries are of the nature of *Kulturwort*, although both formally and semantically somewhat more heterogeneous than these usually are; this, as well as their confirmed occurrence in Sem only may be an indication of their relatively recent origin from an otherwise unattested Sem root; the Eg entry I cannot verify. ?Ebl /ù-nu-nu/ (=giʃ-ʃē-nu-ʃē).

'NX: Ug /'anχ/ *sigh*; Aram /'nx/ = ; Syr = ; Akk /anāχ/ = ; Arab /nwx/ *(be)wail.*

Onomatopoeic.

'NK: Syr /'ånk/ *lead & tin*; Akk /anāk/ = ; Arab /'ānuk/ *lead*; G&z /na'k/ *lead & tin.*

Kulturwort.

'NS: Aram /'ns/ *seize, confiscate; rob; coerce*; Syr /'ns/ *coerce*; Arab /ns/ *urge (a beast) vehemently.*

Loan from Aram in Hbr.

'NP: Ug /'ap/ *nose, nostril(s); nipple; entrance, presence; anger(?)*; Aram /'anp/ *face*; /'app/ =, *surface, presence; nose; method; character*; Syr (pl.) /'appay/ *face, surface, presence*; /'anp/ *a bird (vulture?)*; ?Amor /ma'nūp/?, /mā'nip/?; Akk /app/ *nose, surface, edge, top, point*; Arab /'anf/ *nose, forepart, extremity*; ESA /'nf/ *front side*; G&z /'änf/ *nose*; Te /'anf/, /'änf-/(+sf.), /&änf/ = ; Har /ūf/ = ; Ch /ãfuna/ =, /ənf barä/ *blow the nose*; Sdd /afunna/, /amf-/ *nose*; Tu /afənfan/ *muzzle, snout, (animal's) nose*; Eg /fnğ/ *nose.*

In Cush too: Or /fuñān/ *nose*; for possible other augmented forms cf. Cohen no. 35. The root may be common to the whole phylum, although patchily attested outside Sem; this may be due to its similarity to, hence frequent confusion with that for *mouth* (see /p(V)/ below) which may also be responsible for the various expansions, mostly to the present root, to keep the two apart; on the Eg one cf. Amh /afən¢a/ which Leslau connects with

/(tä)näffä7ä/ *blow the nose* (Gur III s.v.). The Sdd /amfunna/ is my personal recording.

'NQ: Aram /'(a)naqt/ *sighing, moaning*; Syr /'enaqt/ =;?Arab /'nk/ *be coarse, ill-tempered.*

Of onomatopoeic origin; cf. /n'q/ below.

'NQ II: Aram /'åmaqt/ (!) *kind of lizard*; Syr =; ?Arab /'anūq/ *vulture, carrion-kite.*

The Aram Syr form of the root may be more original, partial assimilation accounting for the Hbr one. If the Arab entry is at all relevant, the bird would have been named after some of its prey subsequent to such assimilation — which may be too far-fetched.

'Nʃ: Phoen /'ʃt/ *woman, wife*; Ug /'aθt/ =; Aram /'intt/, /'itt/ =; Syr /'a(n)tt/ =; Akk /aʃʃat/ *wife*; /enēʃ/ *be/grow weak*; Arab /'unθa^{y}/ *female*, /'anīθ/ *soft, tender*; ESA /'nθt/, /'θt/ *woman, wife*; Mhr /tēθ/, /xəynēθ/ =; G&z /'änst/ =; Te /'ssit/ (pl. /'äns/) =, *female*; /'ns/ *A beget female offspring*; Har /ənəsti/ *female (animal)*; Ch /əʃta/ *women*, /arəst/ *female*; Sdd /ənʃətta(tä)/ *women*, /ənəst/ *female*; Wol /ənəst/ *female*; ?Tu /tənte/ =.

In Chad too: Tera /noʃo/, Guduf /nåsə/, Dghwede /niʃe/, Ngweshe /nase/ *woman*. H. Jungraithmayr and K. Shimizu (in *Chadic lexical roots* II, Berlin 1981, p.286) derive these from a root */m(k/g)s$_{2}$/; the middle radical is apparently postulated on the theory of root-thinning (ib. p.22f), while the first one presupposes inner Chadic interchange between the labial and alveolar nasals. If both of these processes can be substantiated (or also, if the -k/g- in the middle should turn out to be a Chadic innovation), it might be possible to derive the /ms/, /mʃ/ root common in South Ethiopic from that original root, and the assumption of original connection with our next root also would become more plausible. Berb /antəm/ *male* beside /tantəmt/ *female* (Cohen no. 22) would seem to support this; but the masc. could be a secondary formation from the fem. Thus the non-Sem attestations remain doubtful. The Mhr /x-/ is again the petrified PTdt (Johnstone). Ebl /ù-nu-ʃum/ *womanhood.*

'Nʃ II: Phoen /'ʃ/, *is, ys*, (NPu) /'yʃ/ *man, husband, worshipper*; Ug /'nʃ/ *be sociable(?)*; /bnʃ/, /bu-nu-ʃu/ (compound), (pl.tantum) /nʃm/ *man, human being(s), mankind*; Aram /'e^{y}nåʃ/, /'(ä)n-/, /n-/ =; *somebody*; Syr /(')nåʃ/ =; Amor /niʃū/(?) *people*; Akk =; Arab /'ins(ān)/, pl. /('u)nās/ *man, people, mankind*; ESA /'ns/, /'(y)s/ *man, human being*; Mhr /'ans/ (coll.), /'ənsay(yət)/ *human being(s) (as opposed to jinns)*; Te /'nas/ *man, some one; hero;* Bil /näs-auχ/ *male*; ?Tu /aləs/ *man, husband; brave.*

Cf. the preceding entry; if connection between the two exists, the present one appears to be secondary, as its distribution is more limited. Assignation of Hbr /'i^{y}ʃ/ to a different root seems unnecessary, as the form is explicable from this one through assimilation of /n/ and secondary lengthening of the stem vowel which has several parallels in often used words in Hbr (/&i^{y}r/ etc.) and elsewhere in Sem (/yo^{w}m/ etc.) and what appears to be a fully documented parallel in this very root in ESA (cf. above). The Te and second Mhr entries may be loans from Arab. Verbal roots, where they exist, may be denominative everywhere, in contrast to those denoting smallness and/or sickliness assigned to the preceding root after the differentiation (if this is how the two roots were created). Ebl (pl.) /iʃ$_4$-ú-nu/ *men*; /na-se$_{11}$/ =.

’SV: Arab /’sy/ *be sad, afflicted*; ?Eg /ʃʽw/, /ʃʽy/ *fate, death*; ?Cpt /ʃai/, /ʃoi/ *fate, fortune*; or? from Akk (<Sum) /asû/ *physician*.

Generally, it is preferable to assume direct semantic relationship rather than an inverted one where both alternatives exist, unless there is clear evidence for euphemistic usage (which is hardly the case here); however, the Eg entry, semantically strongest, suffers from the fact that /ʃ/ is not well established as an equivalent to Hbr /s/; and although the same is true of any other potential equivalent of Hbr /s/, this only tends to weaken the case further, as this appears to be part of the wider phenomenon that Hbr /s/ rarely occurs in roots attested outside Sem.

’S7S: Aram = Hbr; Syr /’ys(’)7ys/ =.

LW from Gr in Hbr Aram; transliteration of Gr in Syr.

’SKL: Aram /’äskalt/ *fire-place (with grating).*

LW from Gr; NB. /l/ for ρ.

’SM: Ug /’asm/ *granary*; ?Aram /’assån/ (var. /xusn/!) *store*; ?Syr /’sn/ *gather, heap up*; Akk /iʃitt/ (NAss /isitt/?) *store, treasury.*

The Hbr and Ug entries can hardly be loans from Akk for phonological (/m/ vs. assimilated /n/?) and morphological (fem. afformative! vocalism?) reasons; cognate origin is more plausible, as the labial and alveolar nasals do interchange, cf. /ʃ7m/ = /ʃ7n/, apart from a wealth of examples in LXX transcriptions; however, the Akk /n/ is not certain, as the only attested pl. form seems doubtful (cf. v. Soden, AHwb s.v.), and the Aram var. makes the Aram & Syr entries suspect of contamination with Arab /χzn/. Cf. /’sp/?.

’SN: –.

A secondary root, based on Ns */’asōn/ (cf. /’sV/ above).

’SP: Phoen (NPu) /n&sp/ *(N) be gathered*; Ug /’sp/ *gather; seize (?)*; Aram /’sp/ *harvest*; Akk /esēp/ *gather (in).*

The Syr /’awsep/ is better connected with /ysp/. Arab /xsf/ is phonologically remote and seems to refer to harvest only secondarily. Ebl /à-si-pù/ *harvest.*

’SR: Phoen /’sr/ *harness*; Ug /’sr/ =, *bind, take prisoner*; Aram /’sr/ *bind, chain, tie (up), make a (Nazirite) vow; prohibit; bind by spell*; Syr /’sr/ *bind, tie; join; gird up; cast a spell; make a vow*; ?Amor /a$ir/? (Ns): Akk /esēr/ (varr. /ec/zēr/, /asār/, Ass /esār/) *shut in*; Arab /’sr/ *bind, tie, take prisoner*; ESA /’ʃr/ *bind, obligate*; *chain, fetter*; Mhr /wsr/ *hobble, tie legs of (animal)*; G&z /’sr/ *bind, tie (up), attach, join; take prisoner*; Te /’sr/ *bind, fetter; bridle, ride*; ?Bed /asir/ *bind, shut.*

In South Eth: Amh /’sr/ *bind*, /əsräñña/ *prisoner*, the latter in Har too (as a loan from Amh). The Bed entry could conceivably be a loan from Arab, as also Sid /’usuri/ *bind*. NB. the variant sibilants in Akk ESA (Amor?). ?Ebl /a-si-ra-tum/ *court lady (?)*.

’SR II: Aram = Hbr; Syr /’assår/ *as.*

LW from Lat.

’P(P): Akk /apāp/ *surround.*

The Akk entry occurs in Mari only and may be loan from Can (v. Soden, AHwb s.v.). Cognate with /xp(p)/ below?.

’PD: Ug /’ipd/ *raiment*; ?/’updt/ (pl.) *members of a certain profession*; Aram /’epod/ *high-priestly cape*; Syr /’apūd/, /pedt/ *priestly garment*; Akk /epatt/ (?epād/?) *a (precious) garment*; G&z /’efud/ *cape of Hebrew priests.*

LW from Hbr in Aram Syr G&z; the 2nd Syr entry, however, may presuppose former existence of a native term with a similar meaning.

’PDN: Aram /’appadn/ *stately residence*; Syr /’åpadn/ *palace*; Akk /appadān/ *stoa, columnar hall*; Arab /fadān/ (pl. /’afdān/) *lofty building.*

LW from Old Persian. The often quoted statement of St. Jerome that in this word only in the Hebrew bible the (Latin) /p/-sound occurs can be true of a limited tradition only.

’PV: Phoen /’p/ *bake*; Ug = ; /’apy/ *baker*; Aram /’pV/ *bake*; Syr = ; Akk /epū/ = ; Arab /mīfa^{yn}/ *shutter of an oven; bakehouse*; (Aden) /mūfā/ *bread-oven* (Guillaume); ESA /’fym/ *pastry*; Soq /mo’fe/ *oven*; G&z /’fuy/ *baked*; ?Eg /’ft/ *pastry.*

Arab Soq entries are probably borrowings, as they are of *Kulturwort* character and the root not otherwise attested in these languages; the latter is true of ESA G&z too, but particularly in the case of G&z, the type of the word and lack of obvious source makes the assumption of borrowing more difficult, in ESA also the limited extent and one-sided nature of the vocabulary preserved in the inscriptions. As for Eg, according to Baer, the root is /’fr/ to *boil* which occurs in medical and Greco-Roman texts only; accordingly, the only way to connect it with our root is to assume a late borrowing with hypercorrect “historical” spelling with final /-r/ for actually pronounced front vowel; the meaning may be close enough to admit such a *possibility*, but nothing more.

’P7RP: Aram = Hbr; Syr /’epi7rop/ *prefect, supervisor, curator.*

LW from Gr.

’PL: Aram /’pl/ *A grow dark, darken; bear late fruit*; Akk /apāl/ *be/come late*; Arab /’fl/ *(star) set.*

As in Akk too, the primary stem is used with reference to stars, the connection with darkness is natural.

’PN: Ug /’apn/ *wheel*, /-nm/ *2-wheel cart*; Aram /’o^{w}pann/ *wheel; a class of angels*; Syr /’ōpn/ *wheel.*

The unusual type and inflection, lack of plausible Semitic etymology, and character of the word as a *Kulturwort* make its pre-Semitic origin probable, perhaps from the language of the inventor of the wheel.

'PN II: Aram /upn/ *interpretation, qualification*; Arab /fann/ (pl. /'afnān/) *kind, art, manner.*

The Hbr entry seems to be based on the Aram one used in a more concrete manner approaching the meaning of the Arab entry, cf. the other occurrence of the verb in M. Zulay, *Piyyute Yannai* (1938) p.130 l. 8, and the related noun, /'iʸpnuʷn/, ib. p.111 l. 19, p.116 l. 3, and p.177 l. 4.

'PN III: ?

Perhaps differentiated from /'(a)pol/ *broad bean* and ultimately from the biblical /pol/ (see root /pwl/ below).

'PS: Phoen /'ps/ *alone, only*; Ug /'aps/ *end, extremity.*

The Akk /aps/ being a loan from Sumerian, it could only be relevant if all the other entries were borrowed from it; in the light of Phoen Ug contexts, this is hardly likely.

'PQ: Ug /'apq/ *confluence (of 2 deep rivers)*; ?Aram /'apquʷt/ *neck, spine*; Syr /'apq/ *stream, water-course*; ESA /'fq/ *be firm, valid; (D?) control, regulate (flood-waves).*

It does not seem necessary to divide the root in two, as the Ug entry evidently refers to a *permanently* flowing water-course which, in comparison with seasonally flowing wadys, implies firmness and constant validity. As neck and spine also often symbolize firmness, the Aram entry could be a semantically specialized off-shoot of this root. On the other hand, the suggested Arab cognates show semantically rather vague similarity only.

'PQ7PZ: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

'PR: Aram /'äpr/ *ashes*; Akk /ep(e)r/ *dust, loose soil.*

May be loan from Akk; cf. the root /&pr/ below.

'C(V): Aram (Bab) /'wc/ *squeeze*; Arab /'Λ/ *compel.*

Originally purely biradical, variously expanded in different dialects.

'CL: Arab /'cl/ *be (firmly) rooted; D consolidate; state origin of, consider noble*; /'acl/ *root, origin, lineage, race, principle.*

The Mhr /'ac(ə)l/ is a loan from Arab. The connotation of *side*, otherwise lacking a plausible etymology (ESA /hwcl/ seems rather related to Dath. /cly/ *be opposite*, cf. also ESA /clwt/), is derivable from the side-shoots off the common root; also, Arab /'acīl/ *time before sunset* derives from the sun's going aside.

'CR: Aram /'cr/ *gather*; /'oʷcr/ *store, magazine, treasury*; Syr /'awcr/ *store.*

The Arab /'cr/ seems semantically closer to /cr(r)/.

'Q: Aram /'iqq/ *kind of goat.*

Hardly of Sem origin; connected with αιξ?

’R(R): Aram /’rr/ *curse*; ?Amor /ya’rur/, /ya’urr/ *a tribe*; Akk /arār/ *curse*; Soq /’eror/ *be furious, curse(?)*; /’orhir/ *gloom, melancholy*; ?Te /’ärär/ *shame*; ?Chad: Warji Kariya /ār-/ *curse*.

The patchy attestation may be due to the fact that a word denoting curse may easily become taboo or otherwise euphemistically replaced; for similar reasons, a shift in meaning is also conceivable, as "shame!" is used in many other languages as a euphemistic swearword. On the other hand, it is perhaps too much to assume that the word would have been preserved outside Sem in a couple of Chadic languages only, if it was of such a remote origin; the fact that /r/ is very common in terms denoting curse and swearwords all over the world may make the assumption of accidental similarity more plausible in this case.

’R’L: ?Arab /wry/ *be kindled, make fire*; ?Te /’rw/ *flame, blaze*.

Based on the assumption that *sacrificial hearth* is the primary Hbr meaning; on other alternatives cf. K-B^{3}; none is fully demonstrable.

’RB: Aram /’rb/ *lie in ambush*; Arab /’rb/ *be skilful, cunning; L try to deceive; A overcome (s.o.)*.

The Aram entry may be a loan from Hbr.

’RB II: Ug /’urbt/ (pl?) *window*.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

’RG: Phoen /’rg/ *weaver (?sharpener?)*; Aram /’rg/ *weave*.

Even if the meaning has shifted, the Phoen entry still probably belongs to this root; moreover, without attribute the term may still have the original meaning (Tomback).

’RV: Phoen /’r/ *store*; Akk /arū/ =; G&z /’ry/ *pick up, gather*; /’rr/ *pluck off, harvest (fruit etc.), gather*; Te /’rV/ *gather*; Bed /harō/ *grain*; Bil /ar/ =; *harvest, gather in*.

For further Cush attestations see Cohen no. 19; Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p.44; Cohen's Eg Berb entries seem semantically ambiguous.

’RV II: ?Phoen (pl.) /’rwm/ *lion (image)(?)*; Aram /’ary/ *lion*; Syr =; Amor /’arwiy/, f. /-wīt/ *gazelle*; Akk /arwi/, /-wū/, /-mū/ =; Arab /uͥrwiyyat/ (pl. /’arwa^{y}/, /’arāwiyy/) *female antelope, mountain-goat*; ESA (pl.) /’rwyn/ *mountain-goat*; G&z /’ärwe/ *(wild) animal, beast; snake, serpent, dragon*; Te /’ärwe/ *snake; (stomach-)ache*; /’rwät/, /’erwet/ *female elephant; war-cry; a disease of camels*; /’ärawit/ *chamaeleon*; Har /ūri/ *wild animal, beast; unsociable (person)*; Sdd Wol /awre/ *wild animal, beast*; Bil /arwē/ *wild beast, game*; Som /ār/ *lion*; Tu /ăḥăr/ =; Chad: Ron (Sha) /’arwa/ *ox*; Kotoko (Mandagué) /’arfə/ *elephant*; Eg /rw/ *lion*.

Again, the root may be common to the whole phylum; the lack of representation for Omotic may again be due to the scantity of the material; on Cush, cf. also Or /arbba/ *elephant* and Quara /arwē/ *wild beast, game*. Originally, the word may have been used of any big or frightening animal, to be differentiated later on in most languages in different ways. The original semivowel must have been /w/, fronted in Hbr Aram and transposed in South Eth Cush Berb.

’RZ: Ug /’arz/ *cedar*; Aram =; Syr =; Arab =; Soq =; G&z /’ärz/ =; Te =.

It is hard to accept that in all these languages, /’arz/ would have been positively *misidentified* as cedar;. if *Cedrus Libani Barrel* did not grow tall enough to provide material for flagstaffs, it may be easier to assume that the term covered other species besides, just like Gr κεδρος (cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v.); therefore we may be justified in using the term *cedar* in a similar wider sense (as this is also acceptable to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* s.v.).

’RX: Aram /’rx/ *wander*; /’o^{w}r(a)x/ *way, journey, manner, fate*; Syr /’urx/ =; /’rx/ *D go, travel; dismiss*; Akk /urχ/ (var. /arχ/) *way, path, track, road*; /arāχ/ *make haste*; Arab /rwx/(!) *go (away, in the evening)*; /’rχ/ *D write history*; ESA /’rχ/ *expedition, undertaking*; (vb.) *determine*; ?Mhr /xārīt/ *moon*; Soq /’erax/ *come, arrive*; /rax/ *bring along*; G&z /mrx/ *lead, guide, show the way*; Te =.

In Cush also: Saho Afar /arāx/ *way*. The original root appears to have been biradical, augmented mostly with /’-/, in North Eth with /m-/, cf. also root /yrx/ below with which Mhr entry is semantically affiliated, but could formally still be based on the biradical form (/x-/ is again the petrified PTdt), cf. the Arab /rwx/ whose deviant pharyngal also presupposes great age. Because of this variation, one would expect non-Sem entries to be biradical too which makes the Saho Afar /arāx/ suspect of being a loan from Sem, although the immediate source cannot be pointed out.

’RK: Phoen /’rk/ *lengthen; long, length*; Ug /’rk/ *be long*; /’urk/ *length*; Aram /’rk/ *be/last long, hesitate, delay, wait*; Syr /’arīk/ *long*, /’rk/ *D/A prolong*; Akk /arāk/ *be/grow/last long*; Arab /’rk/ *hesitate*; /’arīkat/ *sofa*; ESA /’rk/ *wide space, long duration*; G&z /’äräga(wi)y/ *long-lived/lasting*; Te /’rg/ *D grow old*; /’ärrag/ *long-toothed*; /’rg/ *dangerous road*; Har /rāga/ *(be) old*; Wol /rağe/ =; Som /rāg/ *last (long); duration.*

As the basic notion of length, whether spatial or temporal, is present in all the entries, and interchange between voiceless and voiced stops also otherwise occurs in Sem under similar circumstances (cf. /bzr/ vs. /pzr/; /kbd/, var. /kbt/; /npʃ/ var. /nbʃ/; /bdq/ varr. /btq/, /btk/; etc.), I do not see sufficient reason to divide the entries between two roots. The original form may again have been biradical (cf. Som); this has been augmented with a root final vowel in South Eth, and with a prothetic /’-/ elsewhere. Arab /wrk/ is hardly relevant, cf. /yrk/ below.

’RN: Phoen /’rn/ *sarcophagus; chest*; Aram /’(a)ron/ *chest, ark of covenant*; Syr /’åron/ =, /’rn/ *sarcophagus*; ?Amor /’uran(at)/? (Ns); Akk /’arān/ *chest, sarcophagus, coffin*; Arab /’irān/ (pl. /’uran/) *coffin, litter.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

’RN II: Aram /’urn/ *laurel*; Akk /urn/ *a small cedar.*

Rarely attested; etymology obscure.

’RNB: Ug /’anhb/ *hare*; Aram /’arnabt/ =; Syr /’arnb/ =; Amor /’arnab(at)/ =; Akk /arnab(t)/, /annab/ =; Arab /’arnab/ =, *rabbit, short-tailed rat*; Mhr /xarnayb/, /-nōb/ *hare*; Har /xarbāñño/ =; Sdd /arbaññä/ =; Wol /arbäñño/ =.

Despite phonological divergence, I think Gordon’s identification of the meaning of the Ug entry is convincing (see UT s.v.); on the other hand, in South Eth, the phonological differences seem too great for me to accept Leslau’s reversal of judgment (*Contributions* p.11 vs. Gur III s.v.) in favour of borrowing from Arab, as there are no obvious patterns to help account for the modifications folk-etymologically either. The word may be of pre-Semitic origin; this makes phonological differences conceivable, though of course it does not explain them. The Mhr (but not Har) /x-/ is again the petrified PTdt.

’R&: Aram /’r&/ *meet, happen*; Syr =; Arab /&rΛ/ *happen (accident).*

A loan from Aram in Hbr.

’RC: Phoen /’rc/ *land, country, earth*; Ya /’rq/ =; Ug /’arc/, /ar-cum/ =; Aram /’ar&/ =, /’arq/ *earth*; Syr /’ar&/ *earth, soil, field, foundation, flooring, storey, residue*; Akk /ercet/, (OAkk) /arcat/ *earth, nether world, land*; Arab /’arΛ/ *earth, ground, soil, country*; ESA /’rΛ/ *earth, ground, land*; ?Bed /ar(i)d/ *land, country*; Som /arli/ =; Chad: Pa’a /ritl’a/, Siri /rə’tlu/, Mburke /ri’tlu/ *earth, soil.*

The Bed entry may be a loan from Arab (as Te /’ärd/, /’rd/ certainly is); but the Som Chad ones could only be that, if they were very ancient ones, going back to the period when Arab /Λ/ was still a lateral; which, especially in the light of Te Bed forms, seems highly improbable.

’RQ: Aram: see the preceding entry.

A loan from Biblical Aram.

’Rʃ: Phoen /’rʃ/ *request*; Ug =; Akk /erēʃ/ =, *wish, demand.*

A shift of meaning in post-biblical Hbr. Ebl /i-rí-sa-tum/ *desire, request.*

’Rʃ/S: Aram /’rs/ *betroth*; ?Amor /’r$/?(vb.); Arab /&arūs/ *bride, groom, spouse*; ?/wrʃ/ *covet, try to get; eat greedily*; Mhr /hrs/ *marry*, /hārs/, /’-/ *wedding*; Soq /&rs/ *marry*, /&ors/ *wedding.*

Cf. the preceding root from which this one may have been differentiated in a specialized sense; Arab /wrʃ/ represents still another off-shoot; in South Sem, the glottal stop has been pharyngalized. Har /arūz/, Som /arōs/ are loans from Arab.

’ʃ: Phoen /’ʃ/ *fire*; Ug /’iʃt/ =; Aram /’iʃʃåt/ =, *fever*; Syr /’eʃʃåt/ *fever*; Akk /iʃāt/ *fire, inflammation; fire-signal*; G&z /’sat/ *fire*; Te /’sat/ =, *small blisters, fire-arms; hell*; Har /əsāt/, /is-/ *fire*; Ch /əsat/, Sdd =, /äs-/ =; ?Tu /ahes/ *big fire, hell.*

The Tu entry is quoted from de Foucauld only, and its phonological identity is not clear. Arab /’ğ/ is phonologically hazardous and semantically offbeam. Ebl /i-ʃi/, /ì-sa-tù/.

’ʃ(ʃ/V): ?Phoen (pl.) /’ʃtt/ *pillar*; Aram /’åʃi^{y}t/, /’aʃʃ-/ *strong wall*; Syr /’åʃīt/ *pillar*; Akk /asīt/, /asa’itt/ *tower, pillar*; Arab /’$\overset{i}{\text{u}}$ss/ *foundation*; /’āsiyat/ *base, column*; G&z /t’sit/ *dross, slag (of metal).*

The Phoen entry could derive from /ʃyt/; the Aram Syr and second Arab entries derive from Akk, but the root could still be common Sem, albeit somewhat irregular in form and meaning, baseness equated with compactness and supporting strength.

’ʃD: Aram /’ʃd/ *shed (blood etc.)*; Syr = ; Amor /’a$d/ *lion*; ?/’$d/ ?(vb.); Arab /’asad/ *lion*; ESA /’sd/ *warrior, man (male)*; Mhr /asad/ *lion*; Soq /’esed/ = ; G&z /’äsäd/ (constellation) *lion*; Te /’äshädi/ *lion.*

Warriors are commonly compared to lions, and both are shedders of blood. G&z Te entries are loans from Arab; Mhr Soq could also be, but this is hardly provable.

’ʃK: Ug /’uʃk/ *testicle(s)*; Syr /’eʃkt/ = ; Akk /iʃk/ = ; G&z /’skit/ =, *(male) genitals*; Har /miskät/ *buttocks, anus*; Wol /məskät/ =, *(female) genitals*; ?Som /mis(i)$\overset{k}{\text{ğ}}$/ *hip*; Chad: Ron (Fyer) /toʃok/, (Sha) /’aʃukut/ (sg.) *testicle(s).*

Also in Saho Afar: /uskōk/ *foreskin, dirt (etc.)*. On South Eth /m-/ for /’-/ cf. root /’rx/ above (there in North Eth, South unattested). Variation in meaning not surprising for a word easily subject to taboo.

’ʃL: Aram /’äʃl/ *tamarisk*; Arab /’aθl/ = ; Mhr /xōθəl/, /xəθōwəl/ = ; ?Soq /’eʃaleten/ *kind of tree*; Eg /yzr/ *tamarisk*; Cpt (Boh) /osi/ =.

Assuming a relatively late origin for the phoneme /θ/ and keeping in mind that interchange occurs between voiced and voiceless sounds as well as between approximants, original relationship between the Eg Cpt entry and Sem can still be maintained. The Aram entry is a loan from Hbr.

’ʃM: Ug /’θm/ *Qt incur guilt/responsibility*; /’aθm/ *kind of offering (guilt o.?)*; Aram /’(a)ʃåm/ *guilt, responsibility; guilt offering*; Arab /’iθm/ *crime, sin.*

The Aram entry is again a loan from Hbr.

’ʃN: Aram /’(ä)ʃu^{w}n/ *(specific) time.*

The Aram entry is probably loan from Hbr; the original reference is thus to the night- or *sleeping* time, and the root cognate with /yʃn/, q.v.

’ʃR: Phoen /’ʃr/ *place*; Ug /’aθr/ = ; /’θr/ *go, walk*; Aram /’atr/ *place*; Syr /’atr/ =, *region, time*; Akk /aʃr/ (OAkk /aʃar/) *place, region*; Arab /’θr/ *begin, choose; tD follow*; /’iθr/, /’aθar/ *mark, footprint, track*; ESA /’θr/ *direction, posterity*; Soq /’ihor/ *follow*; /’etor/ *approach*; G&z /’ä$är/ *trace, footprint, path, track*; Te /’äsär/ = ; /’sr/ *follow the traces.*

The first Soq entry is irregular phonologically, the second semantically.

’ʃR II: Phoen /’ʃr/ *happiness; cultic (fertility) symbol*; Ug /’uʃr/ *happiness, fortune*; ?/t’iʃr/ *kind of cedar?*; Aram /’(a)ʃart/ *luck*; ?/’ʃr/ *be strong*; Amor /’ʃr/ *provide (food?)*; Arab /’$r/ *be cheerful.*

The strong are mostly the lucky ones too; and luck produces cheer which may be weightier than the “aberrant” sibilant; trees also often appear as fertility symbols.

’TV: Phoen (NPu) /’t’/ *come*; Ug /’t(w)/ =, *arrive (at)*; Aram /’tV/ *come, go*; Syr /’tV/ =, *arrive, proceed, produce, happen, be able (to)*; Amor /’tV/ *come*; Arab /’ty/ =, *arrive (at), happen*; ESA /’tw/ *revert, return; H bring*; Soq /’ete/ *pass (through), go, run*; G&z /’tw/ *come (home), go (away), revert, return*; Te /’tV/ *enter, come (back home)*; ?Bed /at/ *enter*; ?Bil /atay/ =, *arrive.*

The Bed Bil entries may be loans from Te; but Quara Chamir Kemant /tuw/ *enter* is less likely to be a borrowing; the root may thus be common to Sem and Cush. Eg /ywt/ seems too hazardous, cf. /yw/ =.

’TN: Ug /’atnt/ *she-ass*; Aram /’(a)tån/, /’att-/ =; Syr /’attån/ =; Akk /’atān/ =, *mare*; Arab /’atān/ *she-ass.*

ב

B’R: Aram /b’r/ *explain, make clear*; Akk /bār/, (OAkk, OAss) /buār/ *appear, be evident; D make clear, convince, prove true.*

The Aram entry may be loan from Hbr.

B’R II: Mo /br/ *cistern*; Phoen (NPu) /b&’r/, /bhr/ *well*; (Ug cf. /b’ir/ frequent n.1.;) Aram /b’er/, /be^{y}r/ *well, cistern*; Syr /be(’)r/, /bi^{y}r/ =; *pit, grave*; Akk /būr(t)/, var. /bēr/ (Susa, NBab) =; /bērt/ *water-course*; Arab /bi’r/ *well, pit*; /bu’rat/ *hollow, fire-pit, treasure*; ESA /b’r/ *well, pit*; Mhr /bayr/ *well*; Soq /&ebehor/ =, *pit*; G&z /bärbir/ =. *cistern*; ?Har /bu’ur/, /būr/ *deep*; /bō’ara/ *become deep*, /ab-/ *make deep*; Som /bōr/ *hole, dugout; dig out*; ?Chad: Ron (Fyer) /bur/ *dig into, bury*; (Bokkos) /bor/ *dig*; (Daffo) /buur/, (Sha) /bur/, (Kulere) /buy/ *bury.*

Also in Gur: Muher /b^{w}ər/, Gogot Zway /bur/ *pit, well*; Cush also: Or /bəri/ *well*, and cf. Leslau, Gur III p.150. In Chad, the Fyer Bokkos Daffo entries have glottalized /b/; in *Chadic lexical roots* II p.85, Jungraithmayr & Shimizu reconstruct the root as /*bl/ (again with glottalized /b/) which implies inner-Chadic interchange between glottalized and frontal /b/ and also between /l/ and /r/ found elsewhere in the phylum too; secondary loss of /’/ is not difficult to assume and phonetically, it could be responsible for the creation of the glottalized /b/ (anticipation of the movement of the glottis). The root could thus be one of those common to Sem Cush Chad to the exclusion of the other members of the phylum. Eg /by’/, /b’b’w/ seem to have different backgrounds.

B'ʃ: Ug /b'ʃ/ *be bad(?)*; Aram = *be bad, unacceptable, cross, evil, ill*; Syr = *be bad, unpleasant, have pain, grieve*; Akk /ba'āʃ/, (late Bab) /be'ēʃ/ *be bad, stinking*; Arab /b's/ *be bad, destitute, unhappy*; /bu's/ *misfortune, sorrow*; ESA /b's/ *be bad, harmful; misfortune*; ?Soq /be'i/ *unripe date*; G&z /b's/ *be bitter, bad/worse, unpleasant, harmful*; Te = *be angry; tQ grow angry, quarrel, fight, punish*; Ch Sdd /basä/ *be bad, grow worse*; Sdd /bəʃʃətäññä/ *ill*; ?Chad: Kofyar (Bong) /bis/, Kirifi /mbeshimini/, Sura /bish/, Ron (Fyer) /mbushii/, (Daffo) /fwash/, Pa'a /basinti/, Siri /basumbasmi/, Jegu /bayot/, Dghwede /bəza/ *bad*; Ron (Fyer) /bwiʃ/ (with glottalized /b/!) *grow bad.*

Found in Cush too: Sid /buʃaho/ *bad* (my recording; cf. also Leslau, Gur III p.129). The root could thus be another one of those common to Sem Cush Chad; however, the internal relationships of the Chad entries have not been worked out, and hence, their relevance is uncertain; and the fact that there is only one Cush attestation makes its originality in Cush also suspect, though not impossible. Cf. also the root /bwʃ/ below.

BBR: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat; NB. /b/ = *v*.

BGD: Arab (dial.) /bǧd/ *outwit*; /biǧād/ *striped clothing.*

The fact that both concrete and figurative uses of the root occur in the only two languages in which it is attested would seem to corroborate its original unity beyond reasonable doubt. Bab Aram /bgdn/ *king of the devils* may be based on Hbr.

BGR: Aram /bgr/ *become nubile*; ?Arab /bikr/ *virgin.*

Cf. the root /bkr/ below.

BD(D): Phoen /bdd/ *separate, depart*; /bd/ *idle talk(?)*; Aram /badd/ *fine linen*; /bdV/ *D invent, fabricate; tD be proved false, liar*; (Bab) /bd/ *single, separate*; Syr /bdV/ *invent, fabricate, chatter, gossip*; Akk /bdd/ *D waste, dissipate*; Arab /bd/ *separate; (+D) remove*; ?/bt/ *cut, decide, give up, exhaust*; ESA /bd/, /bdd/ *distribute; succession/alternation*; Mhr /bdd/ *ʃ/A/ Qt separate (from), part (with), leave*; /bdV/ *lie; miss*; Soq /bede/ *lie*; ?Te /bädäd belä/ *fall/flow out, hasten along.*

All shades of meaning are derivable from the basic notion of separation, whether actively or spontaneously, including "idle talk" or chattering as an incessant flow of speech, although the expression for it is differentiated in most languages by the addition of a root final vowel; in Arab, a different kind of dichotomy has been made by devoicing the second radical. The word for fine linen also fits the pattern on the assumption that it originally referred to a *piece* of linen, i.e., a linen garment; cf. the use of pl. collectively as a description of the attire of a high officer, Ez 9:2f etc.

BDL: Ug (pl.) /bdlm/ = /bi-da-lu-ma/ *merchants*; Aram /bdl/ *abstain; perform Habdala*; Syr /bdål/ *nonsense*; /baddūl/ *crazy, insane*; /bydl/ *tQ waver; be drunk*; Arab /bdl/ *change, exchange*; Mhr /bdl/ *ʃ/A/Qt* *change, exchange*; Soq /bdl/ *be changed, different*; ?Te /bdl/ *change, exchange*; /bädäl/ *barter.*

The Te entry may be loan from Arab, perhaps Mhr too and, as a commercial term, even Arab from a more ancient source (cf. Ug); as the basic meaning here too seems to be one of separation, the root may have been derived from the preceding one by /-l/ (=PTpr /l/?) as a root determinant. Ebl /ba-da-lum/, /-lu/ *merchant*; ?/ma-ba-ti-ru$_x$/ (=ʃu-gur$_5$-du-ga).

BDL II: ?

Kulturwort (from Sanscrit); not attested elsewhere.

BDLX: Phoen /bdl[x/ *bdellium*; Aram /bdulx/, /bidlx/ =; Syr /brulx/ =; Akk /budulχ/, /bidurχ/ =.

Another *Kulturwort*; of unknown origin.

BDQ: ?Ug (pl.) /bdqt/ *openings/sluices(?)*; Aram /bdq/ *break through*; /bidq/ *breach (of dike etc.); sin*; Syr /bdåq/ *repairs; what needs repair*; /bdq/ *(+D) repair, restore*; Akk /batāq/, /-d-/ *cut off/through; tear off*; Arab /btk/ *cut/tear off*; G&z /btk/ *break/fracture*; Te /btk/ *cut off, hew down*; Ch /btχ/, Sdd /btk/ *D*, Wol /btk/ *dig/pull out, uproot.*

The root appears related to /btq/, cf. below. The Ug passage could also be interpreted differently (cf. UT III s.v. /ydq/). Eg /btk/ seems semantically remote. ?Ebl /ba-da-qù da-ne-um/ *judge.*

BHV: ?Arab /bh'/ *+A empty (a house)*; /bhV/ *A* =; /bahw/ *hollow (of chest)*; ?Te /bäha/ *befool*; ?Bil /bi/ *be unable, lack, not exist*; ?Tu /bahu/ *lie.*

Also in East Cush: Afar /bāh/ *be deep*; /bāhā/ *depth.* As the meaning of the Hbr entry is rather vague, the relevance of the present ones is uncertain. If the Arab Bil (Afar) entries are relevant, the Te Tu ones can hardly be.

BHL: Aram /bhl/ *D worry, frighten; A be inconsiderate*; Syr /bhl/ *cease, be/keep quiet*; Akk /bāl/ *pray, entreat*; Arab /bhl/ *(+L, Qt, St) curse, imprecate; N grow silly; Qt implore, beseech (God); call upon (God; against s.o.)*; ?G&z /bxrr/ *A frighten*; Te /bhrr/ *be frightened; A frighten*; ?Eg /bh'/, /bhn/ *flee.*

All the meanings are understandable as referring to frightening action or its direct consequences; interchange of /l/ and /r/ is well documented, and the Eth /r/ may have been additionally motivated by the need to keep the root distinct from /bhl/ *say*; whether the repetition of the /r/ only reinforces this or has some additional significance (e.g., durative or frequentative) is hard to tell; G&z /x/ increases accumulative impression of difficulty, but as the root appears to occur twice only, it could be scribal error for /h/. The relevance of Arab /bhr/ *N be breathless* escapes me; *be dazzled, blinded* anyway agrees better with /bhr/ below. The Eg entries are quoted from Vycichl, the former first suggested by Ember; both are feasible phonologically and semantically, but in the absence of Cpt attestation not fully proven.

BHM: Syr /behmot/ *Behemoth*; Arab /'abham/ *speaker of incomprehensible language*; /bahīmat/ *beast*; /bah(a)mat/ *lamb, kid, calf*; Mhr /bəhaymət/ *simpleton*; G&z /bhm/ *be dumb/speechless*; Te =; ?Chad: Kotoko (Mandagué) /bahima/ *animal, beast*.

Generally, the reference is to those who cannot speak comprehensibly or at all. The Syr entry is loan from Hbr; the solitary Chadic (and generally non-Semitic) one apparently from Arab. Eg /whm/ appears far too hazardous.

BHN: Akk /ubān/ *finger, toe*; Arab /'ibhām/, (syr.) /bāhim/ *thumb, big toe*.

I do not find /habīn/ confirmed in Eth nor Mhr. Eg /whm/ is phonologically difficult.

BHQ: Aram /buhq/, /bah(a)qiʸt/ *white skin patch*; /bhq/ *gleam, shine*; Syr /behqīt/ *scabies*; /bhq/ *A shine, glitter*; Akk /epq/ *leprosy (etc.?)*; Arab /bahaq/ *dandruff*; (eg.) *leprosy*; /bhq/ *(sun) emerge from clouds*; Mhr /bəhyōq/ *colourless skin patches*; G&z /bok/, /&äbäq/ *kind of scabies or leprosy*; Te /bähäq/ *blisters*; /&äbäq/ *scab, scabies*.

Apparently a wandering word, with rather vaguely defined meaning variously used to denote graver or lighter skin complaints; the Eth entries seem to derive from three different sources, the one common to both G&z and Te perhaps combinable with the Akk one; the verb may be denominative everywhere it occurs, although in Arab semantically somewhat distanced.

BHR: Aram /bahart/ *white skin patch;* /ʃbhr/ *make shine*; Syr /bahr/, /buhr/ *twilight*; Arab /bhr/ *shine*; G&z /brh/ *be well-lit, shine*; Te /brh/ *be clean/bright, shine*; Har /bērāna/ *be bright, clear up; (sun) shine*; /bāra/ *(rain) stop*; Ch /banä/, Sdd /barrä/, Wol /bare/ *clear up (after rain)*; Sdd /brähan/, Wol /bərahañ/ *light*.

Metathesis of the second and third radicals is frequent in Eth, but not universal, cf. the second Har entry and verb in Gur; the first Har entry seems denominative perhaps influenced by Cush /bVr(r)/ which seems too hazardous phonologically. Akk /barū/ seems semantically remote.

BHʃ: Akk /ba'āʃ, /be'ēʃ/ *be bad, stink*.

Cf. the root /b'ʃ/ above.

BW': Phoen /b'/, (af 1.) *byth: enter, arrive, land*; Ug /b'/ *come, arrive, enter, copulate*; Amor /bw'/ *come*; Akk /bā'/ *go along, pass through/by, enter, overtake*; Arab /bw'/ *come back; tD enter*; ESA /bh'/ *enter (also sexually); income*; G&z /bw'/ *enter (also sexually); be admitted, received; chance upon*; Te /b'/ *enter, come*; ?/bä'ät/, /bä&ät/ *cave*; Har /bō'a/ *enter, mediate, interfere; (sun) set*; ?Ch /wəyä/ *sink, dive, (sun) set*; Bed /bi'/ *return home; lie down; have sexual intercourse*; /bāy/ *go*; (South) Som /bah/, /beh/ *go* (Fleming); Om.: (Central) /b-/, (Eastern) /ba(y)/ = (Fleming); Chad: Warji /bu(w)/, Tsagu (etc.) /bā/, Kariya (etc.) /bə/, /bū/, Jimbin /bō/, Kulere /bo/, Kera /bi/, Zime (Batna/Lame) /mbu/ *come*; ?Eg /b'/ *soul*; ?Cpt /bai/ =.

Possibly original to the whole phylum, although not demonstrable in Berb Eg-Cpt; in the latter, assuming the frequent meaning, *enter*, to be the primary one, the entry suggested above may be not implausible, but hardly anything more. In Cush, attestations are not many, either: Sid /ba/ *go* is confirmed, but Afar Or /bā/ = is not (Fleming). A root with only one firm radical, however, may easily be subjected to changes which make it unrecognizable, or also be replaced in the course of linguistic change, so the gaps in attestation could be secondary. Amm (pl.) /mb't/ *entrance.*

BWZ: Aram /bu^{w}zt/ *contempt, ridicule*; Arab (syr.) /bwz/ *D be sullen, frown, look angry.*

The Aram entry may be loan from Hbr; but the Syrian Arab one may imply an underlying genuine Aramaic usage. Cf. the root /bzV/ below.

BWK: Aram /bwk/ *run to and fro, be agitated*; Arab /bwk/ *be entangled (business).*

BWL: Phoen /bl/ *name of a month*; ESA /bwl/ =.

Etymology obscure (cf. K-B^{3} s.v.).

BWS: ?

Root var. of /bs(s)/ below. Arab /b's/ seems too remote.

BWC: Phoen /bc/, (Pu) /bwc/ *byssus*; Aram /bu^{w}c/ =; Syr /būc/ =; Akk /būc/ =; *kind of glass*; Arab /bazz/ (pl. /buzūz/) *cloth, linen*; ESA /bwc/ *byssus*; G&z /bisos/, /bsos/ =.

Another *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; the Arab entry seems to presuppose different source (or voiced pronunciation of /c/?); the G&z entries are attempts at transcription of Gr βυσσος.

BWR: Aram /bwr/ *lie waste, uncultivated*; Syr /bwr/ =, *rot, be lacking/deprived*; Arab /bwr/ *lie uncultivated*; ?ESA /brt/ *sepulchre.*

BWʃ: Ug /bθ/ *be ashamed*; /bθt/ *shame*; Aram /bht/ *be ashamed, embarrassed*; Syr =; Amor /bwʃ/ *be ashamed*; Akk /bāʃ/ *be put to shame; be ashamed*; /bāʃt/, (late) /bālt/ *shame, pudenda, potency, life force/energy*; Arab /bhθ/ *be ashamed*; /mabās/ (!) *genitals*; /ba's/ *might, strength* (Bauer).

The second Arab entry is quoted from Guillaume (*Abr Nahrain* I p.7); phonological split, cf. the third entry and Akk. The root is found in Cush too: Afar Saho /bus/ *vulva*; and in Om: Janjero /bōsā/ =; as well as in Berb: /bəʃʃi/ *vagina.* The latter two are quoted from M. Cohen's *Essay comparatif* (no. 410) only; and although the Berb entry is no doubt connected with /bəʃʃ/ *urinate* (Hintze), this verb too could ultimately derive from the same root.

BZ(Z): Phoen /mbzt/ *plundering*; ?Ug /bz/ *plunder(?)*; Aram /bzz/ *rob, plunder*; Syr /bz/ =, *rape*; Arab =; Te /bzz/ *R rob, plunder*; Sdd /bəzäbbäzä/ =, *pillage.*

BZV: Aram /bzV/ *despise; disgrace*; Akk /buzzu'/ *(D) treat harshly, unjustly*; Arab /bzw/ +*A raise o.s.; subdue a.o.;* /bazā'/ *haughtiness.*

BZQ: ?Aram /bzq/ *scatter*; ?Syr =; /bezq/ *pebble*; ?Arab /bzq/ *spit (seeds), sow*; or *(sun) rise* (Guillaume)?

As a lightning may create a "scattering" of light, connection with the above entries is possible, but even so hardly probable.

BZR: Aram /bdr/ *scatter*; /bzr/ *D* =; Syr /bdr/ =; Arab /bδr/ +*D =; squander; disperse*; Mhr /bδr/ *sow, cultivate.*

The Hbr entry may have been influenced by Aram, cf. the root /pzr/ below; although the second Aram entry is certainly loan from Hbr.

BXN: Aram /bxn/ *test, examine*; Syr /bxn/ + *D =, experience, argue, demonstrate*; Arab /mxn/ +*Qt examine, prove*; ESA /mxn/ *try (legally), examine*; Mhr /mxn/ *Qt have/take trouble, perform arduous task*; /maxanēt/ *trouble, trial*; Soq /maxan/ *importune, pester, test, torment.*

The North-West Sem entries perhaps influenced by /bxr/, including denasalization of the 1st rad.

BXN II: Eg /bχnt/ *portal, pylon*; (late) /-n/ *castle, burg.*

A loan from Eg in Hbr.

BXR: Aram /bxr/ *test, choose*; Syr =; Amor =; Akk /bēr/, (Ass) /be'ār/ =, *seek out*; Arab /bxr/ *tD examine thoroughly*; /bāxir/ *inquisitive, prying*; ?ESA /bxr/ *H (ps?) be chosen*; ?Chad: Dera /beel/, Sura /bilip/ (pl. /wåγar/), Siri /wara/, Lele /bāar/, Kwang(-Ngam/Mobu) /pārē/, Kera /vere/, Migama /'apiro/, Mofaw (of Duvangar) /-wal-/, Daba /wεl/ *choose.*

Cf. /bxn/ above. The Chad entries are semantically apposite and (most of them anyway) do not present insurmountable phonetic difficulties either; but as there are no connecting attestations in other subdivisions of the phylum and the internal relationships of the Chadic attestations have not been worked out, their relevance is considered unconfirmed.

B7': ?Ug /tb7/ *(tD) gossip(?)*; Arab /b7/ *R caw (duck); dabble, have weak judgement.*

Interpretation of the Ug passage is uncertain. Cf. also the root /bd/ above.

B7X: Aram /b7x/ *trust*; Syr /ba77īk/, /pa77īx/ *melon*; Arab /bi77īχ/ =; /ba7iχ/ *stout.*

The Aram entry may be loan from Hbr; the word for melon has become a *Kulturwort* and borrowed into Syriac twice from different sources. Arab /b7x/ means basically to *flatten.*

B7L: Aram /b7l/ *cease; be idle*; Syr /b7l/ =; *be devoid of energy, removed; perish*; Akk /ba7āl/ *cease; be(come) idle*; Arab /b7l/ =; *be corrupt, of no avail*; ?ESA /bl7/ *Qt render invalid(?)*; Mhr /b7l/ *be cowardly,* *not succeed, go bad*; Soq /b7l/ ʃ *be empty, deserted*; G&z /b7l/ *be vain, useless, abolished; cease*; Te /b7l/ *be idle, useless, weak; D stop*; ?Bil /ba¢al/ *be useless, in vain*; ?Tu /buddəl/ *be useless, good for nothing*.

The interpretation of the ESA passage is uncertain; the Bil Tu entries could be loans from Sem, although phonologically deviant.

B7N: ?Phoen (NPu) /b'7n/ *embossment(?)*; Aram /bå̇7n/ *belly, womb*; /b7n/ *be pregnant*; Syr /ba7n/ *conception, pregnancy, foetus*; /b7n/ *conceive*; Arab /ba7n/ *belly, interior*; /b7n/ *be inside, conceal o.s.*; Mhr /bə7ayn/ *big-bellied*; Te /bä7n/ *belly*, /-nät/ *big-bellied*; Har /bä7ni/ *voracious*; Bil /wådän/ (pl. /-z-/) *stomach, heart*; Som /wådnV/ *heart*; Berb: Sus /(w)adan/ *intestine, stomach*; ?Chad: Angas (Plain) (etc.) /but/, Kofyar (Kwalla) (etc.) /bɛt/, Mushere /būt/, Chip (etc.) /bwå:t/, Tal /bå:t/, Montol /bəət/, Buli /bindi/, Birgit /buturi/ *(external) belly*.

The Mhr Te Har entries may derive from, or be influenced by Arab, although the 2nd Te and Har are not direct loans; therefore, as LWW are more easily accepted where there is cognate native material, and words for parts of the body are generally very rarely LWW, the root may have originally existed in Eth too. As for Chad, Jungraithmayr & Shimizu reconstruct the root at /btl/ (with glottalized /b/, as in most of the above entries; Chip Tal Buli Birgit excepted); this would be phonologically combinable with our root, as also meaning, although one-sidedly developed; but as phonetic similarity is not nearly complete for any radical either, the relevance of the Chad entries must be deemed uncertain. For more Cush attestations see Dolgopolsky p. 187 and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 353. The Berb entry is quoted from Cohen no. 397. Amm /b7n/ *inside(?)*.

B7N II: Aram /bu7m/ *terebinth*, /bu7n/ *pistachio*; Syr /be7mt/ *terebinth*; Akk /bu7n(at)/ *terebinth, pistachio & their nuts*; Arab /bu7(u)m/ *turpentine-tree, turpentine*; G&z /b(u)7m/ *terebinth*; Te /bu7m/ =.

The final /-m/ may be original, /-n/ being due to partial assimilation, although semantically differentiated to designate *Pistacia vera*, except in Akk where variants are still phonetically conditioned. The Eth entries might be borrowings (cf. the varying vocalism in G&z), but probably old, the word being of the nature of a *Kulturwort*.

BYN: Phoen /bnt/ *mental faculties (?)*; /bn...wbn/ *either ... or*; Ug /bn/ *perceive, understand; interval*; Aram /byn/ *D let understand; make intelligible*; /bi^{y}nt/ *insight, intelligence*; (Sfire sf.) /bnyhm/ *between them*; Syr /byn/ *D make understand, teach*; Amor /byn/ *consider (?)*; Arab /byn/ *be separated, remote, clear, obvious; D/A separate, explain*; ESA /b(y)n/ *distinguish, depart, be dislocated; D separate*; Mhr /byn/ *appear; A make clear: H reveal, clarify*; Soq /(me-)bīn/ *between*; G&z /byn/ *observe, perceive, discern*; Te /bäyn/ *alone, apart*; /bänbän/ *different, separate*; Tu /bəyyən/ *be proven, provable, certain, evident*.

The first Phoen entry occurs in an incantation difficult to interpret. The Tu entry appears to be borrowed from Arab.

BYC: Aram /be^{y}&(a)t/ *egg; testicle*; Syr /bē&t/ =; *bald scalp; arch, vault*; /bē&tån/ *white*; Arab /bayΛ(at)/ *egg(s)*, /'abyaΛ/ *white*; Mhr /bi¢ayt/, /bay¢/ *egg*; /by¢/ *H lay an egg*; Te /byc/ *(D) be bright, shiny*; /bäyc/ *very bright*; ?Berb: Shilxa /bitlžan/ *egg-plant*; Chad: Mbarmi = Zul /mbutle/, Baram = Barang /byatl/, Geji/Gyaanzi /mbūtli/, /-ułī/ *egg*.

Mhr /bay¢/ may be Arabic loan (Johnstone), but adapted to Mhr phonetics. Chad is again the only other stock to have preserved our root, but this time both phonetic and semantic agreement is too great for chance coincidence, and on the other hand, loan from Arab hardly possible for phonetic reasons (cf. above, on /'rc/); so we have to accept lateral preservation in Chad while the root has presumably been lost in Cush at least, leaving Te (to our knowledge) the only language in East Africa to have preserved it, even that perhaps with some assistance from Arab influence, but hardly entirely as a loan from Arab. Akk /bēc/ has nothing to do with this root.

BYR: Aram /bi^{y}rt/ *palace, castle*; Syr =; Akk /birt/ *castle, citadel.*

The Hbr Aram Syr entries are loans from Akk. Akk /wabr/, /wabart/ seem hardly relevant.

BYT: Mo /bt/, (sf.) /(b)byth/ *house*; Phoen /bt/ *house, temple, chamber; family, dynasty*; Ug /bt/ =; *palace, place; tribe, people; stay overnight*; /bht(m)/ (pl. & sg.) *large house*; Aram /be^{y}t/ *house, residence; wife, family, clan, tribe; place; coitus; the 2nd letter of the alphabet*; (Fkh) /bt/ *house*; /byt/ *turn in, stay overnight*; Syr /bay(t)/, /bet/ *house, temple, place, stable, hive, receptacle, vase, (blood etc.) vessel, land, realm, family, tribe, nation, "house" (of constellation), horoscope, specific time, festival, (scriptural) section, strophe*; /bwt/ *stay overnight*; /bawt/ *hospice, vigil, one day's journey*; Amor /bīt/ *house*; Akk /bīt/, (Ass) /bēt/ =, *temple, palace, room, cabin, place, receptacle, family; strophe; case (of noun)*; /byt/ *stay overnight; marry*; ESA /b(y)t/ *house, castle, temple*; Mhr /bayt/, (cs.) /bət/ *house; clan (of)*; Soq /beyt/, /bet-/ *(stone) house*; G&z /bet/ *house, residence, tent, palace, temple, place, cubicle, cell, sheath; family, offspring*; /byt/ *turn in, stay (overnight etc.), remain, survive*; Te /bet/ *house, abode, box, receptacle; family*; /byt/ *pass the night (without supper), fast, hunger*; Ch Sdd /bet/ *house, family*; Chad: Sura /bit/, Ron (Bokkos) /but/ *hut, house*; ?Fyer /bor/ *home.*

Again, only a couple of Chadic attestations outside Sem; but Arab influence seems unlikely (Jungraithmayr), and no other alternatives are plausible, either. The noun must be considered primary everywhere, but the verb, *stay overnight*, is so widespread that it can hardly be considered denominative in the usual sense, either, as alternative roots could have, and in fact, sometimes have been used (cf., e.g., /lyn/ below). The verb may thus have been in existence since early Proto-Sem times as a cognate with the noun whose primary meaning may thus have been the place where to stay overnight (cf.

Syr /bawt/ derived from the morphophonemically secondary /bwt/ in the same sense). Ebl (sf.) /be-su/ *(his) house.*

BKV: Ug /bky/ *weep*; Aram /bkV/ *weep, sob, wail, lament*; Syr /bkV/ *weep, mourn*; Akk /bakū/ = ; Arab /bky/ *weep, (+D) mourn, lament*; Mhr /bkV/ *weep, cry*; Soq /beʃe/ *weep*; G&z /bky/ =, *mourn, lament*; Te /bkV/ = ; Har /bäka/ *cry, weep*; /bəkīt/ *mourning*; Ch /bäkä/, Sdd /bäʃʃä/, Wol /bäče/ *cry, weep, mourn, lament*; Som /bih/ *weep, lament; lamentation.*

Also Afar: /bog/ *weep*; Or /bo(w)u/ = ; cf. also Cohen, *Essai comparatif* no. 389. The phonetic agreement of the Cush entries is not perfect, but as voiced stops interchange with voiceless ones and /k/ with /h/ and zero elsewhere in Sem and particulary in Ethiopia, and borrowing can hardly be assumed, the root must be considered common to Sem and Cush.

BKR: Ug /bkr/ *first-born*; Aram /bukr/ = ; *bottom layer*; Syr /bukr/ *first-born; host (of Eucharist)*; Amor /bakūr(at)/ *first-born*; Akk /bukr(at)/, /bukurt/ = ; Arab /bikr/ = ; *first-fruits, virgin*; /bkr/ *do early*; ESA /bkr/ *first-born; young camel*; Mhr /bēkər/ *first-born*; /bkr/ *mount; deflower (a virgin); Qt bear a first-born*; Soq /bekir/ *first-born; virgin*; G&z /bäk^{w}r/ *first-born; status of first-born; juvenile, early (fruit etc.)*; Te /bkr/ *first-born*; Ch /bäχər/, Sdd /bäkər/, /-h-/ = ; Bil /bāġer/ (f. /bagrī/, pl. /baġlil/) = ; Tu /ebăkăr/ *young sheep*; ?Eg /bk'/ *be(come) pregnant*; ?Cpt (Boh) /boki/ *pregnant.*

The Eg Cpt entries (cf. Calice no. 85) suffer from the uncommon correspondence, /'/ vs. /r/, nor are the meanings fully equivalent; however, both aspects are related closely enough for me to leave the possibility of common origin open. Similarly, Bil by itself could be borrowed from Te, but (according to Reinisch s.v.) it is supported by Agaw /buχer/, Chamir/ baur/, and Quara /bāġer/ which again show too much phonological variation for me to consider all of them based on the Te form. The root is thus common to Sem Cush, possibly Berb Eg too. NB. the Amor entry agrees with SamH. The root /bgr/ above may have been differentiated from this one through a process illustrated by the Mhr entries: defloration of a virgin leads — in principle anyway — to primogeniture, therefore a term for (sexually mature) virgin is appropriately derivable from this root. Ebl /bù-ká-ru/, /-kà-ru$_{x}$/, /-ká-lu/, /-ga-lu/, /-χà-lu/ *first-born.*

BL(L): Phoen /bll/ *fodder (usually mixed and moistened, for animals)*; Aram /bl/ *R mix, confuse*; Syr /bl/ =, *excite; moisten; R confuse*; ?Te /balla/ *weed*; Bed /bire/, /bile/ *sky, rain*; Tu /bəlulu/ *mixture of a liquid and a powdery substance*; ?Eg /by'/ *sky(waters).*

The Phoen Tu entries may best have preserved the primary meaning, mixing of a liquid with a more or less finely ground solid substance. The Te entry is relevant only if weeds are viewed as mixed with cultivated plants and so creating confusion; on the other hand, the South Eth and Cush word for *honeyed water* (cf. Leslau, Gur III s.v. /bulbulä/) is not semantically comparable (not being a true mixture in the usual sense) and is of the nature of a *Kulturwort* and probably of onomatopoeic origin. Ebl /ba-la-lum/; ?/ba-a-lu-um/, /-lum/.

BLG: Arab /blǧ/ *break (dawn); be merry.*

?In Cush (cf. Dolgopolsky p. 254).

BLG II: ?

Not attested elsewhere.

BLH: Syr /blhy/ *frighten, confound; accelerate*; Arab /blh/ *be foolish, simpleton.*

Cf. the root /bhl/ above.

BLV: Aram /blV/ *rot, fade, wear out*; Syr /bly/, /blV/ *grow old/corrupt; wear out, rot, perish*; ?Amor /blV/?; Akk /ba/elū/ *be extinguished, fade, die out*; Arab /bly/ *wear out, be consumed*; ?ESA /blwt/ *funerary requisites(?)*; /blw/ *provide (for) funerary requisites (?)*; Mhr /blV/ *trouble, tire out, nag*; Soq /(di-)bal/ *without*; G&z /bly/ *grow old/obsolete, wear out, rot*; Te /blV/ *be old, worn out; L oppress; A wear out; AL take risk of life*; /bllay/ *cloth, garment*; ?Bil /bäl/ *be(come) old, wear out (clothes etc.)*; ?Chad: Hsa /ballē/ (after neg. St) *much less ...!*; Kotoko (Mandague) /bala/ *without.*

The reference of the ESA entries is not clear, but both are evidently, and the remaining attestation possibly connected with burial. The Bil entry is conceivably loan from Te; the Chad ones are structurally uncertain, possibly compounds.

BLM: Aram /blm/ *tie up*; (Bab) *muzzle; Q ps be mute*; Syr /blm/ *tie up (mouth), silence*; Arab /blm/ *A have swollen lips, be silent.*

BLN: Aram /ballån/ *bath-house attendant*; Syr /ballånåy/ = ; Arab /ballān/ = ; (syr.) *warm bath.*

LW from Gr.

BL&: Aram /bl&/ *swallow*; Syr /bl&/ = ; *be insulted, offended, affected, excited, inflamed*; Arab /bl&/ *swallow (up), absorb*; Mhr /bl&/ *swallow*; ?Soq /bl&/ *be spoiled, ruined*; G&z /bl&/ *eat, consume, devour, live (off)*; Te = ; /bal&/ *brave*; /bäl&/ *food*; Har /bäla'a/ *eat, earn (money); itch; A feed; tL bite (habitually)*; /mäbla'/ *food*; Ch /bäna/, Sdd /bälla/, Wol /bälä/ *eat, graze; earn*; Bed /bala/ *throat*; ?Eg /b&nt/ *neck.*

In Cush also: Saho /bala&/, /bayt/, /bēt/ *eat.* However, the first form is evidently LW (from Te), while the others are phonologically susceptible of different interpretations, even if the final /-t/ be secondary (Reinisch); but cf. Dolgopolsky p. 198.

BLQ: ?Syr /blq/ *be manifest, overtop, reach, lust (for)*; Arab /blq/ *open (door) wholly or shut it (abruptly)*; ?ESA /blq/ *breach, opening (for water to go through).*

As the meaning of the Hbr entry is not clear in detail, the relevance of those above is uncertain. However, as the Hbr root is used in an apocalyptic connection implying a sudden and abrupt upheaval, the Arab entry may be relevant in some sense anyway.

BM(T): Ug /bmt/ *back (of animal or human being)*; Aram /båmt/ *"high place", illegitimate cult-place* (cf. /båms/, /bomos/, /bemos/ *altar* <Gr *βωμος*); (Syr /bums/ *altar*); Akk /bām/nt/, /pānt/, /-nd/ *half; (mountain) slope; the part of back between shoulders and hips.*

Albright's idea that the root is connected with Gr βωμος *raised platform, altar with base, tomb, cairn* (though hardly as direct loan, except in the latter Aram and Syr entries) seems to me still to account best for all the attestations; in Ug Akk, the reference to height, rather weak in Gr, has become predominant, in Akk (found in Bab only) the slope leading to the top in particular, and then abstracted to mean any (parallel) half; the Akk phonological varr. are also best understandable in a LW, the usually incompatible sequence /b/-/m/ likewise.

BN: Phoen /bn/, βυν, *byn*, (sf.?) *binim*; (Abydos) /bl/, /'bl/, (Abu Simbel) /bm/ *son*; /bt/, (pl. sf.) *bynuthi: daughter*; Ug /bn/ *son*; /bt/ *daughter*; Aram /b(a)r/, /bir/, pl. /bniʸn/, cs. /bneʸ/ *son, offspring, belonging to (a community), of (a certain) age*; (pl. only) *children*; /brat(t-)/, /bat/, pl. /bnåt/, /brattiʸn/ *daughter*; Syr /b(a)r/, pl. /bnayy/ *son, belonging to (a community), of (a certain) age/duration, offspring*; (pl. only) *children*; /bart/, /ba(r)t/ *daughter, girl, (satellite) township, belonging to (a community/collective)*; Amor /bin/, /bun/ *son*; /bina/, /-nt/, /-tt/ *daughter*; Akk /bin/, /būn/ (mostly OAkk) *son*; /bint/, /bunt/, /bunat/ *daughter*; Arab /('i)bn/, pl. /banūn/, /'abnā'/*son, child*; /'ibnat/, /bint/, pl. /banāt/ *daughter; girl*; ESA /bn/, pl. =, /bny/, /bnw/, (min) /bhn/ *son*; /bnt/, /bt/, pl. /bnt/, (min) /bhnt/ *daughter*, (pl. only) *women*; Mhr /xəbrē/, cs. /bər/ *son*; pl. /xəbōn/, cs. /bəni/ *children*; /xəmbərawtən/, /xəmərəw/ *boys, (male) children*; /xəbrīt/, cs. /bərt/, pl. /xəbantən/ *daughter*; /brw/ *bear (children)*; Soq /bar/ *child*; /bere/ *bear (children)*; G&z /bnt(ä &äyn)/ *pupil (of the eye).*

As the G&z entry occurs in a borrowed phrase, the root is confined to Asiatic Sem; Calice's (no. 181) combination of Eg /bnn/ *beget* with this root has not found acceptance, and the Sem root is primarily nominal, the related verb being denominative everywhere it occurs. The widespread replacement of /n/ by /r/ is phonetically little else than denasalization; the Phoen varr. seem to be conditioned by local vernacular (Abydos) or just colloquial assimilation. As the sg. forms have often lost their stem vowel altogether, it may be reasonable to assume that where it differs from the pl. one, the latter is more original. Amm (sg. & pl.cs.) /bn/.

BNV: Phoen /bn/, (Byblos) /bny/, (Dougga, NPu) /bn'/ *build, construct*; Ug /bn(w/y)/ =, *create; mend, heal*; Aram /bnV/ *build, rebuild*; Syr =; Amor /bny/ *build, create*; Akk /banū/ =; Arab /bny/ *build, construct*; ESA = ; Mhr /bnV/ + *H build, erect*; Soq /bene/ *build*; ?Tu /ehăn/ *tent (of skins), residence; family*; /hănn/ *spouse*; Chad: Migama /panaw/, Mubi /beeni/ *build.*

The Tu entry is quoted from Müller who refers to Rössler; it is supported by old Libyan /bny/ *build*, cf. Shilxa /bnu/ =, /abnay/ *builder, mason*;

Müller also connects Cush (reconstructed, but in single languages amply attested) */min/ *house* as well as Chad */bin/ = (on which he refers to Greenberg and Diakonoff) with this root; the Chad verbal root is reconstructed as */bn/ by Jungraithmayr & Shimizu (*Chadic lexical roots* II p. 56; cf. ib. p. 75, 148 on the related nouns). The root is found in Om too: Dime /bin/ *build, create*, and may accordingly be considered original to the whole phylum, although not attested in Eg-Cpt. Amm (imp) /bnh/ *build.* Ebl (pref 3.) /ib-na/ *create*; /ba-na/ *creation, creature*; ?/ba-nu/ (=giʃ-ʃinig), (gn) /bane(-um)/ (=ʃinig).

BNV II: Aram /bnV/ *provide offspring (through levirate marriage); tQ obtain offspring*; Arab /bny/ (/bi'ahlihi/) +*Qt beget.*

Cf. also Mhr /brw/ Soq /bere/ above (root /bn/). The Aram entries (primary stem at least) may be loan from Hbr. The root is denominative from /bn/ above.

BS(S): Arab /bs/ *crumble (s.th.).*

Cf. the root /bws/ above.

BSR: Aram /busr/ *half-ripe fruit; sour grapes*; Syr (pl.) /besre/ *half-ripe, sour grapes*; Arab /bsr/ *anticipate, make out of season; D (dates) approach maturity*; /busr/ *fresh (fruit)*; Mhr /bəsərīt/ *date* (cf. Jahn: *reifende Dattel*).

The primary meaning appears to be fruit approaching maturity, sometimes shifted to refer to those already ripe, whether still sour or not. Whether the Arab verb is denominative or primary is not clear; the Aram-Syr verb seems semantically too tenuously connected to be relevant.

B&: Aram /bu^{w}&(at)/ *swelling, abscess*; Syr (pl.) /ba&bo&yåt/ *swellings, bubbles*; /bu&bå&/ *swelling up*; Akk /bubu't/, /-uχt/, /-utt/ *secretion, pus; boil*; Arab /b&/ *pour down (rain); produce (herbage)*; /bγ/ *(blood) be stirred, in disorder* (Guillaume).

Cf. the root /nb&/ which the first Arab entry approaches in meaning. The Eg-Cpt /b'b'/, /be(e)be/ cannot be connected because of /'/ which never seems to correspond to Sem /&/; both roots may be of onomatopoeic origin. Phonological split in Arab.

B&V: ?Ug /bγy/ *seek*; Aram /b&V/ *want, ask, seek (out); A search through, graze (down)*; Syr /b&V/ = ; *D graze (down)*; Akk /bu''ū/, (Ass) /ba''ū/, (late Bab) /buχχū/ *seek (out), want, demand*; Arab /bγy/ *covet; treat unjustly*; Mhr /bəγayt/ *desire.*

It does not seem necessary to divide the root in two; the primary meaning seems to be desire or appetite for something, such as food, strong enough to be translated into active seeking and obtaining of its object by fair means or foul. ESA /b&w/, however, may not be connected (W.W. Müller).

B&7: Aram /b&7/ *tread, trample down, kick; despise*; Syr /b&7/ *kick, push, tread down*; ?Arab /b&7/ *exceed, overburden* (cf. Guillaume).

B&L: Phoen /b&l/, βαλ *owner, husband, citizen, leader, master*; ?/b&lt/ *mistress*; Ug = ; (pl.) /ba-a-lu-ma/; Aram /ba&al/, cs. /b&el/ *master,* *husband*; /ba&lt/, /b&alt/ *mistress*; /b&l/ *have sexual intercourse*; Syr /ba&l/ cs. /b&el/ *master, husband; connected with (action, quality, community)*; /b&l/ *marry; ripen (grape)*; Amor /ba&l/, /be&l/ *lord*; /ba&la(t)/, /be&la(t)/, /be&lt/ *lady, mistress*; Akk /bēl/ *lord, master, owner; connected with (quality, action)*; /bēlt/, (poet.) /-let/, (OAss) /-lat/ *lady, mistress (etc.)*; /bēl/ *be master, dominate, rule, have authority, possess, take prisoner*; Arab /b&l/ *marry*; /ba&l/ *lord, master, owner, husband*; ESA /b&l/ *(be) lord, master, owner*; Mhr /bāl/ *owner (of), connected (with)*; /-līt/ *mistress (etc.)*; /abε̄li/ *God*; Soq /ba&l/ *owner, husband*; /b&al/ *marry*; G&z /ba&l/ *lord, master, owner; rich*; /bä&al/ *lord, master*; /b&l/ *be/grow rich; marry*; Te /bä&äl/ *master, owner, inhabitant*; /bä&al/ *festival*; /b&l/ *A celebrate (a festival)*; Ch /bar/, Sdd Wol /bal/ *holiday*; Sdd /bal/ *owner*; Chad: Gisiga /boy/ *chief, lord, master*; /bil-(voη)/, /bəl-/ *lord (of rain), God*; Daffo /bẃε/ *God.*

In Cush: Afar Saho /bā&elā/ *husband, master (of)*; Saho /ba&āl/ (Reinisch; Leslau: /bal/) *festival*; Quara /bāl/ *lord, master; festival.* Leslau (Gur III p.28, 138) considers Afar Saho (without mentioning Quara) entries loans from Sem; but the selective semantic and phonological treatment as well as the Chad attestation suggest that some Cush occurrences too may be original. Ebl /ba-al/; (sf.) /be-li/; (cs.) /be-lu/; ?/(la-)ba-u_9-lum/ (=géme).

B&R: Ug /b&r/ *(D?) +ʃ turn down, chase away, lead; sack, plunder*; Aram /b&r/ *remove; kindle, burn*; /b&i^{y}r/ *cattle*; Syr /b&r/ *+D wander through, ask the way, investigate, remove, ruin, destroy*; /b&īr/ *beast (of burden etc.)*; /b&or/ *dung*; Akk /bīr/, /bēr/ *bullock*; Arab /ba&īr/ *camel*; /ba&(a)r/ *dung (of hoofed animals); extreme destitution*; /b&r/ *dung, throw dung (at); D, A, tD purge*; ESA /b&r/ *camel(s), cattle*; Mhr /bə&ayr/ *male camel*; /həbε̄r/ (coll.) *camels*; Soq /be&er/ *camel*; G&z /b&ray/, /-a(wi)/ *plough-ox; herd*; Te /b&ray/ *bull, ox*; /b&er/ *young camel*; Har /bāra/ *bull, ox*; Ch Sdd /bora/, Wol /barä/, /-rə/ *(farming) ox*; Bed /be'rāy/ =; Bil /bīrā/ (pl. /bīl/) *bull, ox.*

Cush also: Saho Afar /be&ērā/ *(farming) ox*; and cf. Cohen no. 386; Dolgopolsky p. 204 (for Om too). Again, the varying phonology in Cush suggests that some entries may be borrowings, others original; but on the other hand, designations of domestic animals may be wandering words. As to the root in general, I do not see compelling reason to divide it in two (let alone more); originally, it seems to have been used of nomads' movements with their cattle and the consequences of such activities, including pasturages eaten bare and more or less covered with dung; in Hbr Aram, the root came then to be used of other kinds of removal of dried-up vegetation, such as burning-off, and also of removal of other undesirable things; while elsewhere, the usage tended to be concentrated on the most important specimens of animals.

B&T: Aram /b&t/ *be distressed; D distress, threaten, frighten*; Syr /b&t/ *attack unexpectedly, subdue; A frighten*; Arab /bγt/ *surprise, happen suddenly.*

BC: Aram /bicc/, /bucc/ *swamp*; Syr /bc/ *grow lean, dry up*; Akk /bāc/, /bacc/ *(coastal, river) sand*; Arab /bΛ/ *be thin-skinned; ooze, leak, flow scantily; weep*; /baΛΛ/ *sour milk*; /baΛaΛ/ *a little water*; Som /boΛ/ *dry mud.*

As there is no evident source from which the Som entry could have been borrowed, we may assume that the root is common to Sem Cush; as the attestations are mostly from coastal areas, the Aram Syr entries may also be of Canaanite origin.

BCL: Phoen /bcl/ *onion*; Aram /bacl/, /bucl/ = ; Syr /becl/ = ; Akk /bisr/, /biʃr/ *garlic*; Arab /bacal/ *onion*; /bcl/ *peel, strip*; ESA /bcl/ *onion*; Mhr /bəcəlēt/ = ; Soq /bicle/ = ; G&z /bäcäl/ *onion, bulb*; /bcl/ *tear to pieces, dismember; tQ/tD pass.; peel off, fall into pieces*; Te /bäsäl/ *onion*; Bed /basal/ = ; Berb /azalim/ = ; Eg (Dem) /mğl/, Cpt /mğål/ = .

An old *Kulturwort*, hence phonological irregularities; the verb may be denominative, although developed towards more independent meaning particularly in G&z.

BC&: ?Phoen /bc&/ *D contribute(?); contribution(?)*; Aram /bc&/ *tear asunder; set free; compare*; Arab /bΛ&/ *split, carve, cut*; ESA /bΛ&/ *decree, impose tribute; (slay and) despoil; H attack(?)*; G&z /bc&/ (, /bΛ&/) *estimate, set apart, vow*; Te /bc&/ *make a vow, promise; AL endanger.*

?In Cush Om (cf. Dolgopolsky p. 307f). The Aram entry looks like borrowed from Hbr, but as its semantic width is greater than that of the biblical verb, maybe the post-biblical Hbr and Aram have influenced each other, the latter semantically, the former phonetically: aided by the proximity of /&/ forestalled the normal Aram development; whereas in Syr, the root has dropped out of use altogether; cf. G&z where the pronunciation with /c/ appears to have been established in this root earlier than usual. On Ug, Gordon's reading seems preferable to me.

BCQ: ?

I have not been able to verify the existence of Arab /bacqat/ *elevated spot*; according to Lane (s.v.) it means *stoney tract* (= /xarrat/) *somewhat elevated*; common usage of this Arab root hardly seems relevant (Irvine).

BCR: Aram /bcr/ *cut off, reduce*; Syr =, *harm; be reduced*; Akk /bacār/ *bite off; D lacerate*; Mhr /b¢r/ *tear*; /bē¢ər/ *tear, slit; vulva*; Soq /bΛr/ *tear/cut to pieces; fall apart.*

Again the sibilant correspondences are irregular; but splitting the root up would not be warranted semantically. Arab /brΛ/ refers primarily to smallness.

BCR II: ?Arab /b¢r/ *be uncircumcised*; /ba¢r/ *clitoris.*

Again, I cannot verify Arab /bcr/ *be inaccessible*; but an uncircumcised girl (the root is mostly used with reference to girls) might once have been considered sexually inaccessible. The Ug /bcr/ is hardly relevant even on Gordon's interpretation (*soar*).

BQ(Q): Syr /bagbug/ *jug*; ?Arab /bq/ *(cloud) pour an abundant rain; display (riches); (+D) scatter (goods)*; (pal.) *R make gurgling noise* (Blau).

On the assumption that emptying (a bottle or other container) was the primary meaning, secondarily generalized to mean devastation, the root is semi-onomatopoeic and the above entries relevant, although not very close semantically; phonologically deviating forms must be considered distinct, and similar Eth Cush forms may also have distinct origin.

BQV: Phoen (NPu) /bqy/ *stay*; Aram /bqV/ *try, investigate*; /bqi^{y}'/ *experienced, informed*; Syr /bqV/ *investigate, probe*; Arab /bqy/ *stay, live, continue, persevere; watch, look after*; Mhr /bqV/ *remain, be left over*; Te /bq'/ *stay*.

The primary meaning may be to *stay*; a lengthy stay creates experience and may lead to more active pursuits (cf. Arab). The final /'/ may have originated in a hiatus between vowels.

BQ&: Ug /bq&/ *split*; Aram =; Arab /buq&at/ *depressed land, swamp*; /biqā&/ *plain between hills*; Te /bq&/ *be sharp (knife), strong, brave*; /mbqä&/ *sharp edge (of knife)*; Ch /b^{w}äqäqa/ *crack in the ground (after rainy season)*; Chad: Ron (Fyer) /bak/, (Bokkos) /bāk, ?(Daffo) /wet/ *split, chop (wood etc.)*.

In Cush: Or /baqaqā/, Kambatta /bäqaqa/ *crack in the ground* (Leslau, Gur III p.148). The root may be fundamentally biradical, as still in Gur (LW?) Cush Chad, and G&z /bqw/ may also ultimately derive from it, but its concrete meaning is also so far different that it is better considered a different root. The primary meaning may have been to *split*, in Arab shifted towards the results, in Te the instrument of such action. Syr /pq&/ seems closer to Hbr /pq&/ (cf. below); in Chad, the initial /b/ is glottalized.

BQR: Phoen /bqr/ *cattle*; Ug /bqr/ *examine (entrails)*; Aram /bqr/ *visit, examine, set free*; /bqart/ *herd of cattle*; /båqr/ *uneducated person*; /baqru^{w}t/ *cattle pen; lack of education*; Syr /bqr/ *examine; perforate*; /baqr/ *herd (of cattle etc.)*; ?Akk /baqār/, /p-/ *lay claim to, demand (restitution)*; Arab /bqr/ *split; inquire (about)*; /baqar/ *cattle*; /bukrat/ *daybreak*; ESA /bqr/ *bull, cow; plough with oxen*; Mhr /bəqərēt/ *cow*; ?G&z /bql/ *tD take notice, lay claim to, judge, punish*; ?Chad: Kera /bə̄gŋ/, Zime (Batna) /bəga/ *morning*; Eg /bk'/ =.

The basic meaning here too appears to be to *split*; in cattle, the reference is to the cloven hoof, in morning, to *daybreak*, the early dawn splitting the darkness at the horizon; further cf. K-B^{3} s.v. The root may thus have differentiated from the same biradical root as the preceding one, still preserved in Chad with voicing of the 2nd rad. (the final velar nasal in the Kera form perhaps rudimentary beginning of a 3rd one?). The semantic connection for Akk G&z is rather tenuous, besides some phonological irregularity. Beside the word for cattle, that for morning occurs in Hbr Arab only, and even in the latter, the 2nd rad. has been deuvularized, as also in Chad Eg where the latter meaning only is attested. In Cush: Saho Afar /bakal/ *kid*.

BQʃ: Phoen /bqʃ/ *seek*; Ug /bqθ/ =.

BR: Cf. /bn/ above.

BR(R): Ug /brr/ *be pure, clean, free; a metal* ; Aram /brr/ *purify, choose, select*; Syr /bry/ *D separate; liberate, relieve*; Akk /barr/ *pure, purified*; ?/barār/ *glisten*; Arab /br/ *be truthful; tD justify o.s.*; /burr/ *wheat*; /barr/ *continent*; ESA /br/ *land, region; wheat*; /brr/ *land, region, plain; reach agreement; S/H purify, act piously*; Mhr /brr/ *H see, make out*; /bar/ *desert, land*; Soq /bor/ *grain*; /bar/ *side, distance*; /ʃibreher/ *visible place*; ?/ber/ *become*; G&z /brur/ *silver*; Te /bär/ *country, continent*; Ch Wol /bər/, Sdd /bərr/ *silver, thaler*; Sdd Wol /bəret/ *iron*; Bed /būr/ *country, earth*; Bil /birā/, /b(e)rā/ =; Som /birri/ =; /bir/ *iron*.

On Cush cf. also Or /bərri/ *silver* (my recording), Dolgopolsky p. 204f; Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 83; Cohen no. 402 and Leslau, Gur III p.150. The basic reference of the root is to purity which, when applied to air, also implies clarity which makes it possible to see far across the plain, sometimes an entire country (of ancient times) or more. Applied to metals, it was originally an attribute, meaning purified metal, to grain likewise; in these functions, it created *Kulturwörter* which may sometimes have been borrowed and re-borrowed between Ethiopian Sem and Cush languages, but as the word for *land, earth* is also well established in Cush, the root may be original to that stock too. The Akk verb is of doubtful relevance, as it is not readily derivable from purity or clarity, unless it originally referred to purified metal of which no attestation seems to be preserved; the Soq verb because of its very general meaning which permits more than one derivation. Eg /by'/ *ore; iron (?)* may be connected with /by'/ *mine, quarry*.

BR': Phoen (Pu) /br'/ *diviner(?)*; Aram /brV/ *be strong; create*; Syr /brV/ *create*; Arab /br'/ *recover, get free (from); A cure, free*; ESA /br'/ *do, make, build,* (qat.) *renovate; immune*; /bry/ *St recover (completely); perfection, fullness; strength*; Mhr /br'/ *A free (from guilt or debt); Qt free o.s.; ʃ be free(d) (from)*; /bəray'/, f. /-yyət/ *free (from debt etc.), innocent*; Soq /beri/ *free, exempt*.

The primary meaning is to *put in order*; applied to chaos, this means creation; to living beings, particularly humans, curing the sick and generally relieving and strengthening activities; to woods (from human point of view), clearing it for settlement and cultivation. On Mhr /brw/ and Soq /bere/ see /bn/ above. The meaning of the Phoen entry is a guess, but probably the root belongs here anyway. Cohen's (no. 400) Eg Cush entries have a different background. ?Ebl /ba-ra-u$_9$/, /-i/ *type of wool*.

BRD: Ug /brd/ *be cold*; Aram /bard/ *hail*; Syr =; Arab /barad/ =, /brd/ *be cold*; ESA /brd/ *cold*; Mhr /bərēd/ *frost, hail*; G&z /bäräd/ *hail, snow, frost, ice; crystal*; /brd/ *A freeze*; Te /brd/ *become cold, cool, quiet*; /bäräd/ *hail, snow*; /brd/ *cold, frost*; Har /bäräda/ *cool off, be cold*; /bäräd/ *hail*; (Na) *cold, cool*; /bərdi/ *cold*; Ch /bändä/, Sdd /bärrädä/, Wol /bärädä/ *hail*; Sdd /barädo/, Wol /barad/ *ice, hail,* *snow*; Bil /bäräd/ *hail; be(come) cool/cold, refresh o.s.*; Caf /baradō/ *hail.*

In Cush also: Afar /barad/ *hail*; Saho /baradō/ *cold*; and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 152. The root seems so well established in Cush, with vocalic afformatives more typical of it than of Sem. that it may be original to both stocks; on the other hand, the Caf entry seems to be a loan (Appleyard), so we do not have genuine attestation in Om. The alternative Sdd Wol entries are my personal recordings; the Sdd form appears influenced by Amh (and ultimately by Cush).

BRD II: ?Aram /bård/ *an unclean bird*; ?Syr /bård/ *dark-coloured, bluish (cloth); variegated, spotted (bird)*; ?Arab /burd(at)/ *streaky cloth/ raiment*; /'abrad/ *leopard*; ?Soq /&abdeher/, f. /&abidher/ *spotted (cow), meat (dish)*; /bdr/ *N be spotted*; /n&abdihir/ *diversity (of colours)*; ?Te /bärot/ *skin spot* (/barot/ *black spots*); ?/bär&äd/ *white, bright-coloured (cow; usually with some differently coloured hairs or other parts of body)*; ?Tu /bărdăγ/ *be spotted.*

As the meaning of the Hbr word is not accurately known, the relevance of the above entries is not certain; however, their number gives strong support to the present interpretation. On the other hand, the uneven distribution and additional elements, transpositions and phonological variants suggest that the root may be of pre-Semito-Hamitic origin, spread with the objects (birds, animals) so designated from its place of origin which, however, is hard to pinpoint.

BRV: Akk /birt/, /bert/, (MAss) /beritt/ *tie, fetter.*

As most recent research (see, e.g. K. Elliger in BK XI:1 p. 234, quoting E. Kutsch, Theol. Quart. 150/1970 p. 300f) has established that the primary meaning of the Hbr entry is *binding self-obligation*, the above entry is the only plausible cognate so far suggested; it cannot be a question of direct borrowing, as the Akk root is biradical (cf. pl. /birēt/) and used in quite different contexts.

BRZL: Phoen /brzl/ *iron*; Ug /brδl/, ?/pr7l/ =; Aram /barz(ä)l/ =, *iron tool*; (Bab) /przl/ *iron*; Syr /parzl/, /purzl/ =, *iron fetters*; Akk /parzill/ *iron (+ore?)*; Arab /firzil/ *fetters, shackles, iron-cutters*; ESA /frzn/ *iron.*

Another *Kulturwort* of uncertain origin; the Eth Cush words for iron are better derived from the root /br(r)/ than taken for truncated forms of this one; the Berb /azzal/ too is phonologically remote and admits other interpretations.

BRX: Phoen /brx/ *depart, vanish*; Ug /brx/ *flee(?); shaft, bar*; Aram /brx/ *flee*; ?Syr /brx/ *D make clear, evident, perspicuous*; ?Akk /barāχ/ *radiate*; Arab /brx/ *depart, cease*; ESA /brxm/ *uncontrolled(?).*

The meaning of the ESA entry is not unambiguous, but it seems to derive from this root anyway. Assuming that the primary meaning is transversal movement from a certain point of origin (with which all the other entries agree), the Syr entry is conceivable as being illuminated by radiation (cf.

Akk) or also as a result of movement into the open. NB. the Akk velar fricative vs. Ug Arab ESA pharyngal. Ebl /ba-ri-um/ *fugitive.*

BRK: Phoen /brk/, (sf.) βαραχω; ?(pref pl.) *ibarui: bless*; Ug /brk/ = ; *knee, lap; pond(?)*; Aram /brk/ *bless, praise; blaspheme*; /birk/, /bäräk/ *knee*; Syr /brk/ *kneel, prostrate o.s.; bless; D bless, congratulate*; /burk/, /brok/ *knee, kneeling*; Akk /birk, /burk/ *knee, lap, genitals*; Arab /brk/ *kneel; D, L bless*; /barakat/ *blessing, abundance*; /birkat/ *pond, pool*; ESA /brk/ *bless; tD/L praise*; /brkt/ *pond, cistern*; Mhr /brk/ *kneel, be mounted (by male); L bless; Qt be completely happy*; /bark/ *knee*; /bərkēt/ *pool*; Soq /borik/ *bless*; /'ebrek/ *make kneel*; /berak/ *(camel's, human) chest, breast*; du. /berki/, pl. /birok/ *knee*; G&z /brk/ *kneel; L bless, praise, venerate, salute, farewell; curse*; /brk/ *knee*; Te /brk/ *kneel, lie down; L bless; tL be blest, have fellowship*; /brk/, pl. /'äbrak/ *knee, knot (of durra-stalk), community; (in) common*; /bärkät/ *blessing, boon, thanks*; /brkt/ *produce blessing, yield plenty*; Har /gəlib/ *knee*; Ch /g^{w}ərbät/, Sdd /gulbät/ *knee, strength, energy, effort*; Wol /bərk/ *knee, elbow, joint (of finger)*; Sdd /birräkä/ *kneel*; /barräkä/ *bless*; /burake/ *blessing*; Ch Wol /bäräka/ = ; Bed /barak/ *bless*; /-āk/ *blessing*; /birka/ *lake, sea*; /gunba/, /gumba/, /gundūf/ *knee*; Bil /gir(i)b/ *knot, joint, knee, elbow*; (pl. /girfif/, /-fuf/); Som /ğil(i)b/ *knee, tribe, clan*; Om: Ari (Galila) /gumper/, Male /gum'-at/ (<*/gumB-at/) *kneel* (Fleming); Tu /bărăg/ *brag, boast (about)*; /ġərəffət/ *kneel*; Chad: */prk/, */g^{w}rp/, */g^{w}rm/ *knee; kneel* (Jungraithmayr & Shimizu s.v.).

In Cush also, Konso /kilpa/ *knee*. On *fertilization* as the primary meaning of the root in Hbr see my article in V.T. IX/1959 p. 158ff. In the light of the entries above the same may be true for the whole phylum; although not attested in Eg-Cpt, the root may confidently be regarded as original to entire Semito-Hamitic. Connection between fertilization and kneeling is well illustrated by the first Mhr entry, cf. also the Hbr (Gn 30:3) saying of the real mother giving birth to the adoptive mother's knees or lap, no doubt originally pretending that the latter herself produced the offspring; and the widespread gesture of acknowledgment or adoption generally, taking the adoptive children upon one's knees or lap (cf. Gn 48:12). That rain and water in general is important for fertilization of soil is obvious; cf. the mythological symbolization of rain as sky-father's semen fertilizing the earth-mother. However, as the connection between knee and blessing did not remain as obvious when the latter grew and multiplied its fields of reference, these two main meanings came to be separated in Cush (and under its influence in most of South Eth and Berb) by means of a transposed root var. present in Chad too but without semantic significance; phonological variation appears to have originated mainly in the same connection.

BRSQ: Aram = Hbr; Syr cf. /bursåy/ *tanner.*

LW from Gr.

BRC: Aram /brc/ *D let penetrate, flow through*; Syr /brc/ *penetrate; be able; A make pervade*; Arab /brΛ/ *gush out (small stream), produce first sprouts (plant)*; ?ESA /"brΛ/ *first "fruits" (of animals)?.*

The suggested interpretation of the ESA entry may be more plausible as a sacrificial term than "small quantities"; but positive support is lacking. NB. the sibilant correspondence.

BRQ: Ug /brq/ *lightning*; Aram /barq/ =, *white spot; hair*; /brq/ *give light, shine*; Syr /barq/ *lightning*; /brq/ *lighten, flash; be blunted (teeth)*; Amor /brq/ *shine, lighten*; Akk /berq/, /birq/ *lightning*; /barāq/ *lighten, flash, shine*; Arab /barq/ *lightning, light, brightness*; /brq/ *lighten, flash; ascend (star)*; ESA /brq/ *lightning, thunderstorm*; Mhr /bōrəq/ *lightning*; /brq/ + *H lighten, flash*; Soq /brq/ = ; *be visible*; G&z /brq/ *lighten, flash*; /mäbräq/ *lightning*; Te /bär(ä)q/ *lightning*; /brq/ *lighten, flash*; Har /bərāq/ *lightning*; /biriq bāya/ *scintillate*; /biririq bāya/ =, *lighten, flash, shimmer, be bright-coloured*; Sdd /bəraq/ *lightning, thunder*; Wol =, /bəra'/, /bula¢ liğ/ *lightning*; Om: Dime /bɛlxən/ *bright, shiny*; Mocha /p'arik'/ *lighten, flash* (Fleming); ?Chad: Hsa /walkiyā/ (with glottalized /k/) = ; ?Eg /b'q/ *be light, clear.*

The last Wol entry is my personal recording; cf. AmhS /belli¢ta/ = (likewise). The Hsa entry is phonologically difficult (Jungraithmayr); other similar forms in Chad are borrowed from it, Kotoko /barakə/ etc. from Arab (J.). Eg /brq/ *shine, glitter* and Cpt /(e)brēꝗe/ *lightning* are generally agreed to be loans from Sem, although exact source forms cannot be identified; but the above entry, compared by Erman-Grapow (Hwb p. 45), is accepted by Rössler and Ward as a cognate; it is not perfect phonologically nor semantically, but close enough to be rated a possibility at least. On the other hand, Saho /barag/ *shine, glitter*, being the only possible Cush attestation, may better be regarded as a loan, although again, an exact source form cannot be identified.

BRQ II: Aram /barqt/ *emerald*; Syr /bårq/ =; Akk /barraqt/ =; Arab /zumurrud/, /-δ/ =; G&z /(zä)märägd/ =; Te /märägd/ =; Eg /brgt/, Cpt /aberēğ/ =, *beryl.*

An old *Kulturwort*, probably of Indo-European origin (cf. K-B^3 s.v.).

BRʃ: Aram /bro^{w}t/, /-åt/ *cypress*; Syr /brōt/, /-ūt/ = ; Akk /burāʃ/ *(Phoenician) juniper (& its resin)*;?Arab /$irbīn/ *kind of cypress, larch* (Guillaume).

Another *Kulturwort* of unknown origin (hardly originally Akk). G&z /burat/ appears to be based on Gr βραθυ. Ebl /baraʃu/, /bal-/.

BʃL: Aram /bʃl/ *ripen, boil; D* = (trans.); Syr =; Akk /baʃāl/ = (ʃ trans.); Arab /bsl/ *ferment (excessively), grow sour/corrupt, stink; A cook* (Guillaume); ESA /bsl/ *offer (sacrifice); sacrificial hearth (or kitchen)*; Mhr /bhl/ *be cooked/baked; H cook, prepare; decide*; Soq /behel/ *boil*; G&z /bsl/ *ripen, be cooked; A cook*; Te /bʃl/ *ripen, boil,* *grow up*; /bʃul/ *boiled; scarlet; considerate*; Har /bsl/ *be ripe, well-cooked; A cook; bother*; /busul/ *ripe*; /bisāya/, /bissi/ *fruit*; Ch /bäsärä/, Sdd /bässälä/, Wol /-s-/ *be ripe/cooked; A cook, bake*; Som /bisil/ *cook, ripen*; ?Eg /fsy/, /p(f)-/ *cook, bake*; ?Cpt /pise/ =.

Primary meaning well preserved, with few extensions; NB. Mhr Soq /h/, Te /ʃ/. Eg /y/ = Sem /l/ is unusual; Berb /əfsəy/ *disintegrate* seems also semantically too remote.

Bʃ/SM: Phoen /bʃm/ *balsam, spice*; Aram /bsm/ *be sweet, pleasant, fragrant*; /busm/, /bosäm/, (Ex 30:23) /bsam/ *spice*; Syr /bsm/ *be/smell sweet, pleasant; rejoice*; /besm/ *odour, fragrance*; Arab /ba$ām/ *balsam (of Mecca)*; /b$m/ *suffer indigestion, nausea, disgust.*

The Aram Syr verb may be denominative, but hardly the Arab one, as it describes the effects of spice from quite different point of view; the noun is thus evidently also of Sem origin. Gr. βαλσαμον is attested from 4th century B.C.

BʃR: Phoen /bʃr/ *(sacrificial) flesh*; Ug /bʃr/ *flesh, body; (good?) news; bring (good?) news*; Aram /bsr/ *inform; bring good news*; /bisr/, /bsar/ *flesh; human being*; /ba$ruʷt/ *good news*; Syr /besr/ *flesh*; /sbr/ *D inform; preach the gospel*; /sbart/ *information; gospel*; Amor /b$r/ *announce*; Akk /bussur/, (NAss) /passur/ *inform, convey news*; Arab /b$r/ *rejoice; (+A, Qt) peel, grate, (locusts) devour (crop); D bring good news; A bring forth (plants), enliven (face)*; /bu$r/ *good news*; /ba$ar/ *man(kind)*; /ba$arat/ *skin; outward shape*; ESA /bʃr/ *flesh; human being; good news; (D?) announce; tD bring good news*; /tbʃrt/ *announcement*; Mhr /b$r/ *L console, bring good news*; *H look forward to (also ironically)*; /bə$ōrət/ *good news*; /bə$ərēt/ *skin, complexion; hymen*; Soq /b$r/, /bʃr/ *bring good news*; /bʃr/ *blame*; G&z /bsr/ *A bring good news*; (/basor/ *flesh*); Te /bʃr/ *D bring good news; L =; taste, gulp down, drink; tL devour (plenty)*; Har /bäsär/ *meat*; Gur /bäsär/ *meat, flesh, body* (varr. Sdd /bäʃär/, Wol /basar/ *meat*); Wol /abʃər/ *courage!*;?Eg /ʃnbt/ *skin (surface); body*; /ʃnft/ *scale (of fish).*

As Tu /bəʃʃər/ appears to be a loan from Arab (Prasse), the occurrence of the root is confined to Sem ?Eg. Nevertheless, being attested in all major subdivisions, we may confidently date its origin to prehistoric times of hunter-gatherer communities, when the return of the hunting party to the encampment with game was undoubtedly good news. There is no doubt that bringing *good* news, being overwhelmingly most frequently attested, is the primary meaning of the verb; the cases of neutral or opposite meaning may have originated through ironical (cf. Mhr) or euphemistic usage. Phonological irregularities (Akk, Eth) also suggest ancient origin; and even if Arab D be a loan, the primary stem exhibits the same positive attitude, while otherwise, the root has developed more specialized meanings, a phenomenon not uncommon in Arab. Soq /bʃr/ may be influenced by the local Arab dialect. The Gur varr. are my personal recordings (in Sdd, differentiated from /bäsär/ *flesh*). The Eg entries are phonologically difficult.

BT: Aram /batt/, /bitt/ *a measure of volume*; Te /bat/ =.

A commercial term of unknown origin; Gr βατος first attested in LXX.

BTL: Ug /btlt/ *unattached female*; Aram /btu^{w}lt/ *virgin*; Syr /btūl/ *chaste*; /-lt/ *virgin*; Akk /batūl/ *youth, young man*; /-ult/, (NAss) /-uss/ *virgin (? unmarried woman?)*; Arab /btl/ *cut off, separate; tD live chastely, devote o.s. to God's service*; /batūl/ *maid, virgin, nun.*

Originally, the term seems to have meant any unmarried female, the Hbr pl. being commonly used alongside /baxūrīm/ to mean all the young people together; development of the specific virginal connotation seems to have taken place mainly after the exile.

BTQ: Cf. the root /bdq/ above.

BTR: Aram /bitr/ *piece*; Arab /btr/ *curtail, bob*; /bātir/ *sharp-edged (sword)*; /mtr/ *cut*; G&z ?/bätr/ *stick, twig, sceptre*; /mtr/ *cut off, into pieces*; Te /mtr/ *grub up, clear*; Ch /betärä/, /bat-/ *separate, distinguish*; /mät-/ *take a piece (of s.th.); hash meat*; Sdd /mätt-/ =.

The G&z non-nasal var. is conceivable as referring to what has been cut off, but in rather specialized senses.

BTR II: ?Syr /malb/ *kind of odorant*, /ml'btrynwn/ =; ?Arab /malāb/ *saffron, perfume.*

Assuming that the 2nd Syr entry is the primary form of which the others are different kinds of abbreviations, the above entries may be relevant and the root derives from Gr μαλαβαθρινον (μυρον).

ג

G'V: Ug /g'an/ *pride*; Aram /g'V/ *be high, tall; tQ be eminent, exalted, proud*; Syr /ga'y/ *high, eminent, superb, haughty*; Bil /gui/ *rise, wake up, be resurrected, rebel.*

For other Cush attestations cf. Reinisch, Bilin-Wb s.v.; however, his Bed Ga Som forms seem phonetically too remote, and Eg /q/ does not seem to correspond to Sem /g/. The root thus appears original to Sem Cush; the patchy attestation may again be due to /'/ and semivowels being easily transformed or elided, leading to homonymity and disuse; or possible reinforcement (cf. Bed Som?) rendering the root formally too difficult to identify. Cohen's (no. 196*bis*) Eg Berb entries also seem phonetically too remote.

G'L: Aram /g'l/ *redeem; avenge (bloodshed)*; Amor /g'l/ *redeem*; ?Arab /lğ'/ *seek protection (of)* (Guillaume).

The Aram entry may be loan from Hbr.

GB: Ug /gb/ *back-like formation (of the moon) (=crescent?)*; Aram /gabb/ *back; shore, edge*; /gubb/ *pit, cistern*; Syr /gubb/ =; /gbīb/ *curved, hunched*; Akk /gubb/ *cistern*; Arab /ğubb/ =; *pit, well*; /ğubbat/ *eye-bone*; Mhr /gōbi/ *(river) bank, edge, brim, slope*; /gēbi/ *hem*; /gɛ̄byət/ *pond, round cistern*; Soq /gib'eleh/ *water-hole*; G&z /gb/ *pit, cistern, well, cave*; Te /gb/ *cave, pit, hole*; Har /gäb/ *cave*; ?Eg /gb/ *bend o.s.*

The root appears originally biradical, mostly expanded by gemination of the 2nd rad. or vocalically, in Soq by a lengthier afformative. The primary meaning may have been curvature, whether in- or outward; this would agree very well with the meaning of the Eg entry (Cohen no. 202), but its attestation may be late. Cohen's (no. 202) Cush entries are difficult phonetically also. The Akk entry is loan from Aram (vS). NB. the SamH var. (more original?).

GB(B): Aram /gbb/+*D/L rake (together); collect (money etc.).*

As raking things together results in a heap, the root may be ultimately connected with the preceding one; but the attested meanings are not directly comparable, and as /gb/ is purely nominal in Hbr and never shows repeated 2nd rad., this one is better considered a distinct root.

GB': Secondary expansion of /gb/, q.v.

A SAr /gb'/ *collect* (cf. V.T. 6 p. 193) I am unable to verify.

GBH: Aram /gbh/ *be big, tall, elated; A raise, pick up; tQ rise, grow proud*; ?Amor /gabu'/ *high(?)*; Arab /ğabah/ *high forehead*; /ğabhat/ *forehead; chief; the noble; the 4 front stars (="forehead") of constellation Leo*; /'ağbah/ *one with high forehead; lion*; Te /gäbbah/ *broad-fronted.*

The last rad. of the Amor entry is uncertain; but in a name (presumably) given to a child, /gbh/ would seem more natural than either /gbx/ or /gb&/.

GBV: Aram /gbV/ *raise (money etc.), collect (taxes)*; Syr /gbV/ =, *select, choose, demand*; Arab /ğbV/ *collect (water, taxes)*; ESA /'gbyw/ *tax collecting season*; Soq /gebe/ *find, come across.*

Semantically specialized expansion of /gb/; cf. /gb(b)/ too.

GBX: Aram /gbīx/ *extremely tall*; Syr /gbåx/ *frontally bald*; ?Amor (cf. /gbh/); Akk /gubbuχ/, /qu-/ *bald-headed.*

Semantically partly specialized expansion of /gb/; (on Syr Akk cf. /gbh/ Arab).

GBL: Phoen /gbl/ (pl. *gubulim* Poenulus 938) *boundary, territory*; ?Ug /gbl/ *mountain, rock (or* Npr?); Aram (Sfire) /gbl/ *territory*; Arab /ğabal/ *mountain (range)*; /ğbl/ *A, tD reach/enter mountain*; ?ESA (pl.?) /gblt/ *territory(?)*; Mhr /gəbēl/ *mountain(s).*

As mountain ranges often form natural boundaries (Irvine), that may be the primary meaning of the root; territory, again, is what is enclosed within boundaries. Eg /ğw/ is phonetically ambiguous; cf. Vycichl, Cpt s.v. /tow/.

GBL II: Aram /gbl/ *knead, mix*; Syr /gbl/ *pound, crush, mix; curdle, form, create, fashion*; Arab /ğbl/ *form, create.*

The Arab entry is semantically highly specialized, but still combinable with this root, cf. Syr.

GBN: Aram /gbi^{y}n/ *eyebrow*; /-nt/ *humpback*; /gibn/ =; *back*; /gubn/ *cheese*; Syr /gbn/ *contract, curdle*; /gbett/ (pl. /gubne/) *cheese*; /gbīn/ *eyebrow; mountain summit*; Akk /gubnat/ *cheese*; Arab /ğbn/ *tD/Qt curdle (milk), form cheese*; /ğub(u)n/ *cheese*, /ğublat/ *hump* (Barth); Mhr /gəbn/ =; G&z /gäbnät/, /g^{w}b-/ =; Ch /g^{w}əbər/ *humpbacked.*

In Cush: Qabena /gubura/ *humpbacked* (Leslau, Gur III p. 257, where also other Gur attestations). The word for *cheese* (and the Arab verb) is evidently related to the preceding root, originally probably as a phonetic root var., while the other entries are more directly related to /gb/; similar outward shape may then justify their inclusion under one heading. The word for *cheese* has become a *Kulturwort* and gained some extra distribution with phonetic variation; the Cush attestation may also be loan from Sem, Qabena being spoken in the Gurage area. For a possible Akk cognate cf. H.A. Hoffner Jr. in JAOS 86 p. 27ff; /gubnat/ is loan from Aram (vS).

GB&: Ug /gb&/ *hill*; Arab /gb&/ *be arched*; Akk /gab'/ *peak*; Arab /ğab'/ *hill, mound.*

The Akk entry occurs rarely, but is difficult to consider a LW; on the other hand, I do not find Arab /ğuba&/ in any other source outside K-B^{3} (a place name?), and so I accept /ğab'/ with Barth (EtS p. 16) as a representative of this root.

GBR: Phoen /gbr/ *man*; Aram /gbr/ *be strong*; /gabr/ *man*; /gubr/ =; *virility*; /gibbår/ *hero, heroic; giant; penis*; Syr /gabr/ *man, somebody, anybody; husband*; /ga(n)bår/ *hero, brave*; Akk /gapār/ *be strong, dominant*; Arab /ğbr/ *set (broken bone), heal, restore, rectify*; *coerce; Qt, tD, St recover (health, wealth etc.)*; /ğabr/ *force, constraint; king; slave*; /ğabbār/ *tyrant; giant*; G&z /gbr/ *work, act, do, make*; /gäbr/ *slave, servant*; Te /gbr/ *do; use violence; D enslave; pay taxes*; /gäbr/ *slave*; Har /gbr/ *A tame*; /gäbbār/ *vassal*; Ch /gäbärä/, Sdd /gibb-/, Wol /geb-/ *pay taxes*; Sdd /gäbbärä/, /atgibb-/, Wol /geb-/ *tame, subdue*; Som /gobārV/ *(single) man*; /gabrār/ *esteemed man.*

The basic reference is to strength or energy, whether possessed, recovered, or put into different uses. For other Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 257; he considers these loans from Sem, but in the light of the above Som entries which do not have plausible Sem sources, at least the possibility of original existence of the root in Cush should be left open. NB. Akk /p/. ?Ebl /gubar/ *(full) measure of volume.*

GG: Phoen /gg/ *roof; roof-maker(?)*; Ug /gg/ *(flat) roof*; Aram /giggi^{y}t/ *(cover of) a huge tank/reservoir*; Tu /agəgu/ *arching post supporting the tent (agst. the central part of the tent-cloth)*; /găggu/ *load (upon).*

In the light of the Tu entries, the original meaning may have referred to the joist(s) supporting the roofing; in Aram, the meaning has further shifted to mean usually the entire covered structure. On the other hand, the Eg /ǧ'ǧ'/ *head* seems related to Sem /gl(l)/ (cf. below) rather than to this root (see Vycichl, Cpt sub /ǧåǧ/); the meaning, *roof*, for the Eg word seems secondarily derived from it (cf. the prepositional usage) and so rarely attested that it could hardly have served as a basis for borrowing into foreign languages, as it has not survived in Cpt either. The Aram entry could be borrowed from the 2nd Hbr one (which also has the meaning, *roofing*, cf. Jastrow s.v.). Arab /sǧ/ refers to a roof only incidentally.

GD: Phoen (Pu) γοιδ *coriander*; ?Aram /gidd/ = *(?); small grain.*

In Aram, Löw does not accept the identification with coriander (cf. Dalman s.v.).

GD(D): Phoen (pl.) /'gddm/ *troops*; Aram /gdd/ *cut (off); make cuts, wound; decide*; Syr /gd/ *cut off*; Akk /gadād/ *set apart, separate*; Arab /ǧd/, /ǧδ/ *cut off*; ESA /gd(d)/ *H/S determine*; /gdd/ *assignation*; G&z /gdud/ *robber, pirate; grave, serious*; Te /gäda/ *brigand*; /gäd/ *luck, fortune.*

The primary meaning may be *cut (off); decision* is the same term used in a figurative sense, and the activities of robbers, "cutthroats", and more regular troops too are often described in similar terms; meaning to *gather* may thus have been derived secondarily from *robber(s), troops. Luck*, again, is readily understandable as a *decision* of fate, cf. also expressions like a *stroke of luck*; but cf. the next root. On the other hand, Gur /gäddädä/ etc. seems so close in meaning to /qä-/ that it is better considered a phonetic root var. of this in Gur.

GDV: Phoen (Pu) /gd'/ *kid*; Ug /gdy/ (pl. /gdm/) = ; Aram /gady/ = ; *god of luck*; Syr /gady/ *kid; a star*; Akk (late Bab) /gadū/ *kid*; Arab /ǧady/ = ; *the constellation Capricorn*; ?ESA /gdy/ *H donate*; /gdyt/ (pl.) *gift*; Berb: Sus /iγīd/ *kid*; (coll.) /aγγaΛ/ *goats*; Tu /eγayd/ *kid.*

The ESA entries are combinable with this root as generalizations from the use of kids as sacrificial animals; the Akk entry is loan from Aram (vS); the second Aram meaning could well be the original identity of the god of fortune, cf. the root /&ʃr/ below; in that case, the connection with the preceding root would represent secondary reinterpretation. Perhaps the final (semi-)vowel of this root is indeed a later augment? (cf. Ug pl. Berb). The word is a *Kulturwort.*

GDL: Ug /gdl/ *large, tall*; /gdlt/ *size*; /mgdl/ *tower*; Aram /gdl/ *be large; D bring up; tD be praised*; Syr /gdl/ *raise, rise, (make) ascend, fly*; Arab /ǧdl/ *grow (grain etc.); grow strong (gazelle etc.)*; ESA /mgdl/ *tower*; Soq /godil/ *be strong, firm*; Wol /gädärä/, /god-/ *grow up, be tall, large*; /yägäd-/, /gudar/ *large, great, tall*; Sdd /gəddər/ = .

Wol varr. are my own recordings. The primary meaning seems to be tallness, of which bigness is a generalization and strength a common attribute which, particularly with the connotation of firmness, approaches the meaning of the next root. Eg /mktr/ = Cpt /meϭtål/ is loan from Sem; while the meaning of /ǧd'/ (v. Calice no. 111) looks too remote.

GDL II: Aram /gdl/ +*D twist, plait*; Syr /gdl/ =, *mould, fashion*; Akk /gidl/ *twisted cord, chain*; Arab /ğdl/ *twist firmly (a rope), make firm/strong*; /ğadīl/ *firmly twisted (rope etc.); camel's nose-rein*; Mhr /gdl/ *plait*; Soq /gadl/ *tress, plait*; /gideleh/ *chain*; G&z /gdl/ *tL wrestle, contend (with), struggle*; Te /gdl/ *braid, dress (hair); L wrestle, fight*; /gädl/ *pains, effort*; /gddal/ *booty, sacrifice*; Har /gädäla/ *kill; tL fight, quarrel*; Sdd /gäddälä/ *fell (a tree), throw (s.o.) to the ground; kill; tL make an effort, wrestle, struggle*; Wol /gädälä/ +*tL* =.

The root could have common origin with the preceding one, the firmly twisted and therefore strong rope forming the semantic transitional link; but being scantily attested, it looks more like a semantic assimilation of homonymous roots. On the other hand, Leslau's observation that the South Eth meaning, to *kill* should be combined with this root rather than /qtl/, /q7l/ is further supported by the inclusion of the basic notion of twisting of which wrestling is a variation and more general fighting and killing not far away.

GD&: Aram /gd&/ *cut off*; Syr =; Arab /ğd&/ *mutilate, cut off (a limb)*; G&z /g^{w}d'/, /-d&/ *strike* (Leslau); ?Te /gd&/ *forsake, make lonely*.

The Te entry is combinable in a metaphorical sense.

GDP: Aram /gdp/ *D mock, revile, blaspheme*; Syr =; Arab /gdf/ *cut off* (=/gδf/); *D be ungrateful, blaspheme*; ESA /gδf/ *(D?) be an ingrate (towards God), blaspheme*; G&z /gdf/ *throw (off, away), reject, dismiss, repudiate*; Te /gdf/ *cast off, forsake*; /gädif/ *error*; /gdf/ *rubbish, trash, dung-hill*; Har /guduf/ *rubbish tip*; Sdd /guduf/ *dirt; kind of disease*.

In Eth, the meaning has developed somewhat differently, but the basic notion of rejection is common to all the entries. NB. the Arab ESA phonological variation.

GDR: Ug (pl.?) /gdrt/ *(protective) fence(?)*; Aram /gåde^{y}r/ *fence, partition*; /gudri^{y}t/ *fenced enclosure*; Arab /ğdr/ *enclose (by wall)*; /ğadīr/ *walled enclosure*; /ğadr/, /ğidār/ *wall, fence, dam*; ?ESA /gdr/ *stone wall(?)*; Mhr /gdr/ *pile up stones, build a wall*; /gīdōr/ *wall, cairn*; Te /gdar/, /gdor/ *totality*; (PTpr) *at, around*; /gdrät/ *callus*; /gudur/ *wall (of house)*; ?Ch /gadər/ *indoors cattle pen*.

The last Te entry may be a loan from Arab (pl.), as the meaning of the root has otherwise shifted remarkably. The ESA entry is on the authority of K-B^{3}, as I have not been able to verify it from other sources. The Tu /ăgadir/ is a loan from Arab (Prasse). Leslau (Gur III p. 265) considers the Ch entry loan from Cush, but as the root does not seem to be attested in Cush otherwise, the meaning is certainly compatible with the Sem root and even this word is more widespread in Gur (cf. ib.; perhaps even Wol /gudar/ *bridge* recorded by me is relevant?), I am inclined to believe that the opposite is true.

GDʃ: Aram /gdʃ/ *heap up; overfill*; /gdi^{y}ʃ/ *heap of grain/sheaves*; Syr /gdīʃ/ *heap of sheaves*; ?Arab /qadīs/ =; /ğadaθ/ *grave*.

The first Arab entry is evidently LW; the second, while semantically compatible (originally: *cairn?*), is not very close and phonetically irregular: it has a dialectal var. /ğadaf/, but nothing semantically close from /ğdf/ otherwise, either, and so it may be another ancient LW. Ebl /ga-dì-ʃum/ *heap of grain.*

GHR: ?Aram (cf. /gxn/ below); Syr /ghn/ *bend o.s.*; ?Soq /'egher/ *cough; destroy.*

If the root is ultimately cognate with /gxn/, the Aram entry is relevant, but Soq can hardly be; on the other hand, Syr could be phonetic var. of /ghr/ (with dissimilatory influence from the next root), with Soq conceivable in a causative sense, persistent cough tending to bend the body downwards; cf. also Leslau, Soq s.v.

GHR II: Syr /ghr/ *be dull, weak (of sight), blinded; blind; A =, obscure*; Arab /ğhr/ *be conspicuous*; Mhr /ghr/ *be dazzled*; /gawhərət/ *jewel*; Soq /gohereh/ =; Te /ghr/ *glow, become charred*; /gähär/ (coll.) *(glowing) coal.*

The primary meaning appears to be to *burn with bright glow*; the other meanings are understandable as variations or consequences thereof. Cf. also /gxl/ below.

GWV: Phoen /gw/ *midst, interior; community*; Aram /gaww/, /go^{w}/ *midst, interior; intestines*; Syr /gaww/ =; *community; the whole*; Amor /ga'y/ *people, clan*; Akk (Mari) /gā'/, /gaw/ *people*; Arab /ğaww/ *interior, vacant/empty space, depression (in the ground), wide valley, atmosphere*; ESA /gw/ *corporation, community, people*; /gw'/ *(stone) quarry*; Mhr /gōt/ (pl. /gīwē/) *ledge; deep hole*; Soq /gehe/ *chest, breast*; Bed /gau/ *family, house*; Bil /kau/ =, *people, tribe, township*; ?Chad: Hsa /gāwā/ *corpse, carcass*; Paduko /gogwa/ *back*; Eg /ğt/ *body, self; snake, eternity, infinity; property, real estate.*

The Chad entries are phonetically compatible with some expansion (in Paduko, reduplication); also semantically supported by Hbr Eg. Other meanings are derivable from the basic notion of empty space, either natural or artificially hollowed out, and the collective entity which may fill such an empty space; phonetically, the occasional /'/ and /h/ have originated as glides between vowels. For further Cush attestations see Cohen no. 222; but his Eg entry deviates phonetically and semantically.

GWZ: Aram /gwz/ *pass through; ?cut off*; Syr /gwz/ *evanesce (the moon), grow scarce, disappear*; Arab /ğwz/ *pass (along, by, through, beyond)*; ESA /gwz/ *pass (by, through)*; /mgzt/ *crossing, ford.*

The second Aram meaning may have been influenced by /gz(z)/ (cf. below). Assuming /-l/ to be the rather rare meliorative nominal afformative, the word for a young bird could derive from this root, if it originally referred to migratory birds; but cf. /gzl/ below.

GW&: Aram (Zkr) /g&/ *H delete*; Arab /ğw&/ *be(come) hungry*; ESA /gw&/ *famished*; Mhr /gw&/ *be hungry.*

In Cush: Iraqw /gwaa-/ *die* (Fleming). The attestation cannot be considered absolutely certainly relevant, but it is both phonolgically and semantically (cf. Hbr) quite plausible; the Aram entry is still further generalized. The patchy attestation may again be due to the root having only one fully firm radical and thus being prone to phonetic alterations.

GWP: Ug /gp(t)/ *shore; edge? caves?*; Aram /gu^{w}p/ *body, person; being, essence; capital*; /ge^{y}p/ *shore, edge, (river) bank*; Syr /gūp/ *net*; /gwp/ *hunt with net*; Arab /ğawf/ *hollow, interior, belly*; ?/ğīfat/ *corpse, carcass*; ?/ğuθθat/ *person, corpse*; Te /gof/ *interior, heart, soul, body*.

The root appears to be a var. of /gw/, phonetically conceivable as the result of devoicing of the 2nd rad. with concomitant narrowing or full occlusion of the labial opening. The third Arab entry, if relevant, represents a further phonetic variation (cf. /gdʃ/ above); the second one is sometimes derived from /ğyf/ *stink*; but more probably the verb is denominative, its meaning being strictly limited to this natural function of a carcass. The Te entry is perhaps just conceivable as a loan from Arab; but seeing how firmly rooted (including prepositional usage) it is in the language, originality is more probable despite non-attestation elsewhere in Eth.

GWR: Ug /gr/ *resident alien*; Aram /gwr/ *live in a foreign country; commit adultery; D proselytize; entice to adultery*; Syr /gwr/ *commit adultery; A entice to adultery*; /giyōr/ *alien, proselyte*; Arab /ğār/ *neighbour*; /ğwr/ *L live close by*; ESA /gr/ *live as an alien*; /gwr/ *partner*; Mhr /gwr/ *ʃ ask (God) for protection; become neighbour (to)*; /gəwayr/ *neighbour*; Soq (pl.) /gārheten/ =; G&z /gor/ =; /gyur/ *alien, proselyte*; Te /gor/ *neighbour*; /gwr/ *tL be neighbouring (to)*; Har /gār/ *house, room, family*; Wol /gar/ *house*; Som /gūr/ *move to new pastures; marriage*; /gūri/, /gurä/ *house, hut*.

The Som entries appear to be original (cf. Som /ğār/ *neighbour*, a loan from Arab), hence, the root is common to Sem Cush. On the other hand, Tu /məgurət/ *receive hospitality* is no doubt a loan from Sem, being based on a noun formed with /m-/-preformative (Arab nvb of *L-stem*?). The Aram-Syr meanings reflect the principle of the early Rabbis that living in a foreign country must be supposed to involve adultery and their reinterpretation of the biblical alien as a proselyte; the second G&z entry is in the same tradition and accordingly a loan.

GWR II: ?Arab (syr.) /ğwr/ *dig, hollow out*; /ğūrat/ *hollow, excavation*.

Assuming the grain store to be underground, these entries are relevant; on the other hand, the ESA designation for a grave, /gwr/, may be Npr.

GWR III: ?

Root var. of /ygr/ below, q.v.

GWR IV: Phoen /gr/ *lion? (lion's/dog's) whelp?* Aram /gu^{w}r/ *cub, young animal*; /gu^{w}ry/ *lion's cub*; ?Syr /gūry/ =; Akk /gerr/ *young of a carnivore*; Arab /ğirw/, /ğărw/ =; Tu /aggur/, /egg-/ *jackal.*

Apparently a wandering word, primary meaning a young carnivore; whether the final semivowel (dissimilated in Aram-Syr, assimilated in Akk) is original or perhaps added after the pattern of /'ary/ etc. (cf. /'rV/ II above) is not clear.

GWʃ: Aram /gwʃ/ *A harden*; /guʷʃ/ *(clod of) soil, (firm) ground*; Arab /ǧs'/ *be(come) hard, rigid*; /ǧas'/ *hard, rough ground.*

Apparently originally biradical; stem vowel lengthened in Hbr Aram, /'/ added in Arab.

GZ(Z): Phoen (Pu) /gz/, (NPu) /g&z/ *shearer(?)*; Ug /gzz/ *shear*; Aram /gzz/ = ; *cut off, circumcise, castrate*; Syr /gz/ *shear*; Akk/ gazāz/, /gacāc/, /ka-/ = ; Arab /ǧz/ = ; /ǧδ/ *cut, break to pieces, snatch, pluck away*; ESA /gz(z)/ *cut, harvest; ?H shave, shear*; Mhr /gzz/ *pluck (cultivated) fruit*; Soq /gez(z)/ *cut off*; /megez/ *scythe*; ?G&z /gz&/ (Leslau); ?Te /gz/ *divide (by hand; dough etc.)*; /gzazāt/ *small bit*; Ch Wol /gəzägäzä/, Sdd /-gg-/ *cut (a living being) with a blunt knife*; Sdd /məgaz/ *saw.*

The primary meaning may be to *shear* (which was often done by plucking), occasionally expanded to mean other analogous activities; but the root may be ultimately connected with /qc(V)/, cf. the Akk varr.; the second Arab entry is a further phonetic differentiation (cf. /gd(d)/); the ESA entries are not quite certain, but the existence of the root in a roughly comparable meaning (perhaps *fix, determine* too would be acceptable as a metaphor) in ESA seems assured. The Phoen (Pu) entry is based on a reading /hgz/ in Slouschz no. 251 = CIS I 2643 1. 2. ?Ebl /ig-za/ *harvest.*

GZBR: Aram /gizbår/, /gizzabr/ *treasurer*; Syr /gēzabr/ = ; Akk (late Bab) /ganzabār/ = .

LW from old Persian.

GZV: Phoen /gzt/ *wall(?) of hewn stone*; Aram /gåziʸt/ *hewn stone*; ?/gudd/ *wall*; ?Syr /gudd/ = ; ?Arab /ǧδw/ *stand firm*; ?ESA (du.) /gδwty/ *stone pillar*; ?Berb: Lib /'gzb'/ *master builder(?).*

The entries are of the nature of *Kulturwörter* which perhaps accounts for the phonological irregularity (and, if the Lib entry be relevant, for its augmentation); the Arab entry is relevant, if based on a structure of hewn stone such as ESA or Syr etc. The root appears related to /gd(d)/ and /gz(z)/. ?Ebl /gú-zi-tum/, /ga-/ (= giʃ-URU).

GZL: Phoen /gzl/ *N be seized, pass away*; Aram /gzl/ *rob, seize*; Syr /glz/ *rob, deprive*; ?Arab /ǧzl/ *cut in two*; /ǧawzal/ *young pigeon; youth.*

The word for the young of a bird is perhaps derivable from this root in the light of the rule (Dt 22:6f) that on finding a bird's nest only the young were to be seized and the mother let off; cf. the use of the root of the premature death of a youth in Phoen. The first Arab entry could also be relevant in the light of the practice to nip off the neck of sacrificial birds.

GZM: Aram /gdm/ *cut off, amputate*; ?/gzm/ *threaten*; Syr /gdm/ *cut off, fell*; ?/gzm/ *threaten*; Akk /gadām/ *cut off*; ?/kasām/ *cut down, off,* *into pieces*; Arab /ǧdm/, /ǧδm/ *cut off, curtail, amputate*; ?ESA /gzm/ *call convocation under oath; oath, binding obligation*; ?Mhr /gzm/ *swear (off, to)*; Soq /gidem/ *be cut, mutilated (hand)*; /godim/ *piece, bit*; ?/gezom/ *swear*; G&z /gzm/ *cut (off, down), fell (timber)*; Sdd Wol /gänžämo/ *big axe.*

The varr. with /z/ (outside Hbr Eth) are conceivable as metaphorical abstractions from the more primary concrete meanings which seem to centre around amputation or mutilation of hand, a widespread ancient punishment for theft etc.: in Arab, still further phonetic differentiation has taken place, and /z/-var. has also retained some concrete usage; the Akk var., if indeed related, is phonetically differently structured, as also the Gur entry, apparently in consequence of the secondary nasalization. However, the possibility of two originally different roots occasionally assimilated and amalgamated cannot be excluded altogether.

GZ&: ?Aram /gd&/ *cut off*; Syr /guz&/ *stick, log, stump*; Arab /ǧid&/ *stock (of palm tree); roof beam*; (eg.) *trunk (of body)*; /ǧz&/ + *D,Qt cut*; ESA /gz&/ *break, cut off*; ?Mhr /gz&/ *go down, (sun) set*; Soq /godex/ *(tree) trunk, stump*; G&z /gz&/ *saw asunder*; ?Sdd /məgaz/ *saw.*

Cf. /gd&/ and /gz(z)/ above. The Mhr entry is semantically tenuous; in Sdd, a final vowel would be expected.

GZR: ?Ug /'agzr/ (pl.?) *"carved images"(?)*; Aram /gzr/ *cut, circumcise, castrate; decide, decree*; Syr /gzr/ *cut (off), dissect, circumcise; decide, decree*; Arab /ǧδr/ *cut off, trench, root out*; /ǧzr/ *cut (fruit off tree etc.); gather (honey); slaughter & skin (camel etc. for guests)*; Mhr /gzr/ *slaughter (for bride)*; /gəzayrət/ *island*; Soq /gzr/ *Qt be half full*; /gezher/ *recompense*; G&z /gzr/ *circumcise*; /gzrät/ *circumcision*; Te /gzrät/ = ; /gäzirät/ *island*; /gnzr/ *cut and sell meat*; ?Sdd /gizret/ *circumcision, clitoridectomy*; ?Berb: Shilxa /agzar/ *butcher.*

The Sdd entry may be influenced by Amharic (cf. AmhS /gəzrät/ = ; both my recordings), as otherwise in Gur and most of South Eth, the root is attested with metathesis: Zway /gäräzä/ *circumcise* (etc.: cf. Leslau, Gur III p.297); Har /gēräzä/ *plait (the hair)*, however, seems semantically too remote to me. Generally in Eth, moreover, the meaning seems to have become highly specialized, the more original one of the Te verb made distinct by nasal augmentation; in Arab, a further phonetic split has taken place again; the Ug entry is contextually difficult. Cohen's (no. 198) Cush entries are phonetically difficult, the Berb ones also semantically vague; the Shilxa one might be loan from Arab despite /g/.

GXL: ?Arab ǧxm/ *kindle (fire); flame, blaze, burn fiercely*; ?Te /gxm/ *carbonize*; /gäxäm/ *charcoal*; Ch /garä/, Sdd Wol /galä/ *be red-hot.*

The Arab Te entries are phonetically difficult, as /m/ usually does not interchange with non-nasal approximants; but as the Te meaning is perfect and the Arab one not far removed either, perhaps assimilatory influence from /xm(m)/ is responsible for the final nasal.

GXN: Aram /gxn/ *bend o.s.*; ?Syr /ghn = ; Arab /ğnx/ = ; *lean (on)*; ?/xğn/ *bend crook (a staff)* (Guillaume); ?/ğaxin/ *ill-fed, mean, weak.*

The third Arab entry is combinable in a generalized sense; the Syr one looks like a compromise between this root and /ghr/, unless both have common origin.

G7: Aram /gi77/ *document; letter of divorce*; Syr /ge77/ *testament*; Akk /gi77/ *lengthy tablet; receipt, document.*

LW from Akk (and ultimately Sumerian).

GY': Arab /ğaww/ (pl. /ğiwā'/) *wide part of a valley*; G&z /ge/ *country, town*; Har /gē/ *city (of Harar); side of*; Sdd /ge/ *house*; Wol /ge/, /gē/ *country, village.*

The Wol var. is my own recording. The ESA /gw'/ looks closer to /gwV/, unless indeed the two roots have common origin (cf. Arab). As settlements were established mostly in valleys, the Eth entries pose no semantic difficulty. Eg /g'w/ has quite an opposite meaning.

GYD: ?Ug (pl.) /gdm/ *sinew(?)*; Aram /gi^{y}d/ = ; *nerve, artery; penis*; Syr /gyåd/ *nerve, root fibre*; Akk /gīd/ *sinew, muscle (of animals)*; Arab /ğīd/ *neck; coat of mail*; Soq /žid/ *nerve.*

The Ug entry could perhaps be pl. of /gdy/ (cf. /gdV/ above); the Arab semantic development has been unusual, but with the basic notion of firmness even the second meaning is conceivable as a result of a kind of wickerwork.

GYX: Aram /gwx/ *burst out; roar, bellow*; Syr /gwx/ *fluctuate, burst out, germinate*; Amor /gyx/ *burst forth*; Arab /ğwχ/ *(river, torrent) wash away (a bank); D prostrate (s.o.), snatch off; tD (well) fall in; (abscess) burst*; G&z /gwx/, /gwh/ *burst forth, appear (light)*; Te /gwx/ *dawn*; Ch /gā balä/ = .

In Eth, the meaning has shifted to refer to light; cf. /nhr/ below.

GYL: Ug /gl/ *rejoice*; ?Aram /gwl/ *roll*; /gi^{y}l/ *something round*; ?Syr /gwl/ *fluctuate, be moved (to pity etc.)*; ?Arab /ğwl/ *go round (about), wheel around; be moved, excited*; Te /gwlV/ *dance & sing*; /goyla/ *dance, banquet, revelry*; Som /gor/, /kol/ *time*, /ğir/ *year.*

The root is difficult to delimit agst. /gl(l)/ (cf. below) and may indeed be of cognate origin; here, the purely formal criteria of long stem vowel and non-geminate 2nd rad. are applied; semantically, Aram Syr Arab are closer to /gl(l)/, but the emotional connotation in Syr Arab links them with this root too. The origin and significance of the final vowel in Te is obscure. For further Cush attestations see Cohen no. 218. Amm (js) /ygl/.

GYS: Aram /gys/ *D assemble, herd together*; /gays/ *gang of brigands*; Syr /gys/ *rob, plunder, sack*; /gays/ *troops, army, robber band; invasion, plunder*; Arab /ğy$/ *D assemble (an army etc.)*; /ğay$/ *army, troops, band of men*; ESA /gyʃ/ = ; ?Mhr /gy$/ *call together (tribe).*

Apparently loan from Aram in Hbr.

GL(L): Phoen (pl.?) /mglt/ *scroll*; Ug /gl/ *cup, goblet*; Aram /gll/ *D, R roll, turn over (& over)*; /gall/ *heap of stones, wave, excrement, idol*; Syr /gall/ *wave; cloak, mantle*; /glg/ *revolve, reveal*; /glgl/ *remove, take off; tR be removed/revealed; be rounded*; /glīl/ *round; circle of stones*; Akk /galāl/ *roll, turn over (& over)*; /gulgull(at)/ *skull*; ?Arab /ğulğul/ *a small bell*; /ğalağa/, ?/ğumğumat/ *skull* (Cohen no. 22); Soq /'ig&alil/ *roll, somersault; be solid*; ?/megolhi/ *gliding down*; (pl.) /gilegel/ *small balls*; /ge&ereh/ *wave*; ?/gemgemoh/ *head*; G&z /'nglg/ *come/run together, congregate, form groups*; ?Te /glgl/ *throw away, spit out; harrow (rake?), gather together; become related*; /glgl/ *foal (mule/horse)*; ?Ch /grangər/, ?Sdd /gilgil/, ?Sdd ?Wol /gəlgəl/ *young of an animal*; Ch /gʷər/, ?Sdd ?Wol /gulungul/ *clod of earth*; Bil /kirkirtā/ *skull, head, crown (of head)*; Som /galgal/ *roll; rolling*; Tu /gələllət/ *be round, circular*; /tagələllet/, /təgl-/ *circle*; /akəlkəl/ *brain*; Eg /ğ'ğ'/ *head*; /-'w/ *pot*; /-'t/ *council*; Cpt /ğåğ/ *head.*

The first Arab entry could be sound-imitative; a /ğulğulat/ *head/skull* I could not verify. In Soq, phonetic developments go even farther than usual, if the last entry is relevant. In Eth, the semantic connection is rather tenuous, but not inconceivable, in G&z even plausible, and so we may conclude that the root is probably original to Eth also; and as the non-Sem entries are without plausible sources of borrowing, they may be original too. Cpt /kalkil/, /ꝗalil/ *wheel*, however, is evidently loan from Sem. In Cush also: Saho /kalkale/ *skull, head.* ?Ebl /gú-li-lum/ *bracelet.*

GLBQY: Aram = Hbr; Syr /glwqywn/, /gl'w-/ *juice of the horned poppy.*

LW from Gr.

GLD: ?Ug /glδ/ *freeze; ice (?)*; Aram /gild/ *skin, scab, crust, plating; sole*; Syr /geld/ *hide, skin, leather*; /gld/ + *A freeze*; /'aglīd/ *cold, ice*; Akk /gil(a)d/ *skin*; Arab /ğld/ *be frozen*; /ğild/ *skin, hide, leather*; Mhr /gɛ̄d/ (pl. /gəlēd/) *skin, hide*; Soq /gad/ (pl. /'egelid/, dim. /guwoled/) *skin, leather; person(ality); firmament*; G&z /gld/ *cover, draw over*; Te /gld/ *beat hard, skin, destroy*; /gldät/ *(hairless) skin (of animals).*

The Ug entry (if correctly interpreted) suggests that the term for freezing and ice may have been originally different from this root; in Soq, the sky was apparently conceived as a tent of skins; the Hbr and Akk (late Bab only) entries are apparently loans from Aram.

GLV: Phoen /gl(V)/ *uncover*; Ug /gly/ *depart*; Aram /glV/ *open, uncover; go into exile*; Syr /glV/ =, *manifest, declare, pronounce*; Akk (NAss, NBab, late Bab) /galū/ *go into exile; ʃ* caus.; Arab /ğlw/ *rub, polish, disclose, expel; emigrate*; Mhr /glV/ *polish: A cleanse (a wound); ʃ come out (to sit for inspection)*; G&z /glgl/ *evacuate*; Te /glV/ *rob, seize, take captive/away*; Berb (Sus) /gli/ *lead, conduct (animal, in a leash)*; Shilxa /gli/ *lead*; Tu /gălăt/ (nvb /tagle/) *move away, change camping place*; ?Eg /qr(y)/ *approach, reach*; ?Cpt /ꝗoile/ *visit, stay (overnight etc.)* (Vycichl).

v. Soden (AHwb s.v.) considers the Akk entry borrowed from Aram; if this be so, this meaning in Aram cannot possibly be borrowed from Hbr and may indeed be of ancient origin, cf. Te (Arab Tu). G&z /gly/ appears semantically too uncertain, Gur /gällälä/ (etc.) phono- and morphologically too (though not incompatible with the G&z entry; was the root originally biradical?).

GLX: Aram /glx/ *D shave (the hair)*; ?Syr /glx/ *expand; reveal; pronounce (sentence)*; Arab /ğlx/ *lose one's sidelocks*; /'ağlax/ *bald on temples*; Te /glxV/ *be bald, shave one's head; be hornless (cow).*

The Syr entry is semantically tenuous, but not incompatible; the Te one again augmented with a final vowel.

GLM: ?Phoen /glm/ *kind of spirit*; Aram /gulm/ *unfinished vessel; lump (of clay), rock, hill*; /gli^{y}m/ *mantle, cloak*; Syr /glaym/ = ; ?/galm/ *rocky terrain; arms stripped off fallen enemy*; ?Arab /ğlm/ *cut off, shear, clip*; /ğalamat/ *skinned & legless body of an animal*; ?Soq /gelem/ *be entangled, embroiled.*

The primary meaning may be wrapping something up in a cloak or the like, which produces a rather shapeless bundle; this is then more or less vaguely comparable to other formless lumps (including a skinned sheep's body) or other material on which work is being done but still unfinished, perhaps also to other entangled mass or disfiguration characteristic of some states considered caused by spirits. These secondary meanings, however, can hardly be considered proven.

GLMD: Aram /galmu^{w}dt/ *menstruating*; Arab /ğalmad/, /ğulmūd/ *large rock; strong man.*

The basic meaning appears to be hardness, with a connotation of impenetrability which, however, is also used unconnected with hardness; on the other hand, hardness is usually thought to imply strength also. Cf. also /gmd/ below.

GLSQ: Aram = Hbr; Syr /glwsq/ *the finest wheaten flour.*

LW from Gr (with shift in meaning).

GL&: ?Phoen /gl&n/ *open-eyed(?)*; Syr /gla&t/ *foreskin*; Arab /ğl&/ *be disclosed (teeth); be shameless*; G&z /gäl&/ *bark, rind, shell; ostracon*; Te /gl&/ *uncover; withhold, cancel (an engagement).*

The Phoen entry may have preternatural connotation; the Syr G&z entries are objectival, designating objects to be removed.

GL& II: Syr /glå&/, /-a&t/ *date bone.*

Perhaps connected with the preceding root (as an object to be uncovered).

GM(M): Aram /gmm/ *cut off (to ground level)*; Syr /gm/ *cut off, fell down*; Akk /gamām/ *cut off*; Arab (syr.) /ğm/ *prune*; /'ağamm/ *hornless (ram etc.)*; Te /gm/ *be missing, incomplete; L cut off, clip (nails etc.)*; Ch /gämämä/ *chip (the rim of a utensil)*; /gəmum/ *(cow) with horns cut.*

The first Arab entry may be of Syrian origin, but the other agrees with Eth too and may mean that the root is original to Arab also. The Akk entry could be LW.

GM': Aram /gm&/ *quaff, swallow (water)*; Syr /gm&/ *sink, dip (into water)*; Arab /ğm&/ *A (rain) drench (land)*; G&z /gm&e/ *vessel (for liquids)*.

The attested meanings go somewhat apart, but all are centred around water, the Arab meaning and form being closest to Hbr whose glottal stop may be secondary in relation to the pharyngal elsewhere.

GM' II: Aram /gåmy/, (eg.) /gm'/ *reed, papyrus*; G&z /gome&/ =; Eg /qm'/ Cpt /kam/ =.

LW from Eg.

GMD: Aram /gmd/ *contract, curtail*; Syr =; Arab /ğmd/ *congeal, stagnate, dry up*; Soq /gemed/ *dry up*: /'egmed/ *lack*.

These entries are relevant, if the interpretation of the Hbr entry is correct. Cf. also /glmd/ above.

GML: Aram /gml/ *deal with, requite*; Amor /gml/ *please; spare*; Akk /gamāl/ *deal with, requite, spare*; Arab /ğml/ *collect; be nice, act properly; A sum up*; Mhr /gml/ *buy all on offer; L, Qt do a favour*; /gəmaylət/ *advantage; strength to endure*; Soq /gemāleh/ *blessing, joy*; ?Te /gml/ *thrive, have thick foliage / dense hair*.

The basic idea is that of positive reciprocity, if not directly expressed, at least presupposed; in Te, however, even this is not apparent, but not precluded either.

GML II: Phoen γαμαλ *camel*; Aram /gaml/ =; Syr =; Akk (NAss) /gammal/ =; Arab /ğamal/ =; *(whale, swordfish)*; ?/ğml/ *be nice, pleasing*; ESA (coll.) /gml/ *camels*; Mhr /gəmmōl/ *camel man*; Soq /gimal/, f. /gemel/ *camel*; G&z /gämäl/ =; Te =; Har /gāmäla/, /-mila/ =; Ch /gamera/, Sdd /gəmäl/, Wol /gamelä/ =; Bed /kām/ =; Bil /gimīlā/ (pl. /-al/, /ginfil/) =; Som /gōl/ *fat & barren camel*; /gamēlo/ *camel's or horse's tail or mane hair*; /gāl/ *camel* (Zaborski); Caf /gallō/ =; Berb: Lib /gmyl'/ (pl.?) =; Rif /alγ'm/, /arγ'm/ =; Zenaga /tedžimt/ *female camel*; Fass /algom/ *camel*; /agmā̆r/ *horse*; Sus Shilxa /agmar/ =; Chad: Hsa (etc.) /raaqumii/ *camel*; Gis /('a)dlogomo/ =; Lele, Sumray /ğambal/ =; Eg (Dem.) /gmwl/, Cpt /ꝗamūl/ =.

In Cush also: Konso /kaala/ =. An ancient *Kulturwort*; should it be of Sem extraction after all, the Arab verb would most probably be the relevant root; but more probably it is folk-etymologically connected. According to v. Soden, the Akk entry is a loan from West Sem; according to Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, the Chad minority type from Arab, the main one from Berb; of this last, I am not convinced, but in an old wandering word it makes little difference anyway.

GMC: Aram /gmc/ *dig a pit*; /gummåc/, /ku-/, /qu-/ *pit*; Syr /gumåc/ =; /gmc/ *throw into a pit*; ?/guma&t/ *pit, reservoir; grave*; ?/gm&/ *sink (under water)*.

The Hbr entry is usually considered loan from Aram; but the Aram varr. strongly suggest that it is a LW itself in that language; and the semantically close Syr /gm&/ would seem to indicate that the form with /-c/ is of Canaanite origin, perhaps only dialectally preserved in Hbr; however, Arab /ğm&/ is perhaps also semantically combinable with "reservoir"; and cf. /gm'/ above. Dolgopolsky's (p. 309) Som Sid entries seem rather remote.

GMR: Phoen /gmr/ *fulfil, complete*; /mgmr/ *destroyer(?)*; Ug /gmr/ *(be) complete*; /tgmr/ *total*; Aram /gmr/ *complete, end, cease; draw a conclusion; (+D) finish, annihilate*; Syr = (except *conclude*); Amor /gmr/ *complete, finish*; Akk /gamār/ =, *use up, annihilate*; Arab /ğmr/ *(+A) meet (for business); D join, gather*; ?/kml/ *be perfect, complete*; G&z /gmr/ *A complete, finish (off); contain, comprehend*; Te /gmr/ *D edge, border; tL barter (wholesale), negotiate, plan*; ?Tu /əgmər/ *(go to) hunt; collect (milk for transportation); feed excessively; do for fun (etc.)*; /əɣmər/ *prepare, fill up; satisfy (a need); enrich; populate*.

The fact that the root appears in Tu only outside Sem, and there in two varr. the more plausible (semantically) of which is phonologically irregular makes both somewhat doubtful; however, the Arab var., semantically about as perfect as can be expected, supports Tu, as it is hard to conceive otherwise than originated in very ancient times. The second Phoen entry, while supported by Aram etc., could perhaps be understood ironically: of "perfect intelligence".

GN(N): Phoen /gn(n)/ *cover (protectively)*; /gt/ *wine vat*; Ug /gn/ *(walled) garden*; /gt/ *winepress*; Aram /gnn/ *+A protect*; /gannån/ *gardener*; /ginnt/ *garden*; Syr /gannt/ =, /gannån/ *gardener*; /gn/ *dwell, inhabit*; Akk /ganān/, /ka-/ *enclose, shut in*; Arab /ğn/ *be dark; cover, wrap, conceal*; /ğannat/ *garden, paradise*; /ğunnat/ *protection, shield, armour*; ESA /gn(n)/ *Qt protect*; /gnt/ *cover, shelter*; /gn'/ *construct (a wall)*; /'gnw/ (pl.) *gardens*; Mhr /knn/ *take shelter, come in (from rain)*; Soq /ginneh/ *paradise*; /megineh/ *cemetry*; G&z /gännät/ *garden, paradise*; Te /ğännät/, (poet.) /gänna/ *paradise*; Sdd /gännät/ =.

The meaning, *paradise*, and special forms for it are no doubt loans ultimately from Hbr; but other entries, including the second Soq one, may be original to the respective languages. NB. the initial /k/ in Akk var. Mhr. Amm (pl.?) /(wh)gnt/.

GNB: Phoen /gnb/ *remove, steal*; Aram /gnb/ *steal; D =, seek round about ways*; Syr /gnb/ *steal, hide, abduct, seduce, deceive*; /gabb/ *side*; Arab /ğnb/ *put aside, send away, discard*; /ğanb/ *side, flank*; Mhr /gnb/ *(camel) dislike its young; Qt take s.o. aside*; /ganb/ *side*; /gənbēt/ =; *pleurisy; nocturnal pollution*; Soq /gembiyeh/ (pl. /genēbi/) *side-arm* *(curved dagger)*; Te /gmbV/, /gnbV/ *tQ run; AtQ drive away*; /gnbya/ *the way running camel throws its legs aside*; ?Sdd /gənäbbä/, Wol /’ignəba/ *build (a stone wall)*; Ch Sdd /gəmb/ *stone wall*; Eg /ğnb/ *bend, be bent; diverge (from a way).*

The primary reference appears to be to a side and to putting aside with which the Eg entry is certainly compatible; as a wall often equals a side, the Gur entries could be relevant, but positive proof is lacking.

GNGL: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat (with phonetic shift).

GNV: Aram /gnV/ *put to shame*; Syr /gnV/ *D blame, reproach*; ?Akk /genū/ + *D push, gore*; Arab /ğny/ *commit offence, crime*; Te /gnay/ *miscarriage, monster.*

The entries can be understood as attitudes, expressions, or objects of disapproval; the Akk entry, however, is rather tenuously connected with the theme and is perhaps better derived from the root /ngx/ (see below), although this involves transposition of the remaining consonantal radicals.

GNZ: Aram /gnz/ *hide, keep in store*; /ginz/ *treasure, -ry*; Syr /gazz/ = ; /gnīz/ *hidden, unknowable, invisible, not pronounced; daemon*; Arab /ğnz/ *cover, conceal; D put (a deceased) on a litter*; /ğanāzat/ *bier, corpse, funeral*; /knz/ *bury (a treasure)*; /kanz/ *buried treasure; gold*; ESA (pl.) /gnzt/ *the dead*; Mhr /gənōzət/ *bier, corpse*; /kanz/ *treasure*; Soq /genoz/ *lean, bend sideways*; /genāzeh/ *funeral*; G&z /gnz/ *prepare for funeral*; /gnzät/ *funeral*; Te /gnz/ *wrap up the corpse*; /gnazät/ *corpse*; ?/gnazi/ *brave.*

In Gur too: Muher /gännäzä/ *wrap up the corpse.* The funeral terminology appears largely borrowed from language to language, ultimately derived from the Persian word for *treasure*. Mhr /kanz/ may be a loan from Arab. The last Te entry is combinable in a metaphorical sense: a brave man fights like a "corpse", as if he was dead already, i.e., without fear of death.

GS(S): Aram /gss/ *recline to dine*; /gass/ *large (quantity)*; Syr /gs/ *A place; (tell to) recline*; Ch /agäsäs/ *beast of burden; big eater, voracious.*

The central theme is settling down to eat which implies eating plenty, as beasts of burden too are used to do.

GSV: Arab /ğs/ *feel with hand.*

Cf. the root /gʃ(ʃ)/ below.

G&V: Ug /g&t/ *(bel)lowing (of an ox)*; Aram /g&V/ *bellow*; Syr /g&V/ =, *shout, cry*; Arab /ğa&ğa&at/ *grumbling (of camels), mill-clack*; Soq /ge’ge’/ *(cattle) low; laugh.*

Of onomatopoeic origin.

G&L: Aram /g&l/ *D dirty, make filthy*; Arab /ğ&r/ *(wild beast) dung.*

G&R: Ug /g&r/ *(horse) neigh wildly; shout, rebuke*; Aram /g&r/ *shout (at)*; Syr /g&r/ *upbraid, rebuke*; Arab /ğ'r/, (syr.) /ğ&r/ *bellow*; G&z /g&r/ *shout, cry, sigh*; Te /g&r/ *shout, roar, lament*; ?Har /girgir bāya/ *make noises*; ?Ch /ag^{w}äk^{w}ärä/, ?Sdd /ag^{w}arra/ *bellow, howl, roar (animals).*

Of onomatopoeic origin.

G&ʃ: Arab /ğ&s/ *defecate; tD use bad language.*

The semantic link is rather tenuous, but with good phonetic correspondence still plausible; on the other hand, Arab (etc.) /ğs&/ seems semantically remoter still and involves transposition.

GP(P): Aram /gapp/ *wing; fowl; city gate*; /gipt/ *sediment, lees*; Syr /gepp/ *wing, fin, forearm*; Akk /agapp/ (NAss /g-/ also) *wing, (eye)lashes, wing of a (double) door*; Arab /ğuff/ *spathe of palm-tree; anything hollow; old man; company of men*; ?/ğaff(at)/ *company of men*; ?/ğuθθat/ *corpse; person.*

The second Hbr and Aram entries are rather weakly connected with the first, but the Arab first entry meanings bridge the gap to some extent and may also render connection with the other Arab entries plausible. The root appears related to /gwp/ (above) q.v.; cf. also /'gp/ above. Cohen's (no. 26) Cush Eg entries are difficult both phonologically and semantically.

GPN: Ug /gpn/ *vine*; Aram /gupn/ =, *grape*; Syr /gpett/, /gupn/ *vine; (any) plant growing tendrils*; Akk /gapn/ *bush, shrub*; /gupn/ *tree (trunk)*; Arab /ğafn/ *vine*; ESA (pl.) /gfnt/ =.

In the specific meaning, *vine*, a *Kulturwort*; but this not being attested in Akk, difficult to see why it should be a West Sem LW there (the Mandaean /gwpn/ *tree* may rather be influenced by Akk).

GPS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /gupsīn/ *gypsum*; Arab /ğibs/ =.

LW from Gr.

GPR: ?Arab /ğufrat/ *wide cavity (in ground); interior cavity of the body; place where the ribs curve.*

Comparison with the Arab entry is suggested on the surmise that the Hbr one is not meant to be designation of a tree *species*, but rather describe the *shape* of the timber to be used and perhaps indeed represents survival of the name of the most primitive *Wasserfahrzeug* of them all, the hollowed-out tree trunk. The planks for Noah's ark would of course be less concave, but still sufficiently curved to give the entire vessel such a hollowed-out shape, maintained from inside by "ribs" bent across them like in the chest cavity of human or animal body (cf. the Arab entry).

GPR II: Aram /gupre^{y}t/ *sulphur*; Syr /kebrīt/ =; Akk /kibrīt/, /kub-/ =; Arab /kibrīt/ =; Mhr /kəbrīt/ =; *match(es)*; Soq /kibrīt/ *sulphur*; G&z /käbarit/ =; Har /kibrīt/, /kirbīt/ *match(es)*; Som /kabrīd/, /kib-/ =, *sulphur.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

GC(C): Aram /gicc/ *spark*; ?Arab /ǧΛ/ *dart (upon) with sword.*

The Aram entry may be loan from Hbr, of semi-onomatopoeic origin; perhaps related to /nc(c)/ (assuming originally velar nasal)? In Arab, only the characteristic movement remains.

GR: Aram (SamT) /grh/ *a small monetary unit*; Akk /girū/ *1/24 shekel.*

According to v. Soden, the Akk entry is borrowed from Aram /gērā/ which, however, I have not been able to verify.

GR(R): Phoen /grr/ *hauler(?)*; Aram /grr/ *draw, drag; whet appetite*; Syr /gr/ *drag, draw, extract*; /gūrår/ *rumination*; /gwrr/ *t4-r ruminate*; Akk /ʃugarrur/ *roll on (seal); massage*; Arab /ğr/ *pull, drag, lead; Qt ruminate*; /ğarrat/, /ği-/ *cud*; Mhr /grr/ *drag; R gurgle; nR rumble (stomach)*; ?Soq /qar/ *neck*; G&z /ʼngrgr/ *roll, tumble about*; Te /gr/ *ruminate; A =; tD =; smoke continuously; ponder; be vassal*; /gärrät/ *cud; drivel; talk, invective, slander*; Tu /gărrăt/ *drag behind*; /gəriyyət/ *swallow without chewing.*

Cpt /kaire/ *gullet, belly*, being without Eg etymology (Baer), must be LW; this leaves Tu the only non-Sem language with this root, but at least the 2nd entry has no evident source of borrowing. Akk G&z are semantically somewhat remote, Soq deviates phonetically too, but all three are still inside the limits of possibility; the meaning of Phoen is an etymologically guided guess. Cohen's (no. 206) non-Sem entries derive from lengthier roots (expansions of this one?). As to the Hbr entries, they centre around the concept of rumination in which throat plays an important role; and eating dried fruit or grain requires so much chewing that it can conceivably be compared to rumination. The SamH entry has undergone phonetic development apparently connected with that which has led to the 4-rad. formation in Syr.

GRB: Aram /garb/ *kind of leprosy*; Syr /garb/ =, *scabies, mould*; /grb/ *be(come) leprous*; Akk /garāb/ *leprosy, mange*; Arab /ğrb/ *be(come) scabby, rusty*; Mhr /garb/ *mange*; Soq /gerb/ *scabies*; /mingerib/ *scabby*; Te /grbeb/ *scab, mange; thin, emaciated.*

The primary reference is to a more or less serious skin complaint, rarely expanded outside that sphere.

GRV: Aram /grV/ *excite, urge; hurl; tD excite o.s. (against), attack; burn with passion*; Syr /grV/ *be greedy, lustful; D incite, instigate*; /grg/ *D =, invite, admonish*; Akk /gerū/, /garū/ *be hostile (to), summon to court*; ?Arab /ğry/ *flow, run; hasten (to)* (Kopf); Soq /ʃegre/ *fall upon, attack.*

GRZ: Arab /ğrz/ *cut; A be barren*; /ğurāz/ *sharp sword*; /ğrδ/ *cut off; A separate, put away*; G&z /grz/ *cut* (Leslau); Te /grzV/ *allot, divide*; /gnzr/ *cut meat into pieces, sell meat*; ?Har /gēräza/ *plait the hair.*

In Gur too: Zway /gäräzä/ *circumcise*. The root appears to have originated by transposition (in Te with/or some augmentation) from /gzr/ (cf. above); the Har entry is semantically somewhat remote, but still compatible, plaiting involving division and (assuming secondary particularization) hairdressing in general usually cutting too. In Arab, secondary phonetic development has taken place again.

GRZN: Aram /x(a)ci^{y}n/ *axe*; Syr /xaccīn/ =; Akk /χaccinn/ =; Arab /χacīn/; /karzam/, /-an/; /kirzīm/, /-īn/ =; G&z /χäcin/, /xäc-/, /χäΛ-/, /xäΛ-/ *iron, sword, cuirass*; Te /xäcin(at)/ *iron, weapon, implement*; Ch /genzo/, Sdd Wol /gänžämo/, /-nz-/ *(big) axe*; Berb: Rif /agelzim/, /agarzim/, /airzim/, /arigzim/, /ari^{e}zim/, Sus /ag^{e}lzīm/ *pick, hoe*; Eg /qrğn/ *axe.*

An ancient *Kulturwort*; of unknown origin; for Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 285f; however, the connection with the roots cited is evidently secondary, folk-etymological, as also that with Sem /xcV/ and /grz/; the tendency to folk-etymologize is evidently responsible for the great variety of forms attested. For related forms outside the phylum cf. K-B^{3} s.v.; even the Finnish /kirves/ (borrowed from Baltic /kirvis/ or similar) *axe* could ultimately derive from the same root. The Arab entries are on the authority of Fraenkel and K-B^{3}. ?Ebl /χa-zi/ *hoe(?).*

GRL: ?Arab /ǧrl/ *be stony (ground)*; /ǧarwal/ *pebble(?).*

The relevance of the entry is uncertain, as the meaning, *pebble*, for the noun does not seem fully assured; Hava has it with the meaning, *stony ground* (which could perhaps be understood as a collective of *pebble*), Lane and Belot not at all.

GRM: Aram /grm/ *be strong; D strengthen; break bones*; /garm/ *bone; being, essence*; Syr /garm/ *bone*; ?Akk (late Bab) /χarmil/ *cartilage, gristle*; Arab /ǧrm/ *cut off (fruit, wool etc.); (lead to) commit sin, crime*; (syr.) *bone (meat)*; ESA /grm/ *body, (complete) skin*; /grb/ (pl. /grybt/) *body, self*; Te /grm/, /grbab/ *leather garment*; /gärob/ *body*; /grm/ *tD guarantee*; /gäräm/ *guarantor*; Sdd /gurmä/, Wol /-m/ *log, stump*; Wol /gurämmä/ *scrapings off banana-plant (for making bread)*; Bil /g(e)rōb/ *body, figure, self*; Som /gar(a)b/ *shoulder & back*; Berb: Rif /aglim/, /ir(')m/, /θilme'χ/; Fass /uglīm/, Sus /il^{e}m/ *skin*; Tu /eglem/ =; /elăm/ =; *leather; (live) body; (natural) colour.*

Further Cush attestations: Afar /galabō/, /garbō/ *skin*; Or /gurmu/ *shoulder* (Zaborski); and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 294. The basic reference is to bone, then to other supporting parts of the body, such as skin, or to the whole body; and also to activities concerning such parts or improving body support; and analogically with plants.

GRN: Ug /grn/ *threshing-floor*; Aram /gurn/ *basin, trough*; Syr /gurn/ *urn, sarcophagus*; ?Amor /grn/? (vb.); ?Akk /garan/ *small cultic utensil*; Arab /ǧrn/ *grind (wheat)*; /ǧurn/ *stonebasin, -mortar, pestle; floor*; /ǧarīn/ *threshing-floor, drying place for dates*; ESA /grn/ *threshing-floor*; G&z /g^{w}rn(a)/, /gorn/, /gurn/ =.

Originally, the term may have referred to a smallish utensil used for threshing, pounding and perhaps grinding such small amounts of grain as were harvested in early times — hence the references to basin, trough, mortar and pestle, occasionally transferred to other similar objects. Dalman derives the Aram entry from a Gr γουρνα which I am unable to verify but which seems an unnecessary resort anyway in the light of the parallels from other cognate languages.

GR&: Aram /gr&/ *extract, detract; shear*; Syr /gr&/ *shear, shave*; Mhr /gr&/ *shave (head); finish up (drink)*; Soq /garax/ *shave*.

In Cush: Saho /gara&/ *castrate*, Afar = *cut off*; and cf. Dolgopolsky p. 316. As they are hardly conceivable as LWW from any known source, the root seems common to Sem Cush. On the other hand, the Arab /qr'/ (quoted in K-B^3) seems to me phonetically closer to /qrx/ which has similar meaning and is perhaps ultimately cognate.

GRP: Aram /grp/ *scrape off, remove, expel*; ?Syr /grp/ *inundate; wash, blow, shovel away*; Soq /gerof/ *hurl, fling*; /grff/ *bend, curve*; ?G&z /g^{w}ärif/, /gorif/ *punishment* (incl. *lashes & capital punishment*); ?Te /grf/ *beat, lash*; ?Ch Wol /gäräfä/, Sdd /-rr-/ =; ?Sdd /gorräfä/ *stream, flow*.

As the meaning of the Hbr entry is uncertain, the relevance of those above is largely questionable; most speak for or are at least compatible with *whip* rather than *fist*.

GRʃ: Ug /grʃ/ *expel*; Aram /grʃ/ *D divorce, annul*; ?Akk /guruʃʃ/ *one who fodders or fattens animals* (Tyloch); Arab /ğrs/ *D shame publicly, make infamous*; /g$r/ *take (cattle) to pasture; give (s.th.) up*; /zğr/ *scare (dog, bird) away*; Mhr /gr$/ *drag, pull, push*; ?G&z /gar$a/ *kind of bread? morsel?*

The basic meaning appears to be chasing or sending away, including taking cattle to pasture, whence feeding in a general sense could develop. The Akk entry I have not been able to verify, and G&z is quite uncertain.

GRʃ/S: Aram /grs/ *D/A crush, make groats*; /gri^{y}s/, /gir$/ *groats*; Syr /gri^{y}s/ *crushed*; /gr(w)s/ *kind of grain (spelt)*; Arab /ğr$/ *bray, bruise (wheat, salt)*; /ğarī$/ *coarsely ground (wheat); groats.*

Gʃ(ʃ): Aram /gʃʃ/ +*D touch, grope*; Syr /gʃ/ =; *explore, spy out, test*; Arab /ğs/ *(+Qt) feel with hand; (+tD) scrutinize; Qt enquire*; G&z /gss/, /gʃʃ/ *feel with hand, grope*; Te /gs/ *wipe off with hand; sweep.*

GʃM: Ug /gʃm/ *(torrential) rain*; Syr (pl.) /ʃegme/ *heavy showers*; Arab /sğm/ *flow, (+D, A) shed (tears, water)*; /θğm/ +*A pour down a heavy shower*; ?Tu /teguhamt/ *irrigation channel*; ?Eg /gsm/ *breakers,* (Dem.) *tempest, fury*; ?Cpt /ɋosm/ *tempest, darkness* (Rössler).

Transposition in Syr Arab; phonological split in Arab; Tu has no cognate words. Ebl */ga-ʃúm/ rain.*

ד

D'B: Aram /d'b/ *be alarmed, worried*; Arab /d'b/ *strive (in), urge; A pursue, weary.*

D'G: Aram /d'g/ *worry*; ESA /d'g/ =.

D'V: Ug /d'y/ *fly*; /d'iy/ *a bird (of prey); pinions(?)*; Aram (SamT) /d'yth/ (Lv 11:14); Arab /'ibn da'yat/ *crow* (Guillaume); ?Soq (caus) /'ide'e/ *despatch.*

The Soq entry has no reference to flying, but is not incompatible with it.

DB(B): Aram /dubb/ *bear*; Syr /debb/ =; Amor /dabi'/ =; Akk /dabū/, (OAkk) /dabi/; f. /dabīt/; Gr transcr. δαβου *bear*; Arab /dubb/ =; /db/ *walk slowly, creep, crawl*; Mhr /dbb/ *prowl, peep*; G&z /db/ *bear*; Te =; /dbbi/ *a demoniac animal*; Tu /əddabbət/ *"beast of burden" = slow, awkward person or animal*; Eg /db/ *hippopotamus.*

In Cush too: Sidamo /dobba/ *lion*. Originally, the word may have signified a slow, but strong animal, and both connotations have been preserved in most cases, but occasionally, either one has been lost, and in gossiping, the moment of silence inherent in slow movement, has come to be emphasized, gossip being often characterized as whispering. Ebl /da-bù(-um)/ *bear.*

DBL: Ug (pl.) /dblt/ *cake of dried figs*; Aram /dbe^{y}lt/ =; Syr /dbalt/ =; Arab /dbl/ *take large mouthfuls*; /dublat/ *large mouthful; compact piece, lump*; /dubaylat/ *pain in the belly*; ESA (coll.) /dblm/ *compressed figs*; Soq /dbl/ *put together*; G&z /dbl/ *tL (troops) assemble, come together*; /mädbäl/ *meeting, chorus, council, assembly*; Te /dbl/ *D stick together*; Har /dbl/ *put together, add, include; L unite, connect (two entities); tQ join; tL =, participate, interfere*; Ch /däpärä/, Sdd /däbbälä/, Wol /-b-/ *add, join, repeat.*

The primary meaning seems to be putting together fairly tightly, so as to form a compact collection; taking large mouthfuls leads to this too; in Eth, the moment of compactness has been largely lost; in early Asian Sem (= originally?), the meaning focuses on dried figs.

DBQ: Aram /dbq/ *attach (to); (+D) glue together*; Syr /dbq/ *adhere (to), follow; D join, put together*; ?Amor /7ubq/, /7ubuqa/ ?; Arab /dbq/ *+A, tD stick, cling (to)*; /7bq/ *(arm) be stuck to the side; (hand) be closed; set (to do)*; Mhr /7bq/ *bring/draw alongside*; Soq /7bq/ *fasten (to a.o.)*; G&z /7bq/ *adhere (to), follow; pester, pursue*; Te /7bq/ *cling (to)*; /mä7bäq/ *glue*; Har /7bq/ *be strengthened, tight, difficult*; Ch Wol /7äbäqä/ *be tight, strong, firm, glued; stick together.*

The initial /d/ seems to be secondary, originated perhaps through partial assimilation to /b/.

DBR: Phoen /dbr/, (nag) *dybyr*, (pl.) *dobrim: speak; word, thing*; Ug /dbr/ *rule, manage; pasture(?)*; /mdbr/, /mlbr/ *wilderness, desert*; Aram

/dbr/ +*A lead, drive, take away*; Syr /dbr/ =; *take (a wife); go, wander, move (away), plough; flow (time)*; ?Amor /dbr/?; Akk /duppur/ *go away, avoid*; /7uppur/ *expel, remove*; Arab /dbr/ *turn the back, grow old, take away, go west, follow, (+D) relate tradition; elapse (time); D forecast, manage, rule; St track; see the consequence (of)*; ESA /dbr/ *reward, work in payment (?)*; Mhr /dbr/ *L turn the back*; G&z /däbr/ *mountain (range), boundary, limit*; Te /dbr/ *be trained for drawing, used for work; L =; be durable, last*; /dabr/ *ox used for work (carrying, ploughing)*; Berb: ?Sus /Ʌfĕr/ *reclaim*; Shilxa /dbr/ *look for*; ?Tu /dăbbăr/ *find, test, use a means, do what is necessary.*

As Eg /d-bi-r/ = Cpt /tabir/ is a loan from Hbr, the Berb entries are the only non-Sem ones and their semantic links are rather tenuous; however, they agree with the principal idea extending through the root, most completely attested in Arab, starting from turning the back, i.e. leaving in pursuit of a more or less distant antecedent entity, from which various concrete continuous activities easily develop, including speech the derivation of which from the next root suffers from a phonetic weakness too, to wit, the fact that that root — like roots of onomatopoeic origin often — has frequent phonetic varr., but the words for speaking, none. Cohen (no. 332) mentions also an unspecified Berb /Ʌfər/ *follow*; but his Cush entries (ib.) seem to derive from a different root. Ebl. /tà-da-bi-ru/, /-bì-lu/ *translator*; /da-ba-lum/ *interpreter*; /da-bí-ru/, ?/-lu/ *speaker*.

DBR II: Aram /dabbri^{y}t/, /zibbo^{w}r(t/i^{y}t)/, /zibbart/ *bee*; Syr /debbor/ *wasp*; /-rt/ =; *hornet, bee*; Arab /dabr/ *swarm of bees, hornets, young locusts*; /zinbār/, /-bīr/ *wasp*; /zunbūr/ =, *hornet*; Mhr /yəδbīr/ *hornet*; Soq /'idbeher/ *bee*; G&z (coll.) /zänabir/ *wasp, hornet.*

The G&z entry may be loan from Arab.

DBʃ: Aram /dubʃ/, /dibʃ/ *honey*; Syr /debʃ/ =, *beeswax*; Akk /diʃp/ *honey*; Arab /dibs/ =; ESA /dbs/ =; Mhr /dabh/ =; Har /dūs/ =; Wol /däbäsä/ *mix honey with water.*

The verb (in Akk Mhr too, in different senses) is evidently denominative, although the original noun has not been preserved in Wol. Transposition in Akk; NB. /p/ for /b/.

DG: Ug /dg/ *fish*; /dgy/ *fisherman*; ?Arab /dagāg/, /dig-/, /dug-/ *hen*. (Cf. /dgn/ below.)

Assuming copious multiplication to be the primary meaning, the Arab entry could be relevant; but as the Arab root does not betray any other sign of that meaning, the link is very weak indeed. On the same assumption, /dgn/ below may be a secondary root based on this one.

DGL: Aram /digl/ *flagstaff*; Syr /dgl/ *aim (a missile); examine (a weight)*; Akk /dagāl/ *see, look (at, towards), aim*; Arab /daǧǧālat/ *numerous party*; Te /dägäl/ *troop, crowd*; Eg /dgy/ *see, look towards* (Vycichl after Junker).

The primary meaning seems to be orientation towards a conspicuous sign, then the sign itself and the group gathered around it.

DGM: Aram /duʷgm/, /dīʸgm/ *example, sample; sign, characteristic; outward appearance.*

LW from Gr.

DGN: Phoen /dgn/ *grain*; Ug = ; Aram /dagn/, /dgån/ =.

Cf. /dg/ above.

DD: ?Ug /δd/ *breast*; Aram /dadd/ =, *teat*; Arab (Ḥadr.) /dayd/ *(married woman's) breast; (cow's) udder*; ?Chad: Gis /dada/ *mother.*

Akk /dīd/ seems to be a piece of clothing (v. Soden). Cf. /ʃd/ below.

DDV: Aram /ddV/ *D pull, lead (a young child, puppy etc.); tD trip, hop*; ?Arab /dad/ *play, sport.*

May be originally reduplicated; but Arab /d'd'/ deviates both phonologically and semantically; and the meaning of ESA /d'w/ is conjectural.

DHV: Aram /dhV/ *grow dull, pale*; /diʸh/ *dull, faint, pale.*

DHR: Arab ?/dahr/ *(usually comprehensive) period of time*; /dhwr/ *tQ be over (night); be hurled down* (Kazi).

Cf. the procession of stars which never ends.

DWD: Ug /dd/ *love*; /ddym/ *mandrakes*; Aram /doʷd/ *paternal uncle*; Syr /dåd/ = ; *beloved*; Amor /dād(at)/, /dawd(ān)/, /damd/ *beloved*; Akk /dād/, /dadd/ = ; *sexual organ(s); a fish*; Arab /dād/ *foster-father*; ESA /dd/ *paternal uncle*; Mhr /xədīd/, /-dūd/ =, *father's cousin*; /xādīt/ *maternal aunt, cousin*; Soq /dedo/ *paternal uncle; father-in-law*; Chad: Siri Miya /didi/, Jimbin /dedi/, Mburke /dadə/, Kariya /didin/ *(usually male) in-law*; Gis /dide/ *grandfather, -mother, -child.*

Originally a *Lallwort*, presumably more widespread at an earlier time, although independent origin in Chad (Northern Bauchi) is not unthinkable; cf. N. Skinner in *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 4 p. 27.

DWD II: Ug /dd/ *pot; also as a measure of volume (?)*; Aram /duʷd/ *pot*; Syr /dūd/ = ; ?Amor /dūd/?; Akk /dūd/ *kind of kettle*; ?Arab /miδwad/ *manger*; Chad (ban.) /doyda/ *cooking pot* (W. W. Müller after J. Lukas); Eg /ddt/ *bowl, pot* (Vycichl after Ember).

An old *Kulturwort* of uncertain origin; whether the Arab entry is relevant is very doubtful, as it could also be derived from the Arab root /δwd/.

DWV: Ug /dw/ *(be) ill*; /mdw/ *illness*; Aram /dwV/ *be sad; tQ feel pain, be grieved*; Syr /dwV/ *be feeble, afflicted*; Akk /dawū/, /damū/ *be giddy, restless*; Arab /dw'/, /dwy/ *be ill, diseased; L nurse (the sick)*; /dawa'/ *medicine*; /δwy/ *(plant) be faded*; Mhr /dwy/ *A give medicine (to); Qt be healed*; /dīwē/ *medicine*; Soq /dū'e/, /duwā/, /-wē/ *remedy*; G&z /dwy/ *be ill, afflicted*; Te /dwV/ *remain, last, grow very* *old; cease, be still; give medicine; L cure*; Har /dåwwa/ *medicine, remedy.*

As the meaning in Te has developed mainly into a different direction, the healing terminology may be a loan from Arab; and analogous to this, the entire Mhr Soq Har attestations. In Arab itself, a phonological var. has again been differentiated semantically too.

DWX: Aram /dVx/ *A cleanse, rinse.*

Apparently loan from Hbr (attested once only).

DWK: Ug /dk/ *pound, mix*; Aram /dwk/ *pound, crush*; /do^{w}ki^{y}t/ *mortar*; Syr /mdåkt/ =; Akk /dāk/, (Ass) /duāk/ *beat (off, down), break, kill*; Arab /dwk/ *bruise, smash*, /madāk/ *the upper pounding stone*; /midwak/ *the lower one.*

Of onomatopoeic origin; cf. /dk(k)/, /dk'/, /dkV/, /dq(q)/ below.

DWP: ?

If correctly transmitted, a root var. to /ndp/ (see below).

DWC: Aram /dwc/ *rejoice*; Syr =; Arab /dyc/ *move (beneath the hand, skin), stray; be lively, sprightly.*

Emotionally neutralized in Arab.

DWQ: Aram /dwq/ *examine carefully*; Syr /dwq/ *look at, observe, inspect; lie in ambush.*

DWR: Phoen /dr/ *assembly; family*; /drt/ (pl.?) *perpetuity*; Ug /dr/ *assembly; house, residence; generation*; /dr dr/ *perpetuity*; Aram /dwr/ *dwell, inhabit*; /du^{w}r/ *settlement*; Syr /dår/ *period, century, generation; procession*; /-rt/ *house, residence*; Amor /dwr/ *turn around; dwell*; /dūr/ *perpetuity*; /dār/ =, *perpetual*; Akk /dār/, /dūr/ *duration, perpetuity*; /dārū/ *lasting, perpetual*; /darū/ *last, live (for ever)*; /dūr/ *(circular, city) wall*; Arab /dwr/ *turn, revolve; (time) elapse*; ESA /d(w)r/ *deflect, withdraw*; /drm/ *once*; /'dwr/, /'dyr/ *beduin camps*; Mhr /dwr/ *wander around*; /dawr/ *turn*; Soq /der/ *stay, dwell*; /modhir/ *dwelling place*; G&z /dar/ *period, generation*; Te /dwr/ *turn, return, go around*; /dwrr/ + *tL wander about*; /dawray/ *vagabond, robber, hero; planet*; /dur/ *course of time; row, sequence; condition, state; meaning*; /dwar/ *circle, circuit, enclosure*; /mädawr/ *walkabout*; Ch /dərä/, Sdd Wol /-ro/ *(long) ago; year*; Berb: Fass /taddārt/ *house, home*; Tu /əddər/ *live, stay alive*; ?Eg /tr/ *(continuous, seasonal etc.) time* (Ward); ?Cpt /tē/ =.

The basic meaning, present throughout the attestations, is something round, circular or cyclical, whether spatially or temporally. This includes living, as the cyclical processes of seasons and generations play important parts in it; perhaps also the word for *south* as the direction of the semi-circular daily movement of the sun.

DWʃ: ?Ug /dθ/, /θʃ/ *beat, trample down, crush (?)*; Aram /dwʃ/ *trample (down), thresh; despise*; Syr /dwʃ/ *trample (down); despise*; Akk /d(i)āʃ/ *trample (down), thresh*; Arab /dws/ =; Mhr /dws/ *trample on*; ?Te /dwʃʃ/ + *L crush; tL be frightened*; ?Har /mädōʃa/ *hammer*; ?Ch /ğosä/, Sdd /däwwäsä/, Wol /-w-/ *hit with the first, ill-treat, crush*; ?Sdd /mädoʃa/, /məduʃa/, Wol /madwäʃä/, /-doʃa/ *hammer.*

The Sdd Wol varr. are my recordings. The Eth entries, if relevant, have developed somewhat differently from the rest; in any case, the widespread word for *hammer* would seem to indicate that *fist* was hardly originally involved in the meaning of the verb, either. The single Selti var. (readily conceivable as transposition) is hardly sufficient to connect the word for *hammer* with the Har. root /dms/ either, particularly as hammer does not seem to play any role in the activities described by the verb from that root. On the other hand, Arab /dθ/ seems semantically remoter still, and the relevance of the Ug entries is also doubtful (cf. Gordon, UT).

DXV: Phoen /dx/ *break*; Aram /dxV/ *push (away), remove*; Syr =; *thrust in*; Arab /dxw/ *(rain) drive (pebbles) along*; /dx/ *repel* (cf. Guillaume); G&z /dxy/ *grind (grain)* (Leslau); /mädxe/ *upper grindstone*; ?Te /mddät/ =; Har /mäğği/ =; Ch Sdd /mäğä/, Wol /-ğe/ =.

The Te entry is phonologically anomalous, unless borrowed from a language without /x/; semantically, there should be no objection, as the grindstone was normally operated by pushing the upper one; so, if in spoken G&z a root /hdy/ (or /xdy/) *grind* has indeed existed, it was probably a transpositional (and phonetic) var. of the present root.

DXP: Aram /dxp/ *drive (on)*; Akk /da'āp/ *push (at, down, away).*

DXQ: Aram /dxq/ *press, coerce, pester, hasten*; Syr /dxq/ *push away, expel, reject*; Arab /dxq/ *remove, expel.*

In Eth too (see Leslau, *Contributions* p. 17).

DY: Phoen /md/ *by, after (in due course).*

Compound PTpr (= Hbr /midde^{y}/).

DYV: Aram /day(y)t/ *vulture*; Syr /dayt/ *hawk, kite.*

Cf. /d'V/ above.

DYV II: Aram /dyo^{w}t/ *ink*; Syr /dyut/, /dyot/ =; Arab /dawāt/, (syr., vulg.) /dawāyat/ *inkstand*; Mhr (South) /dəwōt/ *ink, inkwell*; Te /däwat/ *ink.*

A *Kulturwort*; cf. Lambdin in JAOS 73/1953 p. 149.

DYN: Ug /dn/ *judge, administer justice*; Aram /dyn/ =; *draw conclusion(s)*; /di^{y}n/ *right, justice; court process; sentence, punishment*; /dayyån/ *judge*; /mdi^{y}nt/ *city, province*; Syr /dyn/ *judge, administer justice; litigate; interpret (dream); conclude, establish*; /dīn/ *justice, judgment, litigation, cause, conclusion; judges*; /dayyån/ *judge*; /mdī(n)tt/ *city, province*; Amor /dyn/ *judge*; /dīn/ *judgment*; Akk

/d(i)ān/ *judge, sentence*; /dīn/, (Ass) /dēn/ *sentence, justice, court process*; /dayyān/, /da’’ān/, (MBab) /diyān/ *judge*; Arab /dyn/ *lend, borrow, requite, serve, possess, judge, submit*; /dīn/ *requital, custom, religion, authority*; /dayn/ *debt, credit, loan; death*; /madīn/ *possession; thing held under authority*; ESA /dyn/ *obligation, due*; Mhr /dyn/ *ʃ get into debt; A lend, give credit*; /dεyn/ *debt*; /dīn/ *religion*; Soq /ʃedyen/ *borrow*; (f.) /medyoneh/ *called together*; G&z /dyn/ *D judge, sentence, punish*; /däyn/ *judgment, condemnation, damnation, (eternal) punishment*; Te /din/ *religion*; /dayna/, /danya/ *mediator*; /dnV/ *tL accept the verdict*; Har /dīn/ *religion, faith*; Ch /danä/, Sdd /dañña/, Wol /-ññä/ *judge, chieftain, nobleman*; Sdd /daññä/ *judge, administer justice.*

The Mhr Soq and modern Eth entries may be largely due to the influence of Arab, but the ESA G&z ones can hardly be that, and so the root may be considered common Sem. Ebl /da-nu/ *judge* (n.) (?); and cf. /bdq/ above.

DK(K): Aram /dkk/ *crush (by pounding)*; Akk /dakāk/ =; Arab /dk/ =; Soq /’edek/ *(heart) beat; stamp (foot)*; /dekdek/ *hit, beat, pound*; Te /dk/+*L rub, grind*; Chad: Hsa (etc.) /daka/, /-ā/; Bole (etc.) /dak-/ Boghom /tuk/; Tangale /tug/; Guduf /dəgə/ *beat; pound (in mortar)*; West Chad (etc.) */dk/ *kill* (Jungraithmayr & Shimizu).

Cf. /dwk/ above.

DK’: ?

Cf. the preceding root.

DKV: ?

Cf. /dwk/, /dk(k)/ above.

DKV II: -

Cf. /zkV/ below (LW from Aram in Hbr).

DKP: ?Eg (Dem.) /qqpt/, Cpt /kakupat/ (etc.) *hoopoe.*

Perhaps a late loan from Hbr? (Baer); apparently of onomatopoeic origin.

DL(T): Phoen /dlt/, (Pu) /dlxt/ *tablet*; (pl.) /dlht/ *doors*; Ug /dlt/ *door, tablet*; Aram /dalt/ *door*; Syr (pl.) /’ådlåt/, /’ēd-/ *folding doors*; Akk /dalt/ *door*; ?/edēl/ *bolt (door etc.); barricade*; /edl/ *bolted*; f. /edilt/ (also:) *door*; Eg (Late) /tr/ *gate.*

The Eg entry is evidently loan from Sem; /&’/, (du.) /&rty/ (Rössler) seems phonologically hazardous, there being no other convincing example of Eg /&/ = Sem /d/ either; even the equation of /&/ with Akk /id/ is semantically far from perfect, the meaning *side* being rather incidental for the former; /m&/ has just one nuance of meaning in common with NWSem /b(y)d/; and Arab /ladā^{y}/ means *at, in the presence of* rather than "bis hin zu, neben"; and as Sem /l/ rarely occurs in these senses either, interpretation of the Arab prep. as a compound of it plus /yad/ is doubly hazardous, cf. the synonymous /lad(u/a/i)n/. Whether the noun be derived from the Akk verb is not clear; use of the Na f. as a synonym would seem to speak against it; on the other hand, the Phoen Ug connotation, *tablet*, as well as the Akk verb itself and frequently context seem to presuppose *solid* door as the primary meaning; its root, then is *not* the next one. Amm (js) /tdlt bdlt/ *provide with a door* (the verb denominative).

DL(L): Ug /dl/ *poor*; Aram /dll/ *be poor, scanty; lift off, thin; R become poor, destitute; perish*; Syr /dll/ *D reduce*; /dlīl *easy*; /dallīl/ *scanty, few*; Akk /dalāl *be scanty, miserable*; Arab /δl/ *be low, humble, weak, vile, despicable, mean*; /dl/ *tR dangle*; ESA /δl/ *be humbled, suffer ignominy; H reject, ravage*; Mhr /dl/ *nR hang swinging*; Soq /delel/ *humiliate*; ?/dl/ *nR balance o.s.*

The /d/- and /δ/-containing entries are so mixed semantically that they must be considered phonological variants; cf. also /zl(l)/ below. As hanging down is often an indication of physical weakness and humility, there does not seem to be sufficient reason to divide the root in two on semantic grounds either.

DLG: Aram /dlg/ *hop, jump*; Arab ?/drğ/ *go (little by little), step along (slowly, weakly)*; /dalağān/ *swarm of locusts.*

Although the Arab vb. meaning is rather the contrary to Hbr Aram with regard to the energy spent, it does share the character of intermittent movement; but as it deviates phonologically too, it must be considered uncertain.

DLV: Aram /dlV/ *draw (water); lift up; D raise, alleviate, set free, take off; tQ hand down; rise, be high*; Syr /dlV/ *draw (water; forth, out); D lift up, extract, withdraw*; Amor /dlw/ *draw water*; Akk /dalū/ =; Arab /dlw/ =; /dalw/ *bucket*; /dāliyat/ *water-wheel*; ?ESA /mdlt/, /mdlw/ *weight, (monetary) equivalent*; Mhr /dlV/ *pull up (by rope)*; /dōləw/, /dēl-/ *well-bucket, its rope*; Soq /dele/ *weigh, weight*; G&z /dlw/ *suspend, weigh; be equal, proper, sufficient*; Te /dlV/ *be watered, grow green*; Chad: Dor /dali/, Logone /då̃li/ *water pot* (Müller after Lukas).

As weighing is often done by suspension, there is no sufficient reason to divide the root in two; rather, it seems possible that the root is ultimately related to the next one and with it, to /dl(l)/ above.

DLV II: ?Arab /dl/ *R swing (arms in walking), dangle; tR be dangling*;?Mhr /dl/ *nR hang swinging*;?Soq /dl/ *nR balance o.s.*;?Te /dl/ *turn aside (to); tD pass.; attach o.s.; incline, stagger, waddle, strut; tL waddle, wave*;?Har /dōlo/ *amputated*;?Wol /dole/ *be lame, limp*; Sdd /adälla/, Wol /-lä/ *be partial, show favour.*

Apart from the Sdd-Wol entry, which may have been differentiated to separate the abstract meaning from the concrete one, all those above agree formally better with /dl(l)/ than with /dlV/ from which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish semantically too. Accordingly, the present root may have been secondarily differentiated from /dl(l)/ in Hbr and sporadically in Ethiopia independently of each other which accounts for little semantic parallelism in the differentiated forms too. Cf. the preceding root also.

DLX: Aram /dlx/ *be unruly; confuse, worry*; Syr /dlx/ *confuse, muddy (water etc.), stir up; revoke, avert, deter*; Akk /dalāχ/ *muddy (water), stir up, confuse*; Arab /dālix/ *raining much (cloud)*; ?/δullāx/ *milk mixed with water*; ?Eg /t'x/ *mud; trouble, disturb* (Ward after Devaud); ?Cpt /tåx/ = ; *(liquid) be mixed, troubled.*

NB. Akk /χ/ vs. Arab /x/. In Arab /zlχ/, the main meaning is *slipping*.

DL&: Arab /dullā&/ *water-melon.*

DLPQ: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

DLQ: Aram /dlq/ *burn; A kindle; pursue*; Syr /dlq/ *burn, flare up; shine, be bright; (sun) rise; D kindle; A = ; illuminate*; Amor /dlq/ *burn*; Akk /dVlīqāt/ *roasted(?) grain*; Arab /dlq/ *unsheathe (a sword), rush, make a raid*; /δlq/ *light (a lamp); shine; whet (a knife); be sharp (spear, tongue).*

A secondary phonological differentiation in Arab again.

DM: Phoen (Lapethos) /'dm/ *offspring*; Ug /dm/ *blood; red wine*; Aram /d(a)m/ *blood; blood-feud; life; blood relation; congestion*; Syr /d(e)m/ *blood; life; grape juice*; Akk /dām/ *blood; bloodshed, blood money; origin, descent; red wine; resin (of cedar)*; /adamat/ *red blood*; Arab /dam/ *blood*; /dmy/ *bleed*; /madmūm/ *red*; ESA /dm/ *blood*; Mhr /damm/ = *(in a feud)*; /dəm/ *pus*; G&z /däm/ *blood; blood relationship; (red) wine*; Te /däm/ *blood, blood-guilt*; /dmV/ *bleed*; Har /däm/ *blood*; Ch Sdd Wol = ; Caf /damō/ = ; *blood-feud*; /dam/ *bleed*; Berb: Rif /iδam'n/, Shilxa /idamn/, Fass /idemmen/ *blood*; Chad: West Chad (except Southern Bauchi), Tera */d-m/ = (Jungraithmayr & Shimizu).

In Cush: Or /dima'/, Sid /dūmoho/ *red* (my recordings). For Proto-South-Omotic, Fleming reconstructs */dżum'/, */zumB/?, cf. Bako /zom'i/, Hamar /zum'i/, /zomBi/, Dime /dzumu/, /z-/ *blood (taken from an animal)*. /däm/ is common to all Gur (Leslau). Examples for Chad: Hsa /ğinii/, Ron (Fyer) /rom/, /'erom/: (Scha Kulere) /zom/, Dera /dom/, Tangale /tåm/; Karekare /dowån/, /dwan/, Gera /ndoma/, Kubi /numma/, Galembi /ğāma/, Sura /tåγåm/; etc. If the symbol, /-/, in the reconstructed form */d-m/ is meant to represent an as yet unknown *consonantal* radical, it has an extremely feeble foundation in the attested forms, as semivowels are frequently created as glides upon diphthongation of long vowels, and velars are known to occur interchangeable with alveolars in early Semito-Hamitic; forms like /tɛkɛm/ (Mushere) may thus be reduplicated just like /did(u)m/ (Ngizim) or /tədm/ (Bade); moreover, no other branch of Semito-Hamitic shows an additional middle radical between /d/ and /m/ reconstructed for Chad too; the South Om /(d)z-/ is the result of assibilation frequent in Chad also. The word was probably original to the whole phylum, although replaced by another one in Eg-Cpt and in a number of minor subdivisions elsewhere; not surprisingly, as the word must have been subject to taboo not infrequently.

DM(M): ?Ug /dmm/ *wail, grieve, mourn; stand still*; Aram /dm(m)/ *R ps be stunned, unconscious*; ?Syr /dm/ *observe, scrutinize*; ?Akk /damām/ *lament, wail*; ?Arab /dm/ *R mumble, hum, snarl*; Soq /deme/ *sleep*; G&z /dm(m)/ *tQ/tD be stunned, astonished; marvel*; Te /dmm/ *L stop the flow of milk, maim; AS be astonished, muse; astonish*; /ğämäm belä/ *be apathetic (because of mourning, sickness), silent*; ?Ch /dəmm balä/ *make noise by walking or falling*; ?Tu /əddəm/ *be utterly exhausted (from running or marching)*; /năddăm/ *(N) be drowsy, slumber.*

The primary meaning does not seem to be absolute silence, but consequences of a stunning or exhausting experience of which silence or more or less quiet moaning is one; from this, the other meanings are secondarily derivable, including other kinds of states characterized by silence, dull noises, or also louder expressions of mourning; however, the resulting variety of meanings is too large to be considered certain. NB. the assibilation of the 1st rad. in the second Te entry. The Soq entry agrees formally better with the MT root var. /dmV/ (possibly in a Hbr entry here too, cf. the next root). Ebl /di-mu-mu/ *deceased, lamented.* Eg /tm/ is hardly related (cf. /tm(m)/ below).

DMV: Aram /dmV/ *be like, equal; D compare*; Syr =; *D* (also) *imitate; conclude.*

Cf. the note on the preceding root also.

DMN: Arab /dmn/ *manure (a field)*; /dimn/, /damān/ *dung, manure.*

DM&: Ug /dm&/ *weep; tear(s)*; Aram /dm&/ *weep, shed tears*; /dim&/ *weeping, tears; best quality juice; priestly dues*; Syr /dm&/+*D weep, shed tears*; /dem&t/ *tear(s); efflux*; Akk /dimt/, /dint/ *tear*; Arab /dm&/ *shed tears, blood; drizzle*; /dam&(at)/ *tear(s)*; Mhr /dm&/ *weep*; /dəmāt/ *tear(-drop)*; Soq /'edmi&a/ *tear.*

In Cush: Saho /dime&ō/, /dimō/ *tear*; however, this may be a loan from Arab. Ebl (pl.) /da-ma-ti/ *lamentation.*

DN(N): Phoen /'dn/, αδουν *Lord (title)*; Ug /'adn/, /a-da-nu/ *lord, master, father*; Amor /dnn/ *be strong*; /dunn/ *strength*; Akk /danān/, (M/NAss) /da'ān/ *be strong, mighty.*

DNG: ?Arab /danğ/ *base(?) of honeycombs.*

Quoted from Barth (after Fleischer; see K-B^3).

DNR: Phoen (NPu; pl.) /dn&ry'/ *denar*; Aram = Hbr; Syr =; Arab /dīnār/ =; G&z /dinar/ =.

LW from Gr.

D&K: Aram /d&k/ *extinguish (light)*; Syr /d&k/ *be extinguished, languish*; Arab /d&k/ *rub up (skin); wear out (clothes)*; Te /d&k/ *tread down, crush; tQ (well) grow muddy (from trampling).*

The primary meaning seems to be *extinguish*, then other analogous actions and comparable consequences.

DP: Aram /dapp/ *tablet, board, strip, column, page*; Syr /dapp/ *tablet, board, table, page*; Akk /7upp/, /tupp/ *tablet, document, letter*; ?/adapp/, /d-/ *(horizontal) cross-beam; board ?*; Arab /daff/ *side, flank*; /daffat/ =, *leaf, board, shutter*; ESA /7f/ *(votive) tablet*; Soq /defeh/ *side.*

LW from Akk. Ebl (cs.) /7u-pi$_5$/.

DPV: Aram /dåpy/, /dopi^y/ *flaw, blame*; ?Arab /'adfa^y/ *deformed, humpbacked.*

Understandable in Arab in a specialized concrete sense. In Eth too: AmhS /yadäfä/ *dirty.*

DPN: Aram /dpn/ *D coerce*; /dåpn/ *wall*; /dupni^{y}t/ =, *rib*; Syr /dapn/ *side, (side) wall; loin; bier*; /dupn/ *coffin*; Akk /dapān/ *rein*; ?Arab /dfn/ *cover in dust/soil, bury; fill up (well, with earth)*; ?ESA /mdfn/ *(underground) storage*; ?Mhr /dfn/ *bury*; /mədfənūt/ *cache (in the sea)*; ?Soq /defon/ *bury*; ?G&z /dfn/ *cover (in earth, dust), hide; store (in a pit); fill up (well)*; Te /dfn/ *cover, bury, fill up*; ?Har /dfn/ *block up*; ?Sdd /däffänä/, ?Wol /-f-/ =.

The entries with covering and/or burial are combinable, if burial be understood as the ultimate form of forced confinement within closed space, and covering as a milder variation of this; blocking up (an entrance/exit) means then generating such a closed space. However, cf. the root /7mn/ too.

DPQ: Aram /dpq/ *knock (at)*; /dåpq/ *pulse, pulsating artery*; Arab /dfq/ *pour out abruptly; hasten, urge on (a beast).*

For Gur /däf(f)äqä/, the semantic link seems too tenuous.

DPTR: Aram = Hbr; Syr /dptr'/ *ledger; skin*; Arab /daftar/ *register, ledger*; G&z /däbtära/ *tent (of skins); literate person, liturgist*; Te /däbtära/, /-ay/ *literate person, liturgist.*

LW from Gr.

DQ(Q): Phoen (f.) /dqt/ *fine (frankincense)*; Ug /dq/ *small, weak*; Aram /dqq/ *pound, crush*; Syr /dq/ = ; Akk /dqq/ *D break into pieces*; Arab /dq/ *be fine, minute; break, bruise*; ESA /dqq/ *flour*; Mhr /dqq/ *pound; knock (at door)*; /7qq/ *pound, knock, bang, smash; rip (clothes)*; /7əqayq/ *fine flour*; /mə7aq/, /m7ɛq/ *pestle and/or mortar*; Soq /dqq/ *become thin, small, fine*; /daqiq/ *flour*; G&z /dqq/ + *D, A break into pieces, crush, attenuate, reduce*; Te /dq/ *grind*; /dqqät/ *crowd*; ?Har /dēdäqa/ *compress, press down (to level)*; Ch /7äqäqä/ *be finely ground*; Sdd /dəqəqq balä/ *cut fine*; Wol /duqēt/ *flour*; Bil /lāq̇ā/ *fine flour*; Berb: Sus Tu /dăgdăg/ *crush*; Eg /dqw/ *flour.*

The Wol entry (my own recording) may be a loan from Amharic; in Har, only the connotation of thinning is conceivably present, and Gur /deddäqä/ (etc.) is semantically still more remote. The root is of onomatopoeic origin; cf. /dwk/, /dk(k)/ above; for more Cush attestations, see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 254.

DQL: Aram /diql/ *date palm; palm mast*; Syr /deql/ *date palm*; Arab /daqal/ *a certain (inferior) kind of date palm; its fruit; mast*; Mhr /dəqāl/ *mast*; Soq /daqal/ =, *pole*; pl. /deqhaleten/ *palm grove*; Te /däqäl/ *mast; object of pride.*

The Te entry (in Tigrinya too) may be a loan from Arab, although semantically secondarily extended; the primary meaning is no doubt *date palm.*

DQR: Aram /dqr/ *pierce through, stab to death*; Syr =; ?Tu /ərdəγ/ *pierce through, transfix; pass through.*

The Tu entry has excellent semantic connection; but because of the transposition and remoteness from the main area of attestation cannot be considered quite certain.

DR(R): Aram /dardår/ *kind of thistle*; Syr /dardr/ =; Akk /darār/ +*N run around (freely)*; Arab /dr/ *run swiftly, stream or flow abundantly, pour down, shine brightly; R scatter (s.th.) about; tR be in commotion*; Te /dr/ *give much milk.*

The primary meaning seems to be free movement in which *free growth* may be included; of this again, thistles are certainly a good concrete example.

DR': Arab /dr'/ *avert, repel.*

Eg /dr/ seems to be based on a more active idea.

DRB: Aram /dårbån/ *leader; gatekeeper*; Arab /drb/ *get used to; D train (soldiers, animals)*; Soq (pl.) /derafonten/ *thorns*; G&z /drby/ *throw (missiles), transfix (by throwing)*; Te /drbV/ *throw, shoot.*

The Hbr Soq meanings appear to be highly specialized, while the Eth ones have slightly generalized and shifted into a different direction.

DRG: Aram /darg/, /dirg/ *step, grade*; Syr /darg/ =, *order, position*; Akk /daragg/ *path, track*; ?/durg/ *foundation; (deep) mountain valley, gorge; innermost part*; Arab /drǧ/ *go (step by step), pass (generation after generation), rise in degree, rank*; Mhr /dərgēt/ *step, layer, coil of rope*; Te /drgg/ *roll down, away.*

The basic gradated or stepwise nature exhibited by most entries is not incompatible with the second Akk and Te ones either; but not positively demonstrable, although in Akk, not only the foundations of a building, but valley bottoms too are comparable to the lowest layers on which the upper ones rest. In the first Akk entry, the fundamental meaning appears to be *footprints.* Cf. the next root.

DRK: Phoen /drk/ *tread; road; commander*; Ug /drk/ *march(?)*; /-kt/ *rulership, dominion*; Aram /drk/ *step, tread (on); overtake*; Syr /drk/ *step, tread (on, forward), go (ahead); propagate; acquire concubine*; ?Amor /drk/ ?; Akk /dark/, /derk/ *subsequent, successor*; (pl.) *posterity*; Arab /drk/ *N attain; L/A overtake; tL go on (a journey)*; ESA /drk/ *H reach, attain*; G&z /mädräk/ *threshold, entrance, vestibule*;

Te /drk/ *stream, flow; expel; D/L push away; tF throng, crowd*; ?Chad: Pa'a, Siri /dlirki/ *path.*

The Eth entries show some semantic shift and specialization, but are still clearly connected with this root. Cf. /rqd/ (and /rgl/?) below.

DRN: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

DRS: Aram /drs/ *press, tread (down)*; Syr /drʃ/ *trample, stamp; open (way)*; Akk /darās/ *force out, expel*; Arab /drs/ *thresh (wheat), wear out (clothes)*; /madrūs/ *beaten (track)*; Te /drs/ *lie down, rest (cattle).*

Again, the Te entry shows some semantic shift; Akk has generalized.

DRʃ: Phoen /drʃ/ *enquire*; Ug /drʃ/ *seek*; Aram /drʃ/ *interpret (the Scripture), lecture*; Syr /drʃ/ *study, discuss; reclaim (possession)*; Arab /drs/ *study; D lecture, teach*; Mhr /drs/ *study*; Soq /deroʃ/ =, *repeat*; G&z /drs/ *study, comment, interpret, compile (commentaries, hymns etc.)*; Te /drs/ *read, recite, sing; cry, roar*; /däräsa/ *school, prayer-house; lesson; dance*; /därus/ *psalm, hymn, psalter*; Har /däräsa/ *wandering scholar*; Ch /dänäsä/, Sdd /därräsä/, Wol /-r-/ *sing & dance.*

The entries meaning to *study, lecture, sing (etc.)* are of the nature of *Kulturwörter* and derive ultimately from Hbr/Aram.

Dʃ': Aram /dit'/ *herb*; Syr /tad'/ =, *spring*; Akk /dīʃ/ *grass, abundant growth, spring*; /deʃū/ *sprout*; Arab /θ'd/ *(plant) be covered with dew*; /dafa'iyy/, /daθa-/ *spring rain* (Guillaume); ?/daθθ/, /diθāθ/ *light rain*; ESA /dθ'/ *(fruits of) spring.*

Metathesis in Syr Arab.

DʃN: Aram /diʃn/ *fat ashes (of sacrifices)*; ?Akk /daʃn/ *mighty*; Arab /dsm/ *be greasy.*

Generalized in Akk, if relevant; /duʃʃum/ seems to be attested in Npr only.

DT: Aram /dåt/ *law, custom; religion*; Syr /dåt/ *law*; Akk (late Bab) /dāt/ =, *decree.*

LW from Old Persian.

ה

H': Aram = Hbr; Syr /he'/ *name of the fifth letter of the alphabet.*

HB: Aram /hb/ *R roast, singe; burn with passion.*

HBL: Aram /hbl/ *D act foolishly, in vain; sport; be left out*; Syr /hebl/ *dust; vanity, uselessness*; Arab /hbl/ *be deprived (of a son, by death); Qt* *intrigue, scheme evil*; (syr.) *D give (tD take) a steambath*; /hubal/ *name of an idol*; (syr.) /habalat/ *vapour* (Guillaume); Te /hbl/ *wander, travel far; D bubble, prattle.*

The basic reference appears to be to things of ephemeral, transitory nature; Arab has developed a more positively evil connotation; on the primary stem, cf. /'bl/ above?

HG(G): Arab /hğ/ *burn fiercely; D make blaze.*

In the light of the Hbr meaning, the following root appears unconnected with this one.

HG(G) II: Syr /hgg/ *D rouse imagination; tD think, imagine*; /huggåg/; (pl.) /hegge'/ *phantasm, vision*; Akk /agāg/ *grow angry, furious*; Arab /hğ/ *scare (a lion) away by shouting; (camel) grumble.*

Cf. the next root.

HGV: Ug /hg/ *counting*; Aram /hgV/ *meditate, murmur, speak*; Syr /hgV/ *think, meditate*; /hgåy/ *sigh, groan*; Arab /hğw/ *satirize, scoff; (+D, tD) spell, form syllables*; Te /hgV/ *tL speak, talk*; /huguy/ *speaking* (nag).

Cf. the preceding root.

HGV II: Arab /wğy/ *A remove; abstain, come back empty-handed.*

Cf. /ygV/ below.

HGMN: Aram = Hbr; Syr /hegmon/ *leader, ruler, prefect.*

LW from Gr.

HGN: Aram /mhuggan/, /mha-/ *suitable, worthy*; /hugn/ *dromedary*; Syr /(gaml) hugn/ =; Arab /hiğān/ (f. & pl. =) *well-bred (camel)*; /hiğānat/ *noble extraction.*

Derived from Gr ευγενης (Nöldeke).

HDY7: Aram = Hbr; Syr /hedyo7/ *private person; unlearned, simple; simpleton, stupid; inexperienced.*

LW from Gr.

HDM: Ug /hdm/ *footstool*; Eg (NK) /hdmw/ =, *seat.*

The Eg entry (also written phonetically: /ha-d-mu/) is a LW from Sem; on ultimate etymology, cf. /'dn/ above.

HDS: Aram /h(a)dass/ *myrtle*; Arab /hadas(at)/ =.

Apparently of non-Sem origin; Akk (Syr Arab) /as/ could be a contraction of it.

HDP: Aram /hdp/ *push/drive (away)*; ?Arab /hdf/ *enter/come unexpectedly*; ?Te =; ?Berb: Lib.

The Te entry may be a loan from Arab; the Hbr Aram entries seem connected with /ndp/ (as causative to reflexive), but Arab (Te) does not agree with this; on Lib cf. K-B^{3}.

HDR: Ug /hdrt/ *dream*; Aram /hadr/ *ornament, glory*; Syr /hedr/ =; Arab /hdr/ *shoot forth (palm-tree), be luxuriant (herbage); be unavenged (bloodshed); spend to no avail (wealth)*; Mhr /hdr/ *jump & shout for joy.*

The basic concrete meaning (cf. Arab) seems to have been abundant wealth, then analogous phenomena with equally conspicuous characteristics. A SAr /hdr/ *ornament* I cannot verify.

HWD: Aram /hoʷd/ *majesty, magnificence.*

Arab /'wd/ is hardly comparable semantically (Irvine).

HWV: Aram /hwV/ *be(come), exist; dwell upon*; Syr /hwV/ =, *fall, happen, take place; come true (prophecy); last (long)*; Amor /hwy/ *be(come)*; Akk /ewū/, /emū/ *become*; Arab /hwy/ *(wind) blow; be hurled down; (falcon) dart (on a prey); go down, (star) set; (man) die; go up, ascend (a hill); (star) rise*; /hawā'/ *air, atmosphere; empty space*; Mhr /hewō/ *fall (upon), seize, catch hold (of)*; Som /hawo/ *air*; Caf /haw/ (Vi) *smell*; Tu /həwiwi/ *be aired, have air*; Eg /h'y/ *fall* (Vycichl).

The Som entry may be a loan from Arab; but evidently the root has been more widespread at an earlier time; not having one firmly consonantal radical it has been easily susceptible to phonetic change and hence, to obsolescence. Contrastive meanings, such as going up a hill, may derive secondarily from semi-denominative motives (in this case, becoming exposed to wind/air). Cf. also Dolgopolsky p. 220f.

HWM: Ug /thm/ (du. /thmtm/, pl. /thmt/) *abyss*; Aram /thoʷm/ =; Syr /thom/ =, *sea, wave, flowing*; Akk /tiamt/, /tāmt/ *sea*; Arab /tihāmat/ *sandy desert (on the Red Sea coast of Arabia)*; ESA /thmt/ *coast.*

In Arab, the ominous term for the semi-mythical abyss has come to mean the equally sinister coastal desert. Ebl /ti-'a-ma-tum/ *ocean, abyss*; /tì-é-mu/ *abyss.*

HWN: ?Phoen /hwn/ *wealth (?of the sea)*; Ug /hyn/ *(the) skilful (one)*; Aram /hawn/, /hoʷn/ *wealth, power, ability*; Syr /hawn/ *mind, intelligence, prudence; sense, meaning*; Arab /hwn/ *be(come) easy, quiet, gentle, weak, base.*

HYD: Syr /hādāy/ *shout of wine-makers*; Arab /hādd/ *rumbling (of sea, underground)*; hāddat/ *thunder*; Mhr /hed/ (n. & vb.) =; /hdīd/ *threaten*; Soq /ʃed/ *thunder*; Te /hd/ *thunder; run together*; /h(ä)dud/ *(rumble of) thunder.*

Of onomatopoeic origin; NB. Soq /ʃ/.

HYV: Bed /hāy/, /fāy/ *be*; /hāya/ *existence*; Som /hayV/ *be*; ?Eg /yw/ =.

Also in Afar Saho: /hay/ *be*. The existence of this islet of attestations so far from Hbr becomes easier to understand, if we accept that the root is a var. of /hwV/ above. Arab /hy'/, Tu /ixu/, /ixi/ deviate both phonetically and semantically.

HYN: ?Ug /hn/ *a measure of volume (?)*; Aram /hiʸn/ = ; Syr /'īn/ = ; Eg /hnw/ = .

LW from Eg.

HKL: Ug /hkl/ *palace*; Aram /heʸkl/ =, *temple*; Syr /haykl/ = ; Akk /ekall/ *palace*; Arab /hykl/ *be big & tall*; /haykal/ *huge beast, tall plant, lofty building, temple, altar, statue*; ESA /hykl/ *palace*; G&z /häykäl/ *temple (of Jerusalem), chapel (therein), sacristy; altar; (Noah's) ark*; Te /hekäl/, /häyk-/ *scroll (of parchment); amulet, talisman.*

LW from Sumerian; in Arab semantically expanded, in G&z (through Hbr) Te specialized.

HL(L): Phoen (NPu) /myll/ *exalted, praised*; Ug /hll/ *New Moon festival, celebration (?)*; Aram (Q) /hll/ *praise*; /hilluʷl/ *(praising the bride before) wedding celebration*; Syr /hll/ *D praise*; Amor /hll/ = ; Akk /alāl/ *Qt sing a joyful song; ʃ rejoice*; Arab /hl/ *appear (new moon); rejoice; D*, /hyll/ *praise God*; /hilāl/ *new moon*; G&z /hlal/ = ; Te /heläl/ = ; /häwlälä/ *admire, praise*; Ch /yərər/, Sdd /ələll/ *shout of joy*; Tu /tallit/ (pl. /ʃilil/); /tellit/ (pl. /tilila/) *moon, (lunar) month.*

The primary meaning appears to be celebration of the appearance of the new moon (evidently at least in the background in Ug too, although exact meaning of the entry is not clear); semantically shifted or generalized where the moon or lunar deity is no longer recipient of worship. Ebl /ul-lum/ *festival.*

HL(L) II: Syr /hll/ *A ridicule, despise*; Te /häläwläw/ *foolish (lunatic?).*

Perhaps originally connected with the preceding root (if referring to the reputed negative influence of the moon).

HLK: Phoen /hlk/ *go, walk, travel, pass by; Y offer, produce; establish(?)*; (imp) *lech: go; ulech: host; elichot: hospitality*; Ug /hlk/ *go, come, flow; going, march; course (of stars)*; Aram /h(l)k/ *go; D =; conduct o.s.; spread*; Syr /hlk/ *return; D go, wander (away); last, pass (time), live; lead (the way)*; Akk /alāk/ *go, come, walk, travel, pass*; Arab /hlk/ *pass (away), perish, die; tD/tL swagger*; ESA /hlk/ *go, proceed*; Mhr /hlk/ *be very tired & thirsty*; /tlk/ *lead (an animal) by rope*; Soq /hlk/ *Qt perish, die*; /telok/ *guide*; Te /hlk/ *exert o.s.; die*; Bil /luk/ *leg*; Tu /wələlləg/ *wander around, promenade*; /tawələllek/, /təwl-/ *promenade* (n.); Chad: Karekare /'arākən/, Ngizin /rakan/, Bade /alakan/ *walk.*

Tu /əhlək/ *ruin, destroy (o.s.; & pass.)* may be a loan from Arab (Prasse), but the above entry can hardly be that. The Bil entry (cf. Chad too) seems to establish a link between this root and /rgl/ (q.v.); if so, both roots must be very ancient indeed. Ebl (nag) /'à-lik/, (nact) /a-la-ak- [...]/.

HLM: Phoen /hlm/ *strike*; Ug = .

Also in Eth: Tigrinya /hlm/ *slap in the face* (Leslau, *Contributions* p. 18).

HLM II: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

HLQ7: ?

Originally *H*-stem of /lq7/ (q.v.).

HM(M): Aram /hmm/ *confuse; sweep, remove (rubbish)*; Arab /hm/ *intend, worry; (+A) disquiet, cause anxiety*; Te /hm/ *worry, take care.*

Cf. the next root.

HMV: Aram /hmV/ *make noise, tumult*; Arab ?/hmV/ *flow (water, tears); (cattle) pasture at random*; /hm/ *R mutter, grumble; (beast) snarl*; Te /hm/ *brawl, growl; R growl, roar, neigh; threaten*; Som /hamhan/ (n.&vb.) *buzz, growl*; ?Tu /hama/ *people, nation, tribe, community*; Eg /hmhmt/ *roar, war-cry*; Cpt /hmhm/ *cry, growl, roar, (bel)low.*

Of onomatopoeic origin; the preceding root may be cognate. The Tu entry is semantically tenuous, little used and may be LW (Prasse).

HML: Ug /hmlt/ *folk, crowd*; Aram (Sfire) /hml/ *noise*; Arab /hml/ *flow abundantly (water, tears); pasture freely (camels).*

Again, what is common to all the entries is noisiness, otherwise the meanings go considerably apart; accordingly, this root too may have been secondarily differentiated from the preceding one (cf. /&wV/ vs. /&wl/ for a parallel).

HMS: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr (?; the Gr prototype quoted from Dalman only; cf. Lat *omasum*?).

HNV: Aram /hnV/ *be pleasant, beneficial*; Syr =; Arab /hn '/ *be pleasant; enjoy, rejoice*; ESA /hn'/ *nice, satisfying.*

HS: Arab /hs/ *speak to o.s.*; /hasīs/, /hasāhis/ *whisper.*

HPK: Phoen /hpk/ *be busy (with); upset, demolish*; Syr =; *return, revert, repeat, avert, turn (into, away)*; Akk /abikt/, /ap-/ *defeat*; Arab /'fk/ *lie; deter*; Soq /hbk/ *throw down*; Te /häfäk wäda/ *shrivel (a sack when shaken etc.).*

Akk /abāk/ seems semantically too remote.

HR(R): Phoen /hr/ *hill, mountain*; ?Ug /]hr/ = ?; Eg /ha-ra/ =.

The Ug entry is in a broken context; the Eg one is transcription of a Canaanite word.

HR(R) II: Aram /hrr/ *R reflect; have impure fancies*; Syr /hr/ *litigate, dispute; R excite*; Arab /hr/ *(bow) twang; (dog) howl, whine; L show teeth, snarl; A, R call (sheep) to water.*

HRG: Aram (Sfire) /hrg/ *kill*; Arab /hrǧ/ *riot*; /harǧ/ = (Ns); ESA /hrg/ *kill; (Q ps ?) be killed*; /mhrg/ *massacre, slaughter*; ?Berb: Fass /enaġ/ *kill.*

HRG II: Aram /xo^{w}rigt/ *step-daughter*; Arab /χrǧ/ *D bring up (a child)*; /χāriǧ/ *exterior, outside.*

A secondary phonetic development in the Hbr entry.

HRV: Ug /hry/ *conceive*; /hr/ *conception, pregnancy*; Aram (Sfire) /hry/ *conceive*; Akk /arū/, /erū/ =, *be pregnant*; Bed /'ōr/ *infant*; Bil /er/ *(animal) conceive*; Som /īr/ *fecundate; belly, womb*; Om /(h)ulo/ *belly*; Berb: Fass /aru/ *give birth (to), generate, produce*; Sus /aru/ *give birth (to), lay (an egg)*; Chad: Ndam /'əra/ *be pregnant*; Eg /ywr/ = ; *conceive; be full*; Cpt /åå/, (qual.f.) /eet/ =.

Also Sid = Om (Cohen no. 90). The patchy attestation and occasional phonological variation may be due to two reasons: a) phonological, the root having only one relatively firm root consonant; b) semantic, terms of sexuality being often subject to taboo.

HRZB: Aram /'arzbo^{w}ni^{y}t/ *kind of locust.*

LW from Gr (according to Dalman).

HRS: Arab /hrs/ *eat greedily, bruise, crush down*; /hars/ *pounding, pulverization*; /mihrās/ *mortar; washstand*; ESA /hrs/ *invade; invasion, devastation*; Te /hrʃ/, /hrʃm/ *break into pieces.*

HTL: Arab /htr/ *disorder the mind; rave, be delirious*; /hitr/ *nonsense*; /hutr/ *mental disorder, insanity.*

The Hbr root looks like original *H*-stem of /tl(l)/, and the Pal-Arab /hittel/, /hetel/ quoted by Blau could be influenced by the Hbr substrate; but the above quoted Arab entry cannot be explained away like that; moreover, the etymology for /tl(l)/ in K-B^{1} does not convince me either. Accordingly, I consider the present root an original one and etymologically related to the Arab one quoted above.

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WDV: Aram /waddå'/ *certain; particular*; /widdu^{w}y/ *confession of sins.*

Cf. also /ydV/ below.

WW: Aram /wåw/ *hook; the letter* /w/; Syr /w'w/ *name of a letter*; G&z /waw/ *name of the sixth letter of the Hbr alphabet.*

WKX: Cf. /ykx/ below.

WLD: Ug /wld/ *be born (?birth?)*; Aram /wald/, /wlad/ *child; birth; womb.*

Cf. also /yld/ below.

WST: Aram /wäst/ *rule, regular custom; menstruation.*

LW from Lat? (with semantic shift).

W&D: Aram /wa&d/ *meeting, assembly*; /wi&uʷd/ *meeting, coming together*; Syr /wa&d/ *agreed sign, place, time; promise, mandate; refuge; death.*

Cf. also /y&d/ below,

WRD: Aram /ward/ *rose*; Syr =; *flower*; Arab /ward/ = (etc.); Eg (Dem.) /wrt/, Cpt /urt/, /wert/, /wart/, /wērt/, /wēlt/ (etc.) *rose.*

A *Kulturwort*; from Old Persian.

Wʃ7: Aram /wäʃ7/ *gullet*; Arab /was(a)7/ *middle*; ESA /ws7/, /mws7/ =, *interior*; G&z /ws7/ =; /wst/ *in (the midst of), among*; Te /wʃa7e/ *interior*; /wst/ *in (the midst of)*; Har /us7u-be/ *inside, within*; Sdd /wəʃ7a/, Wol /wəs7/ *interior, inside, within*; Sdd /wuʃta/ *inside.*

The Sdd var. is my recording; on the other hand, despite non-dorsal occlusive in some Eth PTpr forms, Akk /iʃtu/ being also semantically deviant, I consider it too early to have lost an earlier dorsal co-articulation without trace.

WTQ: Aram (Bab) /wtyq/ *trusty, enduring*; Arab /wθq/ *be secure, firm; trust, rely (on)*; ESA /wθq/ *H/S make firm, secure.*

NB. the fricative vs. Hbr stop. The Aram entry may be based on Hbr.

WTR: Aram /wtr/ *D benefit.*

Cf. also /ytr/ below.

ז

Z'B: Aram /deʸb/ *wolf*; Syr /dēb/ =; Akk /zīb/, /zibū/ *jackal; vulture*; Arab /δi'b/, /δīb/ *wolf; (the constellation) Draco*; Soq /dīb/ *wolf*; G&z /z'b/ *hyaena*; Bed /dīb/ *wolf*; Eg /z'b/ *jackal*; (pl.) /dybyw/ *wolves, jackals, hyaenas.*

A wandering word, with occasional phonetic and semantic shifts. More Cush attestations in Dolgopolsky p. 106.

ZB(B): Aram /dibb/ *fly*; Syr /dabbåb/, /debb-/ =; Amor /δubāb(at)/ *little fly*; Akk /zubb/, /-mb/, /subb/, (NAss) /zunb/ *fly*; Arab /δubāb/ (coll.) *flies; bees*; Mhr /δəbbet/ (also coll.) *fly*; Soq /'edbiboh/ =; Har /zəmbi/ =; Gur /zəmb/ =; Caf /yammō/ =; Chad: Tangale (East) /sombo/ =.

Of onomatopoeic origin; cf. /dbr/ II above. Eg /&ff/ seems closer to /&wp/ (q.v.).

ZBD: Aram /zbd/ *present (with), donate*; Syr =; Arab =; *feed (with fresh butter etc.); agitate (milk), churn*; /zabd/ *gift*; /zubd/ *fresh butter; choice, best*; /zabad/ *froth, foam, scum*; ESA /zbd/ *gift.*

Whether Arab has preserved a more original concrete meaning or innovated is not clear; in Hbr, the root may be loan from Aram.

ZBX: Phoen zbx/ *slaughter; sacrificial priest* (=nag?); *sacrifice* (Ns); Ug /dbx/, /da-ab-χu/ *slaughter, sacrifice* (Vt & Ns); /mdbx/ *altar*; Aram /dbx/ *slaughter, sacrifice*; /dibx/ *(bloody) sacrifice; Passover festival*; /madbx/ *altar*; Syr /dbx/ *slaughter, sacrifice*; /debx/ *sacrifice, victim; eucharist*; /madbx/ *altar; small church; church choir(?)*; Akk /zīb/ *sacrifice*; Arab /δbx/ *rip open, slaughter*; /δibx/ *victim*; ESA /δbx/ *sacrifice* (Vt & Ns); /mδbxt/ = ; *altar*; G&z /zbx/ *slaughter, sacrifice; sacrificial victim*; Te /zbx/ *skin (a cow); slaughter for funereal sacrifice*; Som /dōx/ *slit up (victim's belly); slaughtering (act)*; Eg /dbxt xtp/ *(table of) offering(s)*; /dbx/ *need; entreat* (Calice no. 458, Vycichl); Cpt /tåb(a)h/ *pray*.

The primary meaning appears to have been to *slaughter*, then — as slaughtering was mostly done for sacrifice — shifted to mean specifically sacrificial slaughtering and occasionally sacrifices in general; this terminology could occasionally acquire *Kulturwort* character. Cf. the root /7bx/ below. Ebl /du-bù-χu/ *festival.*

ZBL: Ug /zbl/ *Prince, ruler, rulership*; (+/zbln/) *(demon of) disease*; Amor /zbl/ *rule, carry*; Akk /zabāl/, /sa-/, /ca-/; (late Bab) /zebēl/ *take responsibility; carry, bring over, deliver*; /zubullū/ *wedding present*; Arab /zbl/+*Qt bear, carry*; ?/δbl/ *A blight (fruits)*; ?/sbl/ *D dedicate s.th. to pious uses*; ?ESA /sbl/ *s.th. consecrated(?)*.

The entries look both phonologically and semantically rather heterogeneous; but the phonetic variation is not parallel to the semantic one; and as the semantic varr. are connectable (responsibility bridging the gap between carrying and rulership, the latter being usually sacral in character, as also wedding ceremony, and demon of disease which could be held responsible for a blight too being comparable to a divine ruler) and correspondences between sibilants show many irregularities (cf. e.g., JSS 11/1966 p. 135ff), the possibility of common origin for all the entries cannot be ruled out. The reading of the ESA entry is disputed, but the above one seems semantically best supported. Cf. /sbl/ below.

ZBL II: Aram /zbl/ *D manure*; Syr = ; Arab /zbl/ =.

ZG(G): Aram /zagg/, /zo^{w}g/, /zugg/ *husk; kernel*; Arab /zağāğ/ (coll.) *berries.*

The Arab meaning, combining the two apparently contradictory (Hbr &) Aram ones, may be closest to the original.

ZGDS: Aram = Hbr.

LW (from Persian? cf. *Por* p. 151).

ZHB: Aram /dahb/ *gold*; Syr = ; *alloy of gold and silver; gold coin; money*; Amor /δuhhub/ *golden*; Arab /δahab/ *gold; egg yolk*; ESA /δhb/ *gold; bronze; aromatic gum (gold-coloured?)*; Mhr /δəhēb/ *gold*; Soq /deheb/, /dh-/ = ; Te /zähäb/, /đä-/ = ; /đähob/ *frankincense, fumigation*; /đhb/ *fumigate*; Bil /dahab/ *gold*; ?Chad: Dangla /daap/ =.

In Cush also: Saho Afar /dahab/ *gold.* The primary meaning is of course *gold*, the other meanings created through similarities in colour or substance; in the main meaning, the noun is a *Kulturwort*. Cf. the root /chb/ below.

ZHM: Aram /zhm/ *be dirty*; /zuhm/ *dirt; fume*; Syr /zahm/ *stinking*; Arab /zuhm/ *grease; stench*; /zahim/ *stinking fat.*

ZHR: Aram /zhr/ *shine, glow; (+A) warn*; Syr /zhr/ *shine, glow; D warn, admonish*; Arab /zhr/ *shine, glow; Qt be vigorous, earnest, mindful (of); take care (of)*; ?Mhr /źhr/+*ʃ appear, be visible; H reveal*; ?Te /zhr/+*A be(come) clear, evident, manifest.*

The Mhr Te entries may agree better with /chr/ which, however, may ultimately be cognate. Their meanings also provide a bridge between shining and warning.

ZWB: Ug /mdb/ *(flood-)stream, ocean*; Aram /dwb/ *flow, have impure discharge*; Syr = (also figuratively); Akk /zāb/, (OAss) /zuāb/ *flow (apart)*; Arab /δwb/ *flow, melt*; ESA /mδb/ *irrigation canal*; /δhb/ *flood, monsoon rains; outflow channels; irrigated land*; Eg /z'b/, /zb/ *run/flow out.*

The primary meaning appears to be flow away from a centre, hence also apart; as this is characteristic of water channelled out of a reservoir for irrigation purposes and the reservoir is again replenished by monsoon rains, it seems unnecessary to posit more than one root in ESA on semantic grounds; as for phonology, II /h/ verbs occur as varr. to hollow roots, cf. /bw'/, /bwʃ/, /khn/ etc.

ZWG: Aram /zwg/ *D join, couple*; /ziwwåg/ *coupling, pairing, marriage*; Syr /zwg/ *D join, couple*; /zawg/ *yoke, pair; chariot; pair of numbers*; /zuwwåg/ *wedding, marriage, married couple; sexual intercourse*; Arab /zwǧ/ *D couple; tD marry*; /zawǧ/ *(one of a)pair; husband, wife*; G&z /zäwg/ *pair; equal, colleague.*

Ultimately loan from Gr.

ZWV: Aram /zåwi^{y}(t)/ *angle, corner*; Syr = ; ?Akk /samīt/ *wall socket/base*; Arab /zāwiyat/ *corner, angle*; ESA (pl.) /'zyym/ = *(with iron fastenings).*

According to v. Soden, the Akk entry is never spelt with /w/ and as it occurs relatively late and has rather different meaning from the others, the Aram-Syr entry can hardly be direct borrowing from it; assuming an unattested intermediary meaning like *cornerstone*, common origin may be possible. The Hbr entry is loan from Aram.

ZWZ: ?Phoen /mzzt/ (pl.?) *door-post*; Aram /zwz/ *turn aside: A move to & fro, shake*; ?Akk /izuzz/, /uz-/ *stand; be ready, available*; /mazzāz/, /-azt/; /manz-/ *post, position, place (of standing); base, socket*; ?Arab /zwz/.

Again, the Akk entry can hardly have served as direct source of borrowing for the Hbr-Aram ones, but ultimate connection is possible. Reading of the Phoen entry is doubtful, and I have not found confirmation for an Arab /zwz/; accordingly, I wonder whether /mazūzat/ could not have been derived from the Hbr-Aram /zwz/ after all (in a locative-instrumental sense, as *that* *round and by means of which the (solid) door moves to and fro*; on door cf. /dl/ above), although the verb has not been preserved in the Bible.

ZWZ II: Aram = Hbr; Syr =.

A wandering word of unknown origin.

ZWL: Aram /zwl/ *be cheap; consider worthless*; ?/dwl/ *tQ be drawn (water)*; /dawl/, /do^{w}l/, *well-bucket; artificial irrigation*; ?Syr /dwl/ *move, be excited, exult; emigrate*; Arab /δyl/ *A squander (money); shed (tears)*; /zwl/ *pass away, cease, retire, perish*; /zyl/ *cease, discontinue, remove; D separate; tD disperse*; ?ESA /zl/ *finish, complete (work).*

As the phonetic variation again does not parallel the semantic one, all entries could be relevant, although most are not very close; Mhr /zwl/ looks decidedly too remote.

ZWN: ?Ug /tznt/ *a foodstuff? (or metal?)*; Aram /zwn/ *support; (+D) nourish*; Syr /zwn/ *nourish, support; donate*; Akk /zanān/, (Bab) /za'ān/ *maintain, take care (of)*; Arab /δwn/ *tD be rich; live in plenty, at ease.*

The Arab 1st rad. is again at variance, but the meaning is perfect, "feed himself"! Akk also shows some (morpho-)phonological variation, while the Ug entry is in a list preceded by metals and followed by what seems to be a foodstuff (/tyt/). Arab /zwn/ is hardly relevant. Whether the Eg sign for /zn/ is really a loaf of bread is disputable.

ZW&: Aram /zw&/ *shiver, tremble; R shake, frighten*; Syr /zw&/ *tremble, be shaken, concussed, afraid, insane*; Arab /zw&/ *urge (a beast); D drive roughly; R urge (camels); (wind) shake s.th.*

ZWR: Phoen /zr/ *strange, foreign, other*; Aram /zwr/ *turn aside; drop in*; /zår/ *stranger, layman, excommunicated; enemy*; Arab /zwr/ + *Qt visit; St invite*; /δyr/ *loathe*; ESA /z(w)r/ *St visit*; Mhr /δr'/ *f consider s.o. stranger; feel strange*; /δəray'/ *strange(r)*; Soq /dir(e)hi/ *stranger*; /zry/ *hate, detest*; ?G&z /zwr/ *D stay permanently*; ?Te /zwr/ *go around, circulate; tD wander about*; ?Ch /žorä/, ?Sdd /zäwwärä/, ?Wol /-w-/ *go/turn around.*

The basic meaning appears to be neutral strangeness, sometimes developed into friendly visiting (in Eth, if relevant, more permanent stay), sometimes negatively into hatred and enmity (in Arab Soq also phonologically differentiated, but in different ways, showing the differentiation to have taken place independently in each language).

ZWR II: ?Aram /zyår/ *wine-press*; ?Syr /zwr/ *hold, compress in hand*; ?Arab /zīr/ *porous jar used as strainer.*

With the meaning of the Hbr entry uncertain, the relevance of those above is not assured either; on the interpretation given, Arab has the best chance of being relevant.

ZXL: Ug /dxl/ *fear*; Aram =; /zxl/ *creep; let flow*; Syr /dxl/ *be afraid*; /zåxl/ *young, creeping locust*; /zåxol/ *humble, vile*; ?Arab /δax(a)l/ *rancour, spite, enmity*; /zxl/ *retreat, withdraw*; /zχl/ *(river etc.) run high, overflow*.

The root is phonologically heterogeneous, it seems; but the meanings are quite compatible, even in Arab: creeping is a characteristic action of the fearful and vile; rancour and enmity are cognate with fear; and movement of water on the banks of an overflowing river is often like creeping.

ZYD: Aram /ze^{y}d/ *insolent, villain*; Syr /za'åd/, /zå-/ *hot*; ?Arab /zyd/ *grow, increase, exceed*; ?Te /zyd/ *exceed, excel; A augment*; /zayda/ *preference, glory*.

Here, the meanings seem to go apart; but all are derivable from the behaviour of boiling water.

ZYW: Phoen (NPu) /zyb/ *name of a month*; Aram = Hbr; Syr /zīw/ *outlook, appearance, beauty, splendor, excellence*; Akk /zīm/ *outlook, appearance (of face etc.)*; Arab /zī/ *appearance, dress, fashion*; /zyV/ *D(, tD) adorn (o.s.)*.

The Akk entry is certainly connected with this root, but hardly as a source of borrowing, as its meaning deviates in a way which is hardly compatible with the derivation of the old Canaanite name of the spring month which thus presupposes early Canaanite origin for the name.

ZYN: Apparently an irregular var. of /zwz/ II (q.v.).

ZYP: Aram /zyp/ *D falsify*; Syr =; Akk /zi'p/ *cast replica; clay impression.*

As any imitation of an original is conceivably its falsification, the meanings are related.

ZYQ: Aram /zi^{y}q/ *comet; gust of wind*; /-qt/ *lightning*; (Bab) /zyq/ *a daemon*; Syr /zīq/ *gust of wind; meteor*; /-qt/ *lightning*; Akk /z(i)āq/ *(wind etc.) blow, storm*; /zīq/ *wind, breeze; breath (of daemons, humans)*; (+/-qt/) *torch.*

As lightnings often occur with a storm, there is no need to divide the root in two.

ZYT: Phoen (Eg) /zyt/, (Cypr) /zt/ *olive (tree)*; Ug /zt/ =; Aram /zayt/, /ze^{y}t/ =; Syr /zay/ =; Arab /zayt/ *olive oil*; /zaytūn/ *olive (tree)*; Mhr /zaytūn/ =; /zayt/ *(gun-)oil*; Soq /zeyt/ *olive oil*; G&z /zäyt/ *olive (tree)*; Te /zet/ *oil*; Har /zäyt/, *olive oil*; Ch /zäyt/; Sdd /zäyət/, /ze(:)t/, Wol /zäyt/, /zeyt/ *oil*; Berb: Fass /dī/ =; Tu /ăzzai/ *male date-palm*; /tăzzait/ *(any) date-palm*; /tazzăyt/ *gum-tree*; Eg /ğt/, (Dem.) /ğyt/; Cpt /ğoyt/ *olive (tree)*.

An old *Kulturwort*, with some shifts of meaning. Also in Cush: Or /zeyti/ *oil*.

ZK(K): Aram /zakki^{y}k/ *pure*; /zko^{w}ki^{y}t/ *glass, crystal*; /zgo^{w}gi^{y}t/ *glass(-ware)*; Syr /zgūgīt/ *glass*; Akk /zakakāt/, /zakukūt/ *glazing*; Arab /zağāğ/, /zi-/, /zu-/ *glass*.

The words for *glass (etc.)* are *Kulturwörter*; as the Akk entry is attested only rather late and rarely, it can hardly be their original source. Cf. the next root.

ZKV: Phoen (Carthage) /zk'/ *pure*; Aram /dkV/ *be pure*; /zkV/ *be righteous, innocent, unpunished, worthy (of); overcome; have pity, mercy*; Syr /dkV/ *be pure, become purified*; /zkV/ *be pure, innocent, justified, righteous; overcome, win*; Akk /zakū/ *be pure, clear, purified, innocent, unpunished*; Arab /zkw/ *be pure (of sin), righteous; thrive; be proper.*

The root may be cognate with the preceding one (cf. Akk); as a forensic term, the root could conceivably derive ultimately from Akk, but as neither the Syr nor the Arab entries with /z/ are confined to forensic and/or religious usages (cf. Aram /zakkiʸk/ too), it seems more consistent to conclude that the entries with /δ∼d/ have been differentiated semantically to refer to physical purity, where phonological distinction has been created.

ZKR: Phoen /skr/ *remember*; =, /skrn/, /zkrn/ *memorial (offering)*; /zkr/ *memory*; Ug /dkr/, /da-ka-rum/ *male(?)*; Aram /dkr/ *remember, think (of), mention*; /dikr/ *male*; Syr /dkr/ *male*; Syr /dkr/ *remember, recollect*; /dukrån/ *memory, remembrance, festival day*; /dekr/ *male*; Amor /δkr/ *remember, name*; /δikr(at)/ *memory*; /$kr/, /$ikr/ =; Akk /zakār/, /zaqār/, /sa-/ *speak, name, say, pronounce, swear*; /zikr/, /-kar/, /-kkar/ *male, man*; /zik(a)rūt/, /sikrūt/ *virility*; Arab /δkr/ *remember, mention*; /δikr/ *memory, remembrance, mention, fame; strong man; rain*; /δakar/ *male, masculine; sharp (sword); penis*; ESA /δkr/ *thought, desire; memorable(?), male*; Mhr /δkr/ *mention; ʃ come just after being mentioned*; Soq /dekir/ *think, remember*; (pl.) /midkor/, /mdikirihon/ *male*; G&z /zkr/ *remember, mention*; Te /zkr/ *remember, report, tell, recite*; /zkran/ *nuptial gift*; Sdd /zäkkärä/ *commemorate*; /zəkər/ *remembrance*; Bed /dakār/ *male (animal); Bos bubalus.*

The Bed entry may be a loan from Arab, and so the root is limited to Sem. On the other hand, I do not see reason to divide it in two, as both the concept of memory (as conceived in the above entries) and masculinity share the salient characteristic of *active nature, virility*; both are also represented in all the major Sem subdivisions, even if in Eth, the sexual connection is rather weak, but then, the whole root has been disused in most Eth languages. There is no attempt to separate the two main strains of meaning phonologically either.

ZL(L): Aram /zll/ *be despicable; R despise; set minimal price*; Syr /zl/ *be deficient, vile, contemptible*; /zlhz/ *reduce, make exiguous*; Arab /δl/ *be weak, base, vile, contemptible, submissive*; ESA /δll/ *be humbled, abased; H reject, ravage*; G&z /'änzahlälä/ *be lax, dissolute, self-indulgent*; Te /zll/ *D(?tD?) be soft, powerless.*

Cf. the root /dl(l)/ above.

ZL(L) II: ?Syr /dl/ *weave (thread)*; /dull/ *thread; mass of (silken) thread*; (+/dell/) *weft, woof*; Arab ?/zl/ *tR be agitated, in commotion*; /δl/ *tR = ; be slack, pendulous*; /δalāδil/ *lowest parts of an outworn shirt*; G&z /dlul/ *curly*; /dlale/ *curly hair*.

Could be ultimately related to the preceding root and /dl(l)/; but if so, and if all the above entries are relevant, meanings in the different languages (including Hbr) have been specialized in different ways; however, not always parallel to phonetic developments.

ZLG: Arab /δlq/ *be sharp; D ps =, pointed.*

ZL&P: ?

Secondary root from /z&p/ (q.v.).

ZM(M): Aram /zmm/ *plan, plot, bear false witness*; (Bab) *resound; A rebut, prove s.o. false witness*; Syr /zm/ *murmur, mutter, whisper*; Arab /zm/ *R make a distant, confused, continuous sound; thunder*; /δm/ *blame; (nose) flow with snot*; /δamm/ *vice; blame*; Mhr /δmm/ *miscall s.o. behind his back; A put blame or responsibility on s.o.*.

Of onomatopoeic origin; meanings developed differently, but generally in negative directions; Arab /zn/ (with geminated /n/), however, seems phonetically unlikely.

ZMN: Aram /zimn/, /zman/ *(appointed) time*; /zmn/ *be ready; L order, prepare, invite*; Syr /zabn/, /zban/ *time*; /zmn/ *D invite, incite, provoke, prepare; signify*; Akk /simān/, (Ass /-an/, /-ann/ *(proper) time*; Arab /zaman/, /-anat/, /-ān/ *time*; Mhr /zəbōn/ = ; *olden times; harvest time*; Soq /zem/ *time*; G&z /zämän/ = ; Te /zäbän/ = ; Har /zämān/ =, *period*; Ch /zäbär/, Sdd /zämän/, Wol /zäman/ *time, period, year, age*; Bed /deman/ *time*; Bil /daban/ (pl. /-f-) = ; ? /emānā/, /im-/ = ; *past*; Caf /yabanō/ *time*.

A *Kulturwort* of uncertain origin; in Hbr, LW from Aram, but some Akk attestations too early for Aram origin; on the other hand, the specific reference to time seems alien to Akk /(w)asām/, and Eg /s-mn/ also seems unlikely, as the noun is not attested in Eg-Cpt.

ZMR: Ug /zbr/ *prune(?)*; Arab (syr.) /zbr/ + *D* = ; ?Berb: Rif /az'mmur/ *wild olive tree.*

The exact meaning of the Ug entry is not clear, but context indicates connection with this root; the Berb entry, if relevant, could be survival of an ancient *Kulturwort*.

ZMR II: Arab /zmr/ *(gazelle) be scared*; Berb: Rif /izmer/, /-ma'r/ *lamb, kid*; Fass /zūmār/ *lamb.*

Again, the Berb entries could be survivals of an ancient *Kulturwort*, unless they derive more directly from the Arab root.

ZMR III: Ug /ðmr/ *chant, sing*; Aram /zmr/ *sing*; Syr = ; Akk /zamār/ = ; Arab /zmr/ *play reed or flute*; /zamr/ *song*; (syr.) *flute, pipe*; /mizmār/

reed, flute, fife; /mazmūr/ *hymn, psalm*; Soq /comer/ *sing, chant (at circumcision)*; /camher/ *chants of circumcision*; /mcamhir/ *cantor*; G&z /zmr/ *sing (to instrumental accompaniment); play (an instrument)*; Te /zmr/ *D sing*; Sdd /zimmärä/ *sing*; ?Ch /azämärä/, ?Sdd /-mm-/ *sing an epic or war song, extol (o.s., s.o.) by singing*; ?Ch /azmamärä/ *lament by glorifying*; Eg /zb'/ *play flute* (Vycichl after Ember).

Again the root is of the nature of *Kulturwörter*, involving some phonetic and semantic shifts; the basic meaning might have been to *sing to instrumental accompaniment* (cf. G&z, Hbr), with shifts to different directions in other languages; but general music making with varying realizations is just as feasible. Cf. the next root too. Cohen's (no. 300) Cush entries seem too remote both phonetically and semantically.

ZMR IV: Ug /δmr/ *elite (troops), 'braves', strength, might*; ?Aram /dmr/ *tQ be astonished, wonder*; ?Syr /dmr/ *tD* = ; Amor /δmr/, /$mr/ *protect, guard*; Arab /δamir/, /-īr/; /δimr/, /-mirr/ *brave & intelligent (man)*; ?ESA /δmr/ *proclaim, extol; condemn(?) publicly*; ?Ch, ?Sdd (cf. under /zmr/ III).

The Aram-Syr ESA Gur entries are connectable with the rest as expressions of admiration at the bravery of the latter. If so, they also form a bridge joining this root with the preceding one, although close semantic connection is present in the Gur entries only, and this could conceivably be secondary, semantic assimilation in consequence of phonetic similarity.

ZNB: Ug /δnbt/ *tail*; Aram /danb/ = ; Syr /dunb(t)/, /dnobt/ =, *hindmost part*; Amor /δibbat/, (dim.) /δunāb/ *tail*; Akk /zibbat/, /si-/, /zimbat/, /si-/ *tail, hindmost part*; Arab /δanab/ *tail, sting, extremity*; /δnb/ *track, stalk, 'tail'*; ESA /δnb/ *clientele*; Mhr /δənūb/ *tail*; Soq /dinob/ = ; G&z /zänäb/ = ; Te = ; *scarf*; /znb/ *D stay behind*; /zännab/ *tail, crupper*; /znnabät/ *tail, scarf, tassel, lappet; utmost limit*; Bil /dänbī/, /dämbī/ *back, backside; behind, after*; Som /dib/ *tail*; Berb: Rif /annäb/ =.

Also in Cush: Or /dubo/ *tail*. The phonological deviations in the non-Sem entries being unique to each one, there is no doubt of the root being original to Cush Berb besides Sem.

ZNV: Aram /znV/ *fornicate, have illicit sexual intercourse*; Syr = ; Amor /zny/ = (?); Arab = ; Mhr /znV/ = ; G&z /zmw/ (once /znw/) *D* = ; /znyät/, /znet/ *ejaculation*; Te /zny/ *D fornicate, commit adultery*; Eg /zny/ *pass (by)*.

In Cush: Saho /zinā/ *fornication, prostitution*; /zenåwīn/ *pregnant*; /-wā/ *pregnancy*; Afar /sanåw/ *fornicate; have sexual intercourse*; /sinā/ *fornication*; /sonåw/ *be pregnant*. Seeing that Saho-Afar have borrowed heavily from Arab and Te, it is probable that these words too are LWW in them; the deviations in semantics and phonology may indeed be due mainly to shifts in connection with borrowing, although taboo factors, not unusual in connection with sexual terms, could have played a role, cf. G&z. The Eg meaning seems to have developed into more neutral direction, if casual encounter was the primary one. Elsewhere, to some extent, the root may have spread secondarily as a kind of *Kulturwort*.

ZNX: Arab /znx/ *repel.*

ZNQ: Syr /znq/ *throw (out, away); reject*; Arab /nzq/ *be swift, rush forth (horse); have hasty temper.*

As the meaning seems to be basically reflexive, the Arab order of radicals may be the original one.

Z&V: ?Ug /zγ(V?)/ *(cow) low, (dog) bark*; ?Arab /zγ/ *R scoff (at)*; ?Soq /ze&ze&/ *sob.*

Both structural and semantic links with Hbr weakish, but not implausible; may be cognate with /zw&/ (above), i.e., originally biradical. Eth /zw&/ seems semantically too remote.

Z&M: ?Aram /d&m/ *be suspicious*; Syr /z&m/ *D rebuke, scold, accuse*; Arab /zγm/ *tD speak angrily*; ?ESA /z&m/ *invoke, call upon (a deity)*; ?Mhr /zə&īm/ *head of family.*

The ESA Mhr entries are semantically deviant, but not incompatible: where human beings are rebuked, a more polite address form would be appropriate towards a deity; and a head of a family is a rebuking authority.

Z&P: Aram /z&p/ *be intense, violent, furious*; /za&(a)p/ *storm, fury*; Syr /z&p/ *impel, urge*; Arab /z&f/ *kill on the spot*; /zu&āf/ *quick (death, poison)*; /δ&f/ *poison; die; N (heart) be broken.*

Semantically specialized and phonologically split in Arab.

Z&Q: Aram /z&q/ *cry*; Syr = ; *blow (horn)*; Arab /z&q/ *shriek, cry out; frighten (away)*; /δ&q/ *frighten by shrieking*; Soq /za&aq/ *cry*; ?/zhg/ = ; *make noise.*

Again, semantically specialized and phonologically split in Arab. Cognate with /c&q/ (cf. below); the second Soq entry seems to provide link with /ʃ'g/ (likewise below) too.

Z&R: Aram /z&r/ *be small, little, few*; Syr = ; Arab /z&r/ *be scarce (hair)*; /'az&ar/ *scanty-haired; thinly vegetated*; (syr.) /zaγīr/ *small.*

Cognate with /c&r/ (q.v.).

ZP(P): Aram /zipt/, /ze^{y}p/, /zp/ *pitch*; Syr /zept/ = ; Akk (late Bab) /zipt/ = ; Arab /zift/ =, *pine-resin*; /zft/ *D tar (a ship)*; G&z /zft/ *pitch, pine-resin*; Te /zft/ *tar*; Berb: Kabyle /θizefθ/ *pitch* (Vycichl); Eg /sfy/ *resin of conifers*; (Dem.) *resin* (Vycichl); Cpt /sife/, /-fi/ *resin.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; the verb, where found, is denominative.

ZPQ: Aram /zpåq(t)/ *crop (of a bird).*

Probably LW from Aram in Hbr.

ZQ(Q): Aram /zqq/ *purify, filter*; ?Arab /zuqq/ *wine.*

ZQ(Q) II: Aram /zqq/ *bind, fetter; obligate*; Syr (pl.) /zeqqe/ *chains, fetters*; Arab /znqq/ *tie (an animal's) legs (by means of:)* /zināq/ *hobbles (for a horse etc.); necklace.*

Should the Arab /n/ be original, the Hbr-Aram verb is recent or restructured; Akk /sinq/ *'fetters'* appears to be non-existent anyway, and /sanāq/ is semantically remote. The latter is true of the words for *skin bottle* too, as being bound is hardly its salient characteristic; cf. the fact that in Arab, /ziqq/ is usually a *wine skin*, and the related /zuqq/ means *wine* itself. ?Ebl /zi-qà/.

ZQN: Phoen /zqn/ *beard*; Ug /dqn/ = ; Aram /diqn/, /dqan/ = ; /ziqn(u^{w})t/ *old age*; Syr /daqn/ *beard*; Amor /δqn/ *be old*; Akk /ziqn/ *beard*; /zaqān/ *be bearded*; Arab /δaqan/, /δiqan/ *chin*, (syr.) *beard*; /δiqn/ *decrepit old man*; Soq /diqehon/, /daqehan/, /doq-/ *beard*; ?Bil /deġnā/ *old; oldster.*

The primary meaning appears to be *beard*, shifted into a different direction in Arab than Hbr-Amor; the second Aram entry may be loan from Hbr. The Bil entry may be borrowed from Arab; Dolgopolsky's (p. 281) other entries are phonetically difficult.

ZQP: Aram /zqp/ *raise, set/stand upright; hang*; /ziqp/ *post; thumb(?); hanging*; /zuqp/, /zqop/ *pride*; Syr /zqp/ *raise, set up; rise, well up; hang, crucify*; Akk /zaqāp/, /saq-/, ?/zak-/ *set up, plant; impale.*

ZR: Aram /zart/ *span*; /zi^{y}r/ *edge, rim*; Syr /zart/ *span*; /zīr/ *(twisted) collar, wreath, crown*; ?/zarzīr/ *starling*; ?Akk /zerzer/, /-zīr/, /zīr/ *kind of locust*; ?Arab /zr/ *button up (a garment)*; /zirr/ *button; pivot; edge (of a sword)*; ?Mhr /zr(r)/ *fix, secure*; Soq /ʃzr/ *measure*; /ʃezir/, /$e-/ *span*; G&z /szr/ *(measure by) span* (Hurwitz p. 27); Te /zr/ *fill (up); L be full, ripe; overflow*; ?Eg /ğrt/, (from Dyn. 9) /drt/ *hand*; (Dem.) /trt/ *hoe*; ?Cpt /tåre/ = ; *handle, oar, spade.*

Starting from the concept of a straight line which may be used for measuring and also curved or bent around a solid object so as to provide a belt or rim etc., and thus fix up the object; and assuming that starlings and locusts are comparable to troops marching with girt-up loins or buttoned-up mantles, all the above entries can possibly be relevant. For the Sem entries to be loans from Eg, the borrowing would have to have been extremely early (Baer), and the semantic relationship is not clear either.

ZRB: -

Probably root var. of /crb/, q.v.

ZRB II: Aram /zrb/ *surround, line, trim (a shoe with wool, etc.)*; Syr /zrb/ *compress, close in*; Arab /zrb/ *make an enclosure (for small cattle)*; /zarb/ *place of entrance; enclosure for small cattle; lurking place for hunter, archer etc.*

Probably loan from Aram in Hbr, semantically specialized differently from Arab.

ZRV: Ug /dry/ *winnow, scatter, chop to pieces*; Aram /drV/, /zrV/ *winnow*; Syr /drV/ =; *scatter, disperse*; Akk /zarū/, /sa-/, (Ass) /zarā'/ *winnow, scatter*; Arab /δry/ =, *raise (dust)*; /δrx/ *winnow*; /δr/ *sprinkle (s.th. with salt, powder); R sow, scatter (powder)*; ESA /δrr/ *spread, scatter*; Mhr =; /δrV/ *bleed; H pour goat's blood over the sick*; Soq /da'er/ *scatter, disperse*; G&z /zrw/ *scatter, disperse, winnow*; /zry/ (lx) *scatter*; /zr/ *R =, dissolve*; Te /zrV/ *flow, stream; L flow off, dry up*; Har /azōra/ *winnow*; Ch /zərasärä/ *scatter (objects)*; Sdd /azirrä/, Wol /azere/ *winnow*; Berb: Rif /zuzze'r/, /tzuzzar/ *winnow*; /θazzarθ/ *winnowing scoop.*

For attestations in Cush see Leslau, Gur III p. 713, 716. In the meaning, to *winnow*, the root must be considered a *Kulturwort*, hence originally confined to Sem. The root appears to have been originally biradical, expanded mostly by a final vowel or reduplication, but also otherwise, cf. Arab Soq and also the probably cognate /zr&/ below.

ZRZ: Aram /zrz/ *D gird up, equip, saddle; stir up; hurry*; Syr /zrz/ *be strong; strengthen; D arm*; /zrīz/ *strong, strenuous, furious, agile, quick*; Arab /zr/ *tR stir about.*

Another derivate from the biradical /zr/, reduplicated and — in Hbr-Aram-Syr — apocopated.

ZRX: Phoen /mzrx/ *citizens' council/association*; Aram /dnx/ *rise (sun)*; /madnx/, /mdinx/ *sunrise, east*; Syr /dnx/ *rise (sun etc.), appear, be manifested; shine*; /madnx/ *sunrise, east*; ?Arab /crx/ *(race) be pure, unmingled* (cf. Guillaume).

It appears unnecessary to split the root in two; cf. the concept of the *autochthon* as those having risen from the land itself. Secondary nasalization of the 2nd rad. in Aram Syr, perhaps to guard against assimilation to the 1st.

ZRM: ?Ug /zrm/ *ʃ make rain?*; Aram /zråmi^{y}t/ *rainstorm*; Akk /zanān/ *rain*; /zunn/, /zinn/, /zīn/ = (Ns); Arab /zrb/ *(water) flow*; /zarb/, /zirb/ *channel (for flow of water)*; Soq /'ezrem/ *tremble (of cold)*; G&z /znm/ *rain*; /znam/ = (Ns); Te /zlm/, /zlam/ =; Har /zlm/, /zənāb/ =; Ch /zänäbä/, /zərab/; Sdd /zännäbä/, /zənab/; Wol /zälämä/, /zəlam/ =; Berb: Sus /anẓaṛ/ =; ?Hsa /dāmunā/ *the rainy season*; ?Eg /znm/ *shower* (?Calice no. 293).

For attestations in Cush see Leslau, Gur III p. 209 (sub /dämmäna/); and (for Berb too) Cohen no. 299; Dolgopolsky p. 51; the Hsa entry seems to confirm the phonological link between them and the Sem root; semantically, *cloud* is close enough anyway, but the Eth Sem words for it may indeed be of Cush origin or influenced by it anyway. Also otherwise, the entries above are phonologically so diversified that some borrowing and reborrowing in the fashion of wandering words may be assumed; semantically, the group is coherent enough, including Arab Soq, as heavy rain leads to flow of water on the ground too, and the rainy season is the cold one.

ZR&: Phoen/zr&/ *offspring*; ζερα- *seed*; Ug /dr&/ *sow*; /mdr&/ *cornfield*; Aram /dr&/, /zr&/ *sow*; /dar&/, /zar&/ *seed; offspring*; Syr /zr&/ *sow, scatter; bear (children)*; /zar&/ *seed, offspring, family*; ?Amor /zr&/ *sow?*; Akk /zēr/, /zīr/, (OAss) /zar'/ *seed, corn; offspring*; Arab /δr'/ *sow, multiply, create*; /zr&/ + *Qt cast seeds, sow, till*; /zar&/ *offspring*; ESA /δr'/ *seed, wheat*; /mδr'/ *plantation*; Mhr /zr&/ *grow (plants); H cultivate*; /zar'/ *tall grass*; /δərayyət/, /δərεyyət/ *offspring*; Soq /deri/ *seed*; G&z /zr'/, (rarely) /zr&/ *cast seed, sow, scatter*; Te /zr'/ *sow; tD be strewn, shed (blood); be prepared*; /zär'/ *seed, cornfield*; Har /zr'/ *sow*; /zär/ *seed; offspring*; Ch /zäna/, Sdd /zärra/, Wol /zärä/ *sow*; Ch /zär/, /zənä/, Sdd /zär/, /zər/, Wol /zär/ *seed, offspring, origin, (ethnic) group*; Caf /yarō/ *seed, family, tribe.*

Apparently cognate with /zrV/ above, q.v.; as an agricultural term, largely spread as a *Kulturwort*.

ZR& II: Ug /δr&/ *arm*; Aram /drå&/ = ; Syr = ; *cubit*; ?Akk (NAss) /durā'/ *forearm, -leg (?)*; Arab /δirā&/ *forearm, cubit*; Mhr /δar'/ *forearm*; Soq (du.) /dire&i/, (pl.) /dirox/ *cubit*; G&z /mäzra&t/ *arm (incl. shoulder)*; Te /zära&/ *arm, yard.*

The Akk entry, if correctly interpreted, is loan from Aram (vS).

ZRQ: ?Ug /δrq/ *raw, bleeding?*; Aram /zrq/, /drq/ *sprinkle, strew*; Syr /zrq/ = ; ?Amor /zrq/?; Akk /zarāq/ *sprinkle, strew*; Arab /δrq/ *excrete (bird)*; ?/zrq/ *throw (at), pierce (with javelin)*; ?/mizrāq/ *javelin*; ?Mhr /zrq/ *throw (a dagger or dart at), stab (with spear).*

The doubtful Arab Mhr entries may be connected through the sprinkling effect of stabbing, cf. Ug too (if correctly interpreted). ?Ebl /ma-za-rí-gú/, /-zi-rí-gúm/, /-zi-rí-núm/ *rod, staff.*

ח

XB('/V): Aram /xbV/ *hide*; Syr /xuby/ *darkness*; ?Amor /χb'/ ?; Akk /χabū/ *hide*; Arab /χb'/ = ; ESA = ; ?Mhr /məxbay/ *pocket*; G&z /χb'/ *hide*; Te /xb&/ = ; Berb: Sus /xbů/ *hide o.s.*

Destaing compares the Sus entry to Arab /xby/, but I have not found the latter in a sense close enough. The SamH forms presuppose biradical root form, cf. also Q Is^{a} 26:20 /xbw/ (!ms.), conceivable as pl., although in the previous line, sg. (coll.) appears as in MT. The other entries are expansions of the biradical root.

XB(B): Phoen /mxb/ *lover*, φιλος; Aram /xbb/ *D love, caress, cherish*; Syr /xb/ *be dear; burn (up)*; Amor /xbb/ *love*; /xabīb/ *beloved*; Akk /χabāb/ *whisper, hum, make soft noises (lovers etc.)*; Arab /xb/ *love,* *like, wish*; ESA /xb/ *love*; /mxbb/ *client(?)*; Mhr /xəb/ *love*; /xəbbēt/ *clitoris*; Soq /xbb/ *love*; Te /xbb/ *tL be kind.*

v. Soden compares Arab /χb/ and G&z /maχbäbt/ to the Akk entry, but certainly they are semantically more remote.

XB7: ?Ug /χbt/ *rob, spoil*; Aram /xb7/ *beat, knock (down)*; Syr = ; ?Amor /χbd/ ?; ?Akk /χabāt/ *rob, plunder*; Arab /χb7/ *knock; strike (with sword); trample (upon)*; ESA /χb7/ *(make) raid, incursion*; Mhr /χb7/ *beat (tree branches for leaves)*; ?G&z /χf7/ *beat (breasts, mourning)*.

Semantically, the Ug Akk entries are comparable to the ESA one; in G&z, the motive is different.

XBL: Ug /xbl/ *rope; ?flock/band (of birds, songstresses?)*; Aram /xabl/, /xibl/ *rope, cord*; Syr /xabl/ *rope, measuring line, (measured) lot, region, band, army*; Akk /ebl/ *rope, cord, line*; /χabāl/ *bind, harness*; Arab /xbl/ *tie, ensnare*; /xabl/ *rope*; ESA /xblt/ (pl.) *field; ?kind of jinnee(?)*; /xbl/ *deceive*; Mhr /xōbəl/ *leather head thong*; /xəblēt/ *umbilical cord*; Soq /xabehol/ *rope, cord*; G&z /xbl/ *tie, ensnare, deceive*; /xäbl/ *rope, cord, measuring line, chain, fibre, prey*; Te /xbl/ *D plait, twist, squint*; /xäbl/ *rope; snake; penis*; (pl.) /xabal/ *tendrils; relatives*; Har /xibābälä/ *coax, entice*; /xōblabäl/ *hypocrite*; Wol /ababälä/ *coax, entice.*

The basic meaning appears to be (twisted, plaited) *rope*, then other things resembling or comparable to it, and actions performed by using it, or by means resembling it.

XBL II: Aram /xbl/ *be violent, wrong; D injure, ruin, destroy; have (labour) pains*; Syr /xbl/ *desire, conceive, have (labour) pains, give birth, perish; D injure, corrupt, deform, rape, pervert, abort, miscarry*; Akk /χabāl/ *wrong, rob, do violence*; Arab /χbl/ *corrupt, vitiate, make/become insane, unsound*; Arab /χbl/ *be angry, full, swollen, pregnant*; ESA /χbl/ + *Qt ruin, destroy*; (Ns) *damage*; ?Soq /xbl/*f notice, observe*; G&z /χbl/ *tQ dare, arrogate, (mis)appropriate.*

Sometimes difficult to distinguish from the preceding root and might indeed be originally cognate (from a meaning like *twist* as the starting point); although the special group of labour pains and related tends to be separated again in Aram-Syr and has been attached to the preceding root in Arab. In Soq, if relevant, only the aspect of self-interest is preserved. Cohen's (no. 125) Cush entries are phonologically hazardous.

XBQ: Ug /xbq/ *embrace*; Aram /xbq/ *D =, clamp, hold together; fold arms*; Syr /xbq/ *gird*; (+ /&pq/) *embrace*; Akk /epēq/ *surround, overgrow*; Arab /xbk/ *bind, tie fast, gird up*; Mhr /xfq/ *brood; Qt embrace*; Soq /xbk/, /xbq/ *Qt embrace*; G&z /xqf/ *fold hands, embrace; cover (eggs) with wings, brood*; Te /xqf/ =; *bosom, lap, armful*; Har /xafäqa/ *embrace, brood*; Ch /änqäfä/, Sdd /in-/, Wol /an-/ = ;?Bed /'abik/ *grasp, hold.*

The root is phonologically rather variable, but semantically coherent; as Hbr-Aram (etc.) /&qp/ is semantically deviant (with negative attitude prevalent) and phonologically not perfect either, combining the Eth entries with it would hardly be an improvement. The Bed entry looks like a LW; and so Saho /haqaf/ *embrace*.

XBR: Aram /xbrbr/ *darken*; /xibr/ *darkness*; Syr /xebr/ *ink; (any) dark fluid*; /xbårt/ *wound; skin of cornea*; ?Akk /ebēr/ *paint (one's face) (?)*; Arab /xbr/ *be cicatrised (wound)*; /xibr/ *scar*; Soq /xobir/ *multicoloured*; G&z /xbr/ *colour, variety of colours*; /x(u)bur/ *multicoloured*; Te /xbr/ *colour, shape, appearance*.

The original meaning seems to have been bruise, showing a variety of colours, mostly of dark hue.

XBR II: Phoen /xbr/ *comrade; conjuror*; Ug /xbr/ *comrade*; ?/χbr/ *community* (?or n.1.); Aram /xabr/ *comrade, friend; other; Fellow, learned man, member of a society*; /xbr/ *D join, bind together; bind by a spell, charm*; Syr /xabr/ *comrade, other*; Akk /ibr/, (Ass) /ebr/ *comrade, mate, friend*; Arab /xabr/ *sage, learned man*; /χbr/ *test, know; D inform*; /χubr/ *experience, knowledge*; /χubrat/ *share, portion; (shared) food, provisions*;?ESA /xbr/ *join (?); spell, charm (?)*; Mhr /χbr/ *try, test; L inform; ʃ enquire*; /χəbēr/ *news*; Soq /xbr/ *become, arrive, try, test; announce; Q ps be limited; ʃ converse*; /maxber/ *sign, limit, boundary; 100*; G&z /χbr/ *join, be connected/united; have in common, communicate, consent, conspire*; Te /xbr/ *assemble; D show, prophesy; L join, mix together*; /xäbr/ *sign*; /xäbre/ =, *wonder*; /xbär/ *mixture; community*; Har /atxēbära/ *ask*; Ch Sdd /mabär/ *monthly gathering (in honour of a saint)*; Sdd /mamär/ =; /abbärä/ *join, unite*; /həbrät/, /wattəbabär/ *cooperation*; Eg /χbr/ *commercial contact*; (Dem.) *partner, friend*; Cpt /ʃbēr/ (etc.) *comrade, friend.*

As the Eg-Cpt entry is loan from Sem, the root is original to Sem only; however, to all its branches, even if the Har entry be loan from Arab. Some items, above all those relating to learning and information, may have spread to some extent as *Kulturwörter*; occasionally others too, cf. the fact that even the Finnish /kaveri/ *mate, comrade* is borrowed from the Hbr word. In Jd 4:11-5:24 too, /xbr/ may be a common noun, cf. J.A. Soggin in V.T. 31 p. 89ff.

XBʃ: Ug /xbʃ/ *girdle, lap (?)*; Aram /xbʃ/ *chain, imprison*; Syr =; *enclose, insert, contain, comprehend, coerce*; Akk /abʃ/ *kind of band/girdle*; Arab /xbs/ *confine, detain, withhold; veil*; ESA /xbs/ *capture (?)*; ?/χbʃ/ (pl.?) *floodgate(s)*; Mhr /xbs/ *imprison*; Soq /xebos/ =; G&z /xbs/ =; Te /xbs/ *D=, take prisoner*; Eg /xbs/ *cover, clothe; raiment*; Cpt /håbs/, (Ns) /hbos/ (etc.) =.

The primary meaning seems to be to *enclose*. The 2nd ESA entry, even if used as a Npr, may still be based on the function of the floodgates. ?Ebl /a-ba-ʃum/ *sheath(?)*.

XBT: ?Arab /χbt/ *a (wide) depression in the ground.*

The semantic connection is rather tenuous, as the Palestinian attestation could be influenced by Hbr; might /χbz/ *(Q & N!)* be related?

XG(G): Aram /xgg/ *celebrate a festival; draw a circle*; /xagg/ *festival; Feast of Tabernacles*; (pl. /xingiʸn/) *circular dance*; Syr /xagg/ *festival; crowd, multitude (of people)*; /xg/ *A celebrate a festival*; Arab /xğ/ *go on pilgrimage*; /xağğ/ *pilgrimage*; ESA /xg(g)/ *celebrate a festival*; /xg/, /xgt/ *festival*; Soq /xgg/ *go on pilgrimage*; /xag/ *pilgrimage*; Te ?/xg/ *a certain sacrifice*; /xğğ/ *D make the pilgrimage; die*; Har /xağği/ *pilgrimage*; Tu /hăggăg/ *(make the) pilgrimate (to Mecca).*

The entries referring to the pilgrimage (to Mecca) are borrowings from Arab. The first Te entry could also be derived from Arab /xaqq/ (as a regular, 'statutory' sacrifice?).

XGB: Aram /xaggåb/ *kind of locust.*

Probably LW from Hbr in Aram.

XGV: Aram (pl.) /xagwiʸn/ *crevice*; Arab /xağ(y)/ *side, extremity, refuge*; ?Te /xge/ *protection.*

The Aram entry is probably LW from Hbr; in the Te one, if relevant, the abstract connotation implicit in Hbr is the only one left. Arab /xğ'/ denotes primarily attachment and is therefore somewhat off-beam.

XGR: Phoen /xgr/ *(protective) wall*; Ug /xgr/ *gird (up)*; Aram = ; *be lame, limp*; Syr /xgr/ *impede; mutilate, lame; limp*; Akk /egēr/ *lie aslant*; Arab /xğr/ *prohibit access*; /xağr/ *prohibition, protection, bosom*; /xāğir/ *wall, cell, dam, refuge*; /xağar/ *stone*; ESA /xgr/ *stone, rock; amulet; dam, wall*; Mhr /xgr/ *guard, protect*; Soq = ; *be benevolent*; G&z /xägl/ *shackle, fetter*; Te /mäxärga/ *girdle.*

The common primary characteristic seems to be lying, then also moving *aslant*; e.g. a steep slope of a rock or artificial wall, and as this gives protection, then also protection in general; on the other hand, shackles impede movement and may cause limping, and girdle often lies, partly at least, aslant. Transposition in Te.

XD(D): Aram /xdd/ *D sharpen*; /xudd/ *sharp point*; Akk /edēd/ *be pointed, taper*; Arab /xd/ *sharpen*; /xadīd/ *sharp*; Mhr /xdd/ *pull (away from); Qt quarrel (loudly)*; /xədayd/ *iron (tool)*; Soq /xdd/ *run*; G&z /xädid/ *iron*; ?Te /xd/ *delimit; cut into pieces.*

The meaning, *iron (tool)*, may constitute a *Kulturwort*, so the originality of the root in Eth depends on whether the Te entry is relevant; a limit may be comparable to a sharp edge which again may be used to cut things into pieces; but there are other possibilities.

XDV: Ug /χd(V)/ *rejoice*; Aram /xdV/ = ; /xädy/, /x(a)duʷt/ *joy*; Syr /xdV/ *rejoice, laugh*; Akk /χadū̃/ *rejoice; joy; joyful*; Arab /xdw/ *urge, excite (camels) by singing*; ?/χdy/ *go at a quick pace (horse).*

As singing and excitement are both akin to joy, we may accept the first Arab entry as probable; the second, phonetically closer, is semantically more remote, and Eg /χdy/ is compatible with it, though hardly with the other entries.

XDV II: Aram /xad/ *one*; Syr =.

Root var. of /'xd/, /yxd/; in Hbr, loan from Aram.

XDL: Akk /χadāl/ *decline, slant*; Arab /χδl/ *abstain, neglect*; ESA /χdl/ =; Soq /xdl/ *(+Qt) turn aside/away.*

A G&z /χdl/ I cannot verify; but Littmann has OAmh /xäday/ *destroyer.*

XDQ: Aram /xdq/ *D thrust in*; /xadq/ *filling; a thorny plant (solanum)*; Arab /xdq/ *encompass*; /xadaq/ *walled garden; solanum.*

As thorny bushes are used for protective fencing, the Arab meaning is feasible; but hardly Akk /edēq/ *dress, clothe.*

XDR: Phoen /xdr/ *(burial) chamber*; Ug /xdr/ *room, chamber*; Amor /xadūr/ *enclosure*; Arab /χdr/ *(+D, A) keep indoors*; /χidr/ *curtain; inside, lair*; ESA /χdrn/, /mχdr/ *room, chamber*; Mhr /χdr/ *put up a shelter, tent; ʃ enter shade*; Soq /xdr/ *stop, stay*; /maxdera/ *curtain*; G&z /χdr/ *encamp, stay, dwell*; Te /xdr/ *stay, dwell*; Har /xdr/ =; Ch /atärä/, /adärä/, Sdd /add-/, Wol /and-/ *stay overnight.*

NB. Ug Amor /x/.

XDʃ: Phoen/xdʃ/ *repair, rebuild; new moon; new*; Ug /xdθ/ *renew, recreate; new moon, first quarter; new*; Aram /xdt/ *D renew, restore; create new*; Syr /xdt/ *become new; D renew, innovate*; Akk /edēʃ/ *be(come) new; D renew, rebuild, restore*; Arab /xdθ/ *happen; be new, young*; /xadīθ/ *new, recent; news, story, narrative, tradition*; ESA /xdθ/ *happen; H renew, restore; do, make afresh*; /xdθt/ (pl.) *accident*; /xdθn/ *renovation, restoration; sanctuary (of Ta&lab)*; G&z /xds/ *D renew, renovate, innovate*; /xäddis/ *new, recent*; Te /xds/ *D renew; AtL change*; /xäddis/, f. /-ddas/ *new*; Har /xaǧīs/ *new*; Sdd /iddäsä/ *renew, repair*; /aǧǧis/ *new*; Wol /aǧis/, /ag^{y}is/ *new.*

The Wol var. is my recording. The Eg /xa-da-sa-t/ is transcription of a Canaanite word. Ebl /é-da-ʃù/ *new.*

XWB: Aram /xwb/ *be(come) responsible, guilty; sin*; Syr /xwb/ *be in difficulties, defeated, unable, in debt; sin*; Arab /xwb/ *commit (sin)*; /xawb/ *sin, crime; grief, distress*; /xūbat/ *maternal love; want, need*; /χwb/ *become needy, destitute*; /χyb/ *be unsuccessful, disappointed; fail to attain (one's desire); suffer loss*; ESA /xb/ *fault; debt; sin*; /χb/ *refuse (to pay debt, taxes)*; Mhr /χyb/ *be disappointed, at a loss*; /χaybət/ *a little.*

The terms for sin and perhaps even for debt may be considered wandering words; however, this still does not account for the interchange of /x/ and /χ/ in Arab ESA. Eg /χby/ (Vycichl) could be cognate as an active counterpart of this root.

XWG: Aram /xwg/ *draw a circle*; Syr = ; *go round, enclose*; ?Arab /xğ/ *go on pilgrimage*; /xağāğ/ *curved bone (under the eyebrow)*; ?Mhr /xwg/ + *Qt be in need*; ?Soq = ; *reflect*.

The original reference of the terms for pilgrimage may have been to the festival procession, moving around in circles; accordingly, this root too may derive from a purely biradical prototype; as for the Mhr Soq entries, the connecting link would be going a-begging, often described as going around.

XWV: Ug /xwy/ *ſt bow down, prostrate o.s.*; Aram /xiwy/ *snake*; Syr /xewy/ = ; Arab /xwy/ *grasp, gather, wind; tD wind o.s., coil (snake)*; /xayyat/ *snake*; Te /xway/ *name of a serpent*.

Prostrating oneself results in a snake-like posture. For a semantic parallel cf. G.I. Davies in V.T. 29 p. 493ff. Cf. also S. Kreuzer ib. 35 p. 39ff, although his etymology from /x(w)y/ *live* is not fully convincing (cf. Arab; also UT s.v.). Eg /xwy/ describes quite different kind of action.

XWV II: Ug /χu-wa-ú/ *(D) tell*; Aram /xwV/ *D tell, narrate, proclaim*; Syr /xwy/ *D show, demonstrate, tell, narrate*; Arab /wxy/ *suggest, point out; (+A) reveal*; Eg /xw/ *announce, report*; /xwwty/ *messenger*.

Transposition in Arab.

XWV III: Ug /xwt/ *house, dynasty; realm*; Arab /xiwā'/ *tent of (goats' or camels') hair; group of tents*; ?Eg /xwt/ *house*.

XWX: ?Ug /χχ/ *thorny bushes?*; Aram /xo^{w}x/ *thistle*; Syr /xōx/ *thorny bush*; Akk /χaχin(n)/ *a thorny plant*; ?Te /xaxot/ *a bush (sorrel?)*.

The Ug entry could conceivably be a place name, but hardly = *crevice*. ?Ebl /χa-χa-na-tum/ *hook?*.

XW7: Aram /xw7/ *sew; D sew together; plait*; /xu^{w}7/ *thread; beam; tract (of land)*; Syr /xw7/ *sew*; /xū7/ *thread, fibre, seam*; Arab /χy7/ *sew up*; /χay7/ *thread, string*; Mhr /χ7V/ *sew*; /χī7ayt/ *thread, string*; /məχay7/ *needle*; Soq /xy7/ *sew*; /maxyi7/ *awl*; /moxoi7/ (pl.) *needle*; /&e7ehan/ *tailoring*.

Structural shift in Mhr; word initial voicing in Soq.

XWL: Aram /xwl/ *dance, turn round; chance upon, take effect*; /xo^{w}l/ *sand; fortress*; Syr /xål/ *sand*; Arab /xwl/ + *St pass from state to state; elapse (year etc.); Qt encompass*; /xāl/ *state; go-cart*; /xawl/ *year*; /xawla/ *around*; ESA /xwl/ (PTpr) *around*; ?/mxwl/ *(circular?) pillar, column*; Mhr /xwl/ *spend a year; be 1-year-old*; /xawl/ *year*; /xaywəl/ + *Qt (be, go) mad*; /xəwōli/ *about*; Soq /xel/ *go around, walkabout*.

Single grains of sand are mostly circular in shape; recurring periods of time, like a year, are circular in character; and madness is often described in terms of circular movement. Found in Eth too, cf. Leslau, *Contributions* p. 20; on the other hand, Bed /hawil/ *year* is no doubt a loan from Sem. Eg /ʃ&y/ = Cpt /ʃå/ looks too remote phonologically.

XWM: ?Aram /xwm/ *be warm*; /xo^{w}m/ *heat*; ?Syr /xwm/ *be hot, burn* ; Soq /xem(e)hom/, /xem(i)him/ *charcoal*.

As warmth and heat are related to burning which ultimately produces dark colouring, Aram-Syr entry could also be related.

XWS: Aram /xws/ *spare; D be merciful*; Syr /xws/ = ; /xås/ *far be (it)...!*; Arab /xā$ā/ = ; *save ...!*; G&z /xasä/, /xäsä/ = .

XWC: Phoen /xc/ *street*; Aram /xwc/ *make partition; form a lane*; Mhr /məγcayc/ *village street.*

Structural and phonetic shift in Mhr. Arab /xwc/, /xwz/ seem hardly relevant (Irvine).

XWR: Aram /xwr/ *be white, clear*; Syr /xwr/ *be white*; Arab /xwr/ *Qd be/turn white*; /xawar/ *(intense) whiteness and/or blackness of the eye; tanned (white or red) skin, leather; a certain tree (poplar, plane)*; /'axwar/ (pl. /xūr/) *fair and intensely black-&-white-eyed*; Mhr /xwr/ *turn black*; Soq /xhr/ *be black*; /xaher/, (dim.) /xayrhir/ *black(ness)*; /xaur/ *black*; Te /xwrr/ *frighten (by intense look); t4-r look askance, squint.*

The primary meaning may have been intense appearance or look of the eyes; this has shifted in the direction of intensity in Te, of colour generally in Arab, and of particular, partly contrastive colours elsewhere.

XWʃ: Ug /xʃ/, ?/χʃ/ *hurry*; Aram /xwʃ/ *be anxious, reflect upon*; Syr /xwʃ/ *perceive, pay attention*; Akk /χāʃ/ *be concerned*; =, /χiāʃ/ *hurry*; Arab /xθ/ *hasten, urge*; Mhr /xw$/ *round up; Qt help*; Soq /xe$/ *aid, bring assistance*; G&z /xws/ *A move, shake, agitate*; Har /xēwäsä/ *stir, confuse*; Bil /aʃäʃ/ *hurry.*

As in Hbr, the meaning to *hurry* is mostly connected with bringing assistance, there does not seem sufficient reason to split the root in two, particularly as in cognate languages, this would do little to remove the irregularity in phonological correspondences. As the Bil entry does not seem to have plausible source of borrowing, the root may be original to Cush too. Cf. also the root /xʃ(ʃ)/ below.

XZ(Z): Aram /x(a)zi^{y}z/ *cloud; tender grass, lichen; shaggy*; /x(a)zåzi^{y}t/ *'lichen', a skin disease, scab*; Syr /xazzåzīt/ = ; /xzåz/ *scabby*; Arab /xz/ *cut, incise*; /xazāz(at)/ *scurf, herpes, eczema.*

As the same term is used for cloud and real lichen as well as similar looking skin disease, and several cloud formations resemble lichen or scabby skin, I do not see sufficient reason to split the root in two, particularly as the suggested Arab cognates for *cloud* do not agree phonologically with this root nor with each other.

XZV: Aram /xady/ *breast*; Syr = ; Arab /xiδā'/, /xaδw/ *front, opposite*; ESA /bxδyt/ *according to.* ?Ebl /χa-zu-um/ (=giʃ-sag).

XZV II: Phoen /xz/ *see*; ?/xzt/ *omen(?)*; Ug /xd(y?)/ *see, look*; Aram /xzV/ =, *recognize*; Syr =, *visit*; Arab /xzV/ *augur, divine (from birds' flight)*; /xāzi^{n}/ *physiognomist*; ?Mhr /xzV/ *put aside; Qt, ʃ keep away (from trouble)*; Soq /xcV/ *learn to know, recognize, perceive*; ?Te

/xzV/ *seek*; /xäzat/ *fortune*; Har /xēğa/ *look (at), watch*; Ch /ažä/, /aʃä/, Sdd /aẑẑä/, Wol /anže/, (nact) /ənʃ/ *see*.

The Wol var. is my recording. Seeing that the root often has a more intensive or preternatural connotation, it could well be original to Hbr too besides /r'V/, although its growing frequency of use towards the end of the biblical period is no doubt due to Aram influence. NB. Soq /c/ is usually voiced.

XZQ: Aram /xzq/ *bind, gird up; seize; have headache; D strengthen*; Syr /xzq/ *gird up; hold (tight); strengthen*; Amor /xzq/ *be strong*; ?Akk /eʃq/ *massive*; Arab /xzq/ *bind, tighten*; /xuzzuq/ *tenacious*; Soq /xzq/, /xcq/ *twist, twine (cord, rope); Qt* /&otizek/! *gird o.s.*

Phonological shifts in Akk (if relevant) and Soq used to formalize semantic differentiation. Aram-Arab /hrzq/ (etc.), however, seems too remote phonologically and not perfect semantically either.

XZR: Aram /xzr/ *go around, return, repeat; repent*; ?Syr /xdr/ *surround, go around, leave, repeat; be giddy*; ?Arab /xδr/ *be cautious, wary, afraid*; ?ESA = ; ?Mhr /xδr/ *be on one's guard; D be careful, watchful, wary; L warn (s.o. nearby) of danger*; ?Soq /xazreh/ *space after fallen tooth; precipice.*

The Syr entry, if relevant, may provide connecting link between this root and /xdr/ (above); the relevance of Soq depends further on the specific meaning, to *leave, go away*; that of the others on to *look around* being acceptable as a milder form of going around — none of these very convincing, but not impossible either. The Hbr entry, not being attested in the Bible, may be loan from Aram rather than vice versa, despite Syr /d/ etc.

XZR II: Ug /χnzr/, /χu-zi-ru(m)/ *swine*; Aram /x(a)zi^{y}r/ = ; Syr /xzīr/ = ; Amor /χuzir(ān)/ = ; Akk /χuzīr/ = ; /χum(uc)cīr/ (etc.) *(big) mouse*; Arab /χinzīr/ *swine*; G&z /xänzär/, /xnzir/ = .

In Cush too: Saho /kanzīr/ *wild boar*. The word is a kind of *Kulturwort*, perhaps of non-Sem origin, particularly if the frequent nasal is original, as it may well be, seeing that it has been used in Akk for semantic distinction, cf. also other phonological variation. Eg /xğr/ *hyaena* deviates somewhat too much even for a wandering word.

X7': Ug /χ7'/ *sin; ?ʃ disturb*; Aram /x7V/ *err, sin*; Syr /x7V/ *sin*; Amor /χ7'/ = ; Akk /χa7ū/ =, *err, neglect*; Arab /χ7'/ *fail; commit mistake, fault, sin*; ESA /χ7'/ *commit mistake, sin, evil deeds; H lead to sin*; /χ7'(t)/ *sin, guilt*; /χ7y'/ (pl.) *evil deeds; fines*; Mhr /χ7'/ *hit/injure by mistake*; Soq /xa7a'/ *sin*; /xa7o'oh/ = (Ns); G&z /χ7'/ *fail, lose, lack, miss, sin*; Te /x7&/ *be wanting; lose courage; impoverish*; Sdd /ha7iat/ *sin.*

As Bil /kat/ (Quara =, Chamir /qa7/) *err, be ignorant, inexperienced* seems hardly relevant (Appleyard), the root is limited to Sem; even there, the religious terms must be considered largely wandering words. In Ug, I am not convinced of the existence of *matres lectionis*; but a secondary phonetic development in the root /χ7/ cannot be ruled out, particularly as Caquot & Driver's etymology from Akk /χ(i)ā7/ does not sound very convincing.

X7B: Ug /x7b/ *firewood; woodcutter/-gatherer*; Aram /x7b/ *cut off*; Arab /x7b/ *pick up, fetch firewood*; /xa7ab/ *firewood*; Mhr /x7b/ *collect wood*; Soq = ; G&z = ; *cut timber, wood*; Te /x7b/ *gather wood.*

Eg /ẖdb/ *kill* has no early attestations and is rather too forceful (cf. /7bx/ (E-G) below instead?).

X7M: Aram /xu7m/ *nose, nostril; arch*; /xar7u^{w}m/ *jaw, beak*; Syr /xar7ūm/ *(elephant's) trunk*; Akk /χa7ām/ *stop up*; /χu77imm/, /χul7-/ *snout, muzzle*; Arab /χ7m/ *bridle, muzzle; strike on the nose*; /χa7m/ *nose, beak, muzzle*; /χur7ūm/ *nose, snout, (elephant's) trunk*; Mhr /χ7m/ *lead (a camel) on a halter*; /χī7ām/ (!?Johnstone /-t-/ mistakenly? pl. /χə7əmūtən/) *halter*; Soq /xa7ām/ *muzzle.*

The 2nd rad. often reinforced by gemination or an approximant; de-glottalization after a (long!) front vowel (in Mhr) thinkable, but unparallelled by other sources. Cf. the root /xsm/ below.

XY(V): Phoen /xwy/ (Byblos), /xw(')/, *avo: live; preserve, restore*; /xym/ *living; life*; /xyt/ *life; animal* (pl.?); Ug /xw(y)/ *live; D revive, keep alive*; ?/xwt/ *life*; /xy/, /χe-ya(-ma)/ *(a)live*; /xym/, /xyt/ *life*; Aram /xyV/ *live; be cured; D cure, revive*; Syr /xyV/ *live, stay alive, be cured/revived; A revive; leave, keep alive*; Amor /xy(y)/ *live*; Arab /xy(y)/ = ; /xayy/ *alive, living*; /xayāt/, /xiyy/ *life*; ESA /xyw/ *live; H cure*; Mhr /xyV/(!) *improve (health); H cure*; Soq /xy(y)/ *live*; /xay/ *living, fresh; life, abundance*; G&z /xyw/ *live, stay alive, be cured/revived; A cure, revive, keep alive, resurrect*; Te /xyV/ *live, be healthy/cured*; Har /xawa/ *recover, heal*; /xuy/ *alive*; Wol /həyot/ *be alive*; Bed /hāy/ *live*; /hāya/ *life*; Tu /ăχu/, /uχa/ *wild animal*; Chad: Migama /hayatane/ *life*; Jegu /'aiwo/ (pl. /'aiwan/) *animal.*

The Bed (also Saho Afar and cf. Dolgopolsky p. 156) Chad entries could conceivably be loans from Arab but hardly the Tu one; the root is thus attested outside Sem and may have been more widespread in earlier times, falling into disuse due to the susceptibility to phonetic change of its radicals; cf. the root /hyV/ above (still more so). The Wol entry is my recording, but the root is attested elsewhere in Gurage, cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 371. Eg /xw/ *nourishment* may be related to /xwt/ *rain, flood*, or to /xwy/ *thresh (grain).*

XYD: Aram /xwd/ *fit together, close; put a riddle*; /xo^{w}dt/, /-di^{y}t/, /xi^{y}dt/ *riddle*; Syr /'uxdt/ = ; Soq /xoti/ *put a riddle.*

The Soq entry makes derivation from /'xz/ rather difficult and with that, assumption of an early loan from Aram in Hbr unlikely. The Syr form is accordingly secondary, metathesized with prothetic /'/.

XYL: Phoen /xl/ *have labour pains*; Ug /χl/ = ; Aram /xl/ *R tremble, shiver*; Akk /χ(i)āl/ *have (labour) pains*; Soq /xalxel/ *shake*; /xalxaleh/ *trembling*; /mexailhil/, /mux-/ *afraid, timorous*; Eg /χ'χ'/ *winnow*; Cpt /ʃolʃl/ *shake (in a sieve), sift.*

Cerny considers the Cpt entry loan from Sem; however, there is no obvious plausible source; according to Vycichl (after Westendorf), it could derive from the above Eg entry or from /χrχr/ *blow away, destroy (wind)*; as Cpt /ʃorʃr/ *destroy* also derives from the latter, and the former is semantically closer to our root, it may be more probably candidate for the ancestry of the Cpt entry. The root appears to have been purely biradical originally, later reduplicated or the stem vowel prolonged.

XYL II: ?Phoen /xl/? *wealth?*; ?Ug /xl/ *army?*; Aram /xe^{y}l/, /xayl/ *strong, strength; army; yield; proof*; /xyl/ *D strengthen; perform military service*; Syr /xayl/ *strength, potency, virtue, wealth, host, army, sense, meaning, miracle*; /xyl/ *D strengthen*; Akk (Neo- & late Bab) /χi'āl/, /χiyāl/, /χay-/ *kind of troops*; Arab /xayl/, /xawl/ *strength*; /χayl/ *horses (collectively); horsemen, cavalry*; /χyl/ *Qt be proud, haughty*; ESA /χ(y)l/ *strength, potency*; G&z /χ(y)l/ *(+D) be/grow strong, prevail*; /χäyl/ *strength, power, potency, force, violence; virtue, fortitude, achievement, miracle; host, army*; Te /xelä/ *be strong, prevail; power; miracle*; Har /xayläññä/ *vigorous, crafty*; Sdd /hayl/ *power, strength, means*; /hayleñä/ *strong*.

The second Sdd entry is my recording. The root occurs in Cush too: Saho /haylā/ *strength, power*; but this seems to be a loan from Sem, as the Akk entry is from Aram. NB. the pharyngal /x/ in Arab (and Ug, if correctly interpreted). Ebl /χa-il/ *strength*.

XYP: Aram /xwp/ *rub, cleanse*; Syr /xwp/ *wash*; Arab /χāfat/ *kind of coat (of leather or hide)*.

XYQ: Aram /xe^{y}q/ *bosom, lap*; Arab /xwq/, /xyq/ *surround, encompass*; /xūq/, /xawq/ *the edge encircling glans penis*; /xaqw/ *waist, flank*; ESA /xyq/ *cove, bay*; Mhr /xayq/ *shore, beach*; G&z /xä(w)qwe/, /xäwqe/ *loin, thigh, lap, bosom*; Te (pl.) /xqäq/ *hips, loins*; /xeqaq/ *mountain slope*; Har /xa¢i/ *back (of the body etc.)*; ?Ch /anqä/ *after* (PTpr), *afterwards*.

On ESA Mhr cf. German *Meerbusen*; other specialized semantic developments in Arab and modern Eth.

XK(K): Aram /xikk/ *palate*; (pl.) /xinki^{y}n/ *roof & floor of the mouth; abscess in the mouth*; Syr /xekk/, /xenk/ *palate, mouth, pharynx, pharyngal complaint*; Arab /xanak/ *palate; surface under the chin*; /xnk/ + *D chew & rub (child's) palate (with chewed food); put rope into (a horse's) mouth; tame, train, educate*; /xākkat/ *tooth*; Soq /xnk/ *Qt get/give to eat*; G&z /xekä/ *chew, masticate*; ?/xnkät/ *torment*; Te /xänäk/ *palate*; Har /xēkä/ *chew*; Wol /enke/ =.

Again, the root is originally biradical, with early extensions through prolongation of the vowel or the 2nd rad., or prenasalization of the latter. Aram-Syr (etc.) /xk(k)/ *rub, itch (etc.)* could also ultimately be connected with this root (cf. Arab); and cf. /xnk/ below; also Dolgopolsky p. 152f.

XKV: Aram /xkV/ *D await, tarry*; Akk (Mari) /χakū/ *await, expect*; ?Arab /xǧw/ *stay (at)* (Guillaume).

Arab Te /xky/ seem semantically remote.

XKM: Phoen /xkmt/ *wisdom*; Ug /xkm/ *be wise*; Aram = ; *be able, learned, intimate (with), knowledgeable, clear, proven*; Syr /xkm/ *know, recognize; be wise, knowledgeable, intimate (with), able*; Amor /xkm/ *be wise*; Akk /χakām/ *understand, realize*; Arab /xkm/ *be wise, prudent; judge*; /xukm/ *sentence, authority, law, wisdom*; /xikmat/ *justice, science, wisdom*; /xākim/ *governor, judge*; Mhr /xkm/ *rule, condemn; be old*; /Soq /xkom/ *grow old*; /xakem/ *old (person)*; /xkem/ *judge, arbitrate*; /xekem/ *judgment*; /xekum/ *power, ability*; G&z /xkm/ *tQ control o.s.*; Te /xkm/ *attend, examine (physician); decide, rule; decision, might, government, realm*; Har /xkm/ *judge, rule*; Som /xkm/ *bridle*.

The terms denoting higher authority (incl. Som with exceptional shift in meaning) and medical practice may be kind of *Kulturwörter* deriving from Arab; however, the root still appears original to SAr Eth too, but confined to Sem. NB. Akk /χ/.

XKR: Aram /xkr/ *rent, lease*; Syr /xkwr/ *(reserved?) field*; Arab /xkr/ *D reserve land for exclusive use*; /xikr/, /xākūrat/ *land so reserved*; Mhr /xkr/ *monopolize pasture-land.*

LW from Aram in Hbr.

XL(L): Aram /xll/ *be profane; D profane*; Syr /xll/ *D cleanse; A profane*; /xull/ *profane (thing)*; Arab /xl/ *be(come) free, lawful, proper*; /xall/ *solution, dissolution*; /xill/ *absolution*; ESA /χll/ *constitute*; ?/χlt/ *constitution? administration?*; Soq /xalāl/ *legitimate child; permit*; Te /xll/ *D permit, establish (as) practice or custom*; /xälal/ *customary, legitimate, honest; virtue.*

As Tu /iχlal/ *be permitted* is a loan from Arab (Prasse), the root is confined to Sem; Te too may derive from the same source, and so Soq, but not ESA; NB. ESA /χ/.

XL(L) II :Phoen /xlt/ *sarcofagus; ?(holed?) bread*; Ug /xln/ *window*; Aram /xll/ *(+D) perforate, hollow out*; Syr /xl/ *penetrate, split, ruin; R perforate*; Arab /χl/ *pierce, slit*; /χallat/ *hole*; /χalal/ *gap*; ESA /χlt/ *coffin*; Mhr /χll/ *(roof) let rain through*; Soq /xelhe/ *hole, window*; G&z /χälät/ *reed*; Te /xl/ *kind of cane, flute.*

NB. Ug /x/.

XL(L) III: Akk /χalāl/ *whistle, sound like flute*; Te /xl/ *flute*; Har /ulullu/ =.

Also in Gur and Cush, cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 324. The root is of semi-onomatopoeic nature and, as a name of an instrument, a *Kulturwort* too; therefore etymologically hard to trace. The Akk entry, however, may have a separate origin. Connection with the preceding root is occasional and hence secondary.

XL': Arab /xal'/ *pustules on lips after a fever*; /xāli'at/ *a malignant serpent*; ESA /xl'/ *D make amends*; Mhr /hlē/ *infect s.o.: f catch cold/disease*; Soq /xal'eh/ *dirt, dirtiness.*

The root seems to be a var. of /xlV/, q.v.; NB. Mhr /h/.

XLB: Phoen /xlb/ *milk*; Ug /xlb/ = ; *butter?*; Aram /xalb/ *milk; egg-white; juice*; Syr /xalb/ *milk; juice*; Akk (NAss) /χilp/ *milk*; /χalāb/ = (vb.); Arab /xalab/, (vb.) /xlb/ = ; ESA /xlb/ *date wine*; Mhr /xlb/ *milk* (vb.); Soq /xelob/ = (vb. & n.); G&z /xlb/ = (vb.); /xälib/ = (n.); Te = ; /xälib/ (also) *blood*; Har /xlb/, (n.) /xay/ *milk*; Ch /anäbä/, (n.) /eb/; Sdd /alläbä/; Wol /aläbä/, (n.) /ayb/ = ; Som /xalab-lä/ *milk-basket*; /xal(i)b/ *blood-letting* (also Vc).

The first Som entry could conceivably be based on Sem, but the other looks more difficult; the root may thus be original to Cush too. Cf. also Dolgopolsky p. 152, 229. The Akk entry is probably loan from Aram (vS).

XLB II: Phoen /xlb/ *fat*; Syr /xelb/ *entrails, diaphragm*; Arab /χilb/ *diaphragm, (membrane of) liver*; ?Som /hilib/ *flesh*; /hilib-dalqo/ *epiglottis.*

Som /h/ betrays borrowing, although meaning has shifted, whatever the immediate source. On the other hand, the meaning of the root is so close to that of the preceding one — particularly as cream easily forms a "fatty membrane" on the surface of stationary milk — that common origin for the two must be considered a possibility.

XLD: Aram /xu^{w}ld/ *mole, weasel*; Syr /xuld/ = ; Arab /χld/ *stay, remain (youthful), last long, forever*; /χuld/ *Paradise, the world to come; mole*; ESA /χld/ *indefinite time.*

The two main meanings, connected in Hbr by the intermediary meaning of *ground, soil* as the dwelling place of the mole and hence, the (invisible) mole itself, have developed apart in other languages.

XLV: Aram /xlV/ *be gentle, sweet, ill; D sweeten*; Syr /xly/ *be sweet*; ?Amor /xlV/ *be ill?*; Arab /xlw/ *be sweet, delicious, pleasant, agreeable; D sweeten, please*; /nxl/ *be sick, emaciated* (Guillaume); ESA /'xly/ *kind of (aromatic?) offering*; ?G&z /xly/, /χly/ *sing, celebrate (s.o. by singing)*; Te /xälola/ *languish*; ?/xll/ *tD be unable, weak, tired.*

The connecting link between sweetness and illness is gentleness, commonly interpreted as weakness; singing is also often a means of appeasement.

XLZ: Aram /xilzo^{w}n/, /xallåz-/ *purple shell; kind of locust; an eye disease*; Syr /xlåzon/, /xlīzon/ *purple shell*; Arab /xalazūn/ *snail.*

The shifts in meaning follow similarity of form.

XL*7*: Aram /xl7/ *knead (dough), let coagulate; fall to one's lot; (+A) declare definitively*; Syr /xl7/ *mix, flow in; conspire*; Arab /xl7/ *swear, insist; A take (oath) eagerly*; ?Tu /əhlə¢/ *make impossible.*

The factor common to all the entries is growing firmness, whether material or abstract. The Tu entry is geographically remote and semantically further abstracted, but in agreement with the main line of development.

XLK: ?Arab /xlk/ *be intensely black*; ?Te /xalkay/ *crook-legged*; /xlk/ *D bind (cow's) legs together (when milked).*

The two entries are alternatives from which the Hbr one could have been abstracted.

XLM: Phoen /xlm/ *dreamer*; Ug /xlm/ *dream* (n/vb.); Aram /xlm/ *be healthy, dream*; Syr /xlm/ *dream; tR = ; have nocturnal pollution*; Arab /xlm/ = ; *(boy) attain puberty, virility*; /xulm/ *dream, (nocturnal) vision*; ESA /xlm/ *dream*; Mhr =, (n.) /xām/ = ; *Qt ejaculate while dreaming*; Soq /xlm/, (n.) /xelm/ *dream*; G&z /xlm/ = ; Te = ; *tD = ; have nocturnal pollution*; ?Tu /uhlam/ *glimpse; 'see' (figuratively).*

The primary meaning was apparently the boy's attainment of puberty and with it, the capability of sexual dreaming from which the meaning, to dream has been generalized; the Tu entry, if relevant, generalizes further still. Cf. /&lm/II below.

XLM II: Eg /χnmt/ *a red gem.*

LW from Eg in Hbr.

XLMʃ: Akk /el(le)mēʃ/ *precious, semi-mythical stone*; Arab /χalanbūs/ *flint-stone*; ?/'almās/ *diamond.*

A *Kulturwort*, probably of non-Sem origin; Arab /xms/ is not used with reference to physical hardness. Cf. /xʃml/ below.

XLP: Phoen /xlpt/ *recompense*; Aram /xlp/ *pass by, disappear; D exchange*; Syr /xlp/ *change, exchange, substitute*; Akk (late Bab) /χalp/ *substitute, proxy*; Arab /χlf/ *substitute (for); follow (after), succeed*; ESA /χlf/ *deputize; raiment; gates* (pl.); /-ft/ *deputy*; Mhr /χlf/ *succeed, replace, follow (after)*; Soq /xlf/ *ʃ go in the morning; Qt alternate*; G&z /χlf/ *pass (by, on, through, away), disappear, perish*; Te /xlf/ *pass (by, over), surpass, compensate (for); wait; disappear*; Har /xuluf bāya/ *pass (by, over), exceed, surpass*; Sdd /alläfä/ *pass, surpass, go (away), leave*; Wol (nact) /ələf/ *walk, go.*

The Wol entry is my recording; the Akk one loan from Aram.

XLP II: Ug /χlpn/ *knife; hair(?)*; Aram /xilp/ *rush; willow*; Syr /xlåp/ *rush*; /xulp/ *cane, reed*; Akk /elpet/, /ilpit/ *kind of high, coarse grass*; Arab /xalfā'/ = ; /xlf/ *swear, take oath*; Mhr /xəlayf/ *ally*; /xəwfīt/ *truce*; Soq /xalf/ *sharp point*; /xelefeh/ *cutting-knife; piercing look*; /xarf/ *sharp edge of knife.*

The basic meaning is sharpness, this being characteristic of rushes too; in the case of willow, this is replaced by outward resemblance, and of hair (if correct), by still weaker analogy; in Mhr and Arab (vb.), abstracted.

XLC: Phoen /xlc/ *deliver; warrior*; Aram /xlc/ *undress, take (s.th.) off; withdraw*; /xarc/ *loin*; Syr /xlc/ *behave bravely; D extract, despoil*; /xacc/ *loin*; Akk /χalāc/ *squeeze, comb out*; /ilc/ *loin(s)*; (pl.) /χancāt/ *hips*; Arab /χlc/ *be(come) clear, free, safe, secure; withdraw, retire; D clear (up), save, free*; ?/χacr/ *waist, middle of the body*; ?ESA /xlc/ *plunder, pillage?*; /xl¢/ *disease (of loins/hips)?*; Soq /monxec/ *kidneys, loins*; ?G&z /lxc/ *peel off, bark (trees)*; ?Te =; ?Har /lēxa7a/ =; ?Ch /li7a/, ?Sdd /le7a/, ?Wol /le7ä/ *bare-backed.*

Assuming the primary meaning to have been preparation for battle, all the above entries are derivable from a common root, even if with rather diverse phonological and some semantic shifts; as preparation for battle involves both stripping off unnecessary clothing and donning battle gear in which the hips and loins region plays important role (cf. "girding loins up"); stripping would then have been extended to other objects, such as fallen enemies, more general plundering, and also barking trees. As the word for loins/hips was then no longer obviously connected with the verb, the phonological differentiation could set in.

XLQ: ?Ug /xlq/ *part of body (buttocks?* pl. tantum!); Aram /xlq/ *divide, allot; be of different opinions*; Syr /xlq/ *dissolve, distribute, attribute*; Arab /χlq/ *measure, proportion; ? create*; /χalāq/ *share, portion*; Mhr /χlq/ *create*; G&z /χ^{w}lq^{w}/ *count, enumerate, muster; attribute*; Har /xēläqa/ *count, consider*; /xilqi/ *few*; Wol /eläqä/ *count*; /əlq/ *number.*

The above interpretation of the Ug entry is not supported by any other language; but the Arab /xalq/ is both positionally and morphologically rather far from the parallel /brkm/ and does not mean the outside neck either. Aram Arab (Akk G&z) /xaql/ looks hardly relevant.

XLQ II: ?Ug (see the preceding root); Arab /xlq/ *shave (head)*; /χlq/ *be even, smooth; polish*; Mhr /xlq/ *shave, cut hair*; /χəlēq/ *cloth, raiment*; Soq /xalaq/ =; /xalqah/ *form.*

The Ug entry, if belonging here, could perhaps mean some hairless part(s) of the body. As a clothing term, the root may likewise refer originally to linen articles as opposed to the furry animal skins and the like. On the other hand, the Eg /h̠&q/ *shave* seems to agree phonologically better with Hbr /qrx/, cf. below.

XLʃ: Aram /xlʃ/ *be weak, devoid of energy; fall ill; pass away*; Syr /xallåʃ/ *weak, feeble, vile, contemptible, humble*; Akk /χalāʃ/ *scrape, scratch off*; Arab /χls/ *take by force or deceit*; ESA /xl¢/ *be/fall ill; illness*; Soq /xlʃ/ *smash, ruin*; ?Te /xls/ *wear out; grow thin, meagre.*

As weakness goes hand in hand with defeat, there does not seem to be sufficient reason to split the root in two. However, the Te meaning deviates somewhat from the common ground, but does not agree better with the Arab /χlc/ either. Berb /əhləʃ/, /-r-/ may be loans from Arab, cf. Kab /əhlək/.

XLT: ?

An uncertain root.

XM: Aram /x(a)m/ *father-in-law*; /-mo^{w}t/ *mother-in-law*; Syr /xm/, f. /xmåt/ =; Amor /xam/ *father-in-law*; Akk /em/, /im/ =; Arab /xam/ =; f. /xamāt/; (syr.) /&amm/ *father-in-law; stepfather*; ESA /xm(w?)/ *in-law* (Beeston); Mhr /xaym/ *father/brother-in-law*; /xəmayt/ *mother/sister-in-law*;Soq/xam/,/xem-/(+sf.)*father/brother/son-in-law*; /xamit-/, /xamet-/(+sf.) *mother/sister/daughter-in-law*; G&z /xäm/ *father/son-in-law*; /xämat/ *mother/daughter-in-law*; Te /xäm/ *male relative by marriage*; /xämat/ f.: Har /xamāči/ *male relative by marriage*; /xamāt/ *mother-in-law*; /amat/ *wife's mother-in-law*; Sdd /amač/ *father/parents/son-in-law; husband's male relatives by marriage*; /amat/ *mother-in-law; husband's female relatives by marriage*; Wol /amač/ *father/son-in-law; wife's male relatives by marriage*; /amat/ *mother-/daughter-in-law*; Bed /hamo/ *father/mother-in-law*; Chad: Tumak /muu/, Mokulu /'eeme/, Yedina (Buduma) /āmi/ *father-in-law*; Eg /ʃm/ *father/son-in-law*; /ʃmt/ *mother/daughter-in-law*; Cpt /ʃo(o)m/, f. /ʃåme/ =.

Cerny considers the Eg entries early LWW from Sem. Assuming widespread intermarriage this might be feasible, but as the word is attested in the Old Kingdom already, the sibilant would be highly anomalous in a LW; on the other hand, the very next root provides a parallel for a cognate development. For the Chad entries, Jungraithmayr & Shimizu (p. 151) reconstruct */'m/ in which /'/ may well stand for pre-Chad /x/.

XM(M): Phoen /xmn/ αμουν *an epithet of god Ba&l*; Ug /xm/ *hot; heat*; /xmxmt/ *orgasm, impregnation*; Aram /xmm/ *be warm; L heat; A =; excite; tL grow excited, angry; be (sexually) aroused*; Syr /xm/ *be hot, burn; be/grow dry; be (sexually) aroused*; ?Amor /χmm/ ?; Akk /emēm/, (Ass) /emām/ *be(come) hot; Qtn have fever; D heat*; Arab /xm/ *grow hot, (then) black; heat, melt, urge (on), decree; Q ps have fever*; Mhr /xəmīm/, /xəmūm/ *charcoal*; /xəm/ *collect charcoal*; Soq /xem(e)hom/, /-(i)him/ *charcoal*; G&z /xm(m)/ *suffer; be ill, in pain, in misery*; /xämot/ *gall*; Te /xm/ *be(come) ill; pity*; /xämot/ *pride*; /xmmät/ *soot*; Ch /am^{w}äta/, Sdd /amota/ *gall, bile*; Eg /ʃmm/, (since MK also) /χm/ *grow hot; heat*; /ʃmmt/ *heat* (n.); /sẖmm/ (caus.) *heat (up)*; Cpt /hmom/ *grow hot, have fever*; /hmme/ *heat, fever*.

Primary meaning various kinds of outward and bodily heat; shifted to mean largely consequences in (Arab) SAr (cf. also /xwm/ above) and come to be used mostly figuratively in Eth; on the Eg sibilant cf. the preceding root. Ebl /é-mu-tum/, /'à-/ *hot water*.

XM': Ug /χm'at/ *butter*; Aram /xäm'(a)t/ =; Syr /xe(')wt/ =; Akk /χimēt/, (Ass) /χimāt/ =; Arab /χm'/ *thicken (milk)*; ESA /χm't/ *butter*; Soq /xami/ =.

The Arab entry is on the authority of Hava (p. 196b!) only; /xm'/ seems semantically remote. Cf. also /xmc/ below. The Syr entry is apparently a LW, ultimately (though hardly directly) from Akk.

XMD: Phoen /xmd/ *desire, have (good) intention*; Ug /xmd/ *desire; be pleasant, desirable, best*; Aram /xmd/ *desire, lust (for)*; Amor =; Arab /xmd/ *praise*; ESA =, *thank*; Mhr =; /mdx/+*L praise, flatter*; Soq /xemid/ *love*; /xamed/ *rebuke, blame*; ? *ʃ be invited* (written /ʃhemed/); Te /xmd/ *D thank, praise.*

As the Te entry is evidently loan from Arab, the root is original to Asian West Semitic only; in Arab ESA Mhr, the meaning is shifted to emphasize the object; in Mhr, a transposition is used to differentiate insincere praise; while in Soq, the meaning seems to have gone through a stage of qualitatively neutral intensity partly into a pejorative connotation; on the third entry, cf. Leslau, Soq p. 21.

XMV: Phoen (pl.) /xmyt/ *fortress*; Ug /xmt/ (pl. /xmyt/) *wall*; ?Aram /xmV/ *see*; ?Syr =; Arab /xmy/ *protect; L defend*; ESA /xmy/ *protect, provide with a wall*; /mxmy/, /mxmt/ *wall, dam*; Mhr /xmy/ *defend.*

The Aram-Syr entry could be cognate, shifted through the meaning of watching or guarding (cf. /n7r/, /ncr/ below); however, such a connotation does not seem to be present in the attestations.

XM7: Aram /xuʷm7/ *kind of reptile (chamaeleon?)*; Syr /xulmå7/ *a large lizard*; ?Amor /χm7/ ?(vb.); Akk /χulmi77/ *large reptile, dragon*; ?/χamā7/ *hurry, be quick*; Arab /ximā7/, /xum7ū7/, /xama7ī7/ *kinds of lizard.*

NB. Arab /x/ vs. (Amor?) Akk /χ/; quick movement is characteristic of lizards.

XML: ?Akk /χamāl/ *plan*; Arab /xml/ *bear (burden, responsibility); be pregnant; forbear; Qt forgive*; ?ESA /xml/ *drive (forward), expel*; Mhr /xml/ *carry; tolerate*; Soq /xemol/ *carry, support*; Te /xml/ *be tender, smooth, gentle*; Tu /əχməl/ *provide a safety rope (or belt, round a beast's burden).*

The Tu entry seems to be a loan from Arab (Prasse); the Akk one, if relevant, is rather far specialized, the Hbr one hardly more than Te. Cf. also /xmr/ below. Cohen's (no. 125) Cush entries are phonetically ambiguous.

XMS: Aram /xms/ *practise violence*; Akk /χams/ *wrongdoing*; (pl.) /χimsāt/ *wrongfully obtained goods*; Arab /xms/ *be hard, strong, rigorous (in religion, fight etc.)*; Mhr /xms/ *anger s.o. to spur him on*; ?/xōməs/, f. /xəmsīt/ *turtle*; ?Soq /xemseh/, (coll.) /xomes/ *tortoise.*

If Hbr /taxmus/ was a bird of prey, its name could well be derived from this root; as also those of the turtle and tortoise on the physical hardness of their shell.

XMC: Ug /xmc/ *vinegar*; Aram /xumc/, /xum&/, /xam&/ =; /xm&/ *grow sour*; Syr /xmc/ =; /xm&/ *ferment*; Akk /emēc/ *be sour*; Arab /xmΛ/ =; Mhr /xmź/ *churn, make butter*; /xāməź/ *sour*; /xamź/ *yoghurt*; Soq /xamaΛ/ *churn, make butter*; Te /xmΛ/ *grow sour*; Ch /xʷəmä7ä7ä/, Sdd /kumä77ä7ä/, Wol /-7ä7ä/ =; Bed /hāmi/ *sour, bitter*;

Eg /xmǧ/ *vinegar*; Cpt /hmǧ/ =; *grow sour*; ?Eg /xm'(yy)t/, (Dem.) /xm/; Cpt /hmu/ *salt*.

As the word for vinegar could conceivably be a *Kulturwort*, the first Eg-Cpt entry might be borrowed; Vycichl rejects the other on both phonological and semantic grounds; but his own etymology from /mlx/ is not assured either, as /l/ does not show up in Cpt (Baer). On the other hand, the Sem consonantism shows some unusual variation too, and in the light of the Mhr Soq meanings, /xm'/ above may have originated as an offshoot from this root; cf. the Bed entry too. The latter could also serve as a semantic mediator, as a bitter taste is not alien to many kinds of salt.

XMQ: Arab /xmq/*(+N) be foolish, stupid, abject, deficient, stagnant*; Te /xmq/ *be weak, low; pine away*.

XMR: Ug /xmr/ *ass; a measure (=ass-load?)*; Aram /xmr/ *heap up, load upon; A make stricter, heavier*; /x(a)mår/ *ass*; Syr /xmår/, (coll.) /xemr/ *ass*; Akk /imēr/, (Ass) /emār/ =; Arab /ximār/ =; ESA /xmr/ =; Soq /ʃmalhen / =; G&z /xämär/ *ship*; Ch /əmar/, Sdd =, /ämar/, Wol /umar/ *ass*.

The noun, probably derived from the verbal root as a "beast of burden", has become a wandering word; the Sdd var. is my recording. A ship's main function is carrying loads too.

XMR II: Phoen /xmr/ *wine*; Ug /χmr/ =; Aram /xamr/ =; /xemår/ *asphalt*; /x(a)miʸr/ *sour, leavened; sour dough*; Syr /xamr/, /xumr/ *wine*; ?Amor /χamr/, /χimr/, /χumr/ ?; Arab /χmr/ *leaven; give wine (to); Qt be leavened, fermented*; /χamr/ *wine, alcoholic drink; grapes*; ESA /xmr/ *wine; cement, mortar; asphalt*; Mhr /χāmər/ *wine, intoxicant*; Soq /xamora/ *bitumen*; ?/xamreh/ *dirt*; Te /xmr/ *ferment, turn sour*; ?Cpt /ʃemēr/, /hamir/ *leaven*.

The nouns are more or less of the nature of *Kulturwörter*, so their presence need not mean that the root is original to the language, and so it may be confined to Sem. The primary meaning may be fermentation, including other phenomena akin to it, and things resulting from or connected with them, including asphalt or bitumen which was hardly always red or reddish in colour in antiquity either. Mortar is also a similar substance, and it is often popularly called "dirt". Eg /mrx/ may derive from /wrx/ *anoint* (Baer).

XMR III: Aram /xmr/ *glow*; /xammår/ *tanned*; Syr /yaxmūr/ *kind of antelope (?)*; Arab /xumrat/ *red dye, colour*; /'axmar/ *red*; /yaxmūr/ =; *onager*; ESA /xmr/ *red*; Te /xämär/ *reddish brown*.

Wild animals of reddish — hence conspicuous — colour may well have been named after it in several places; however, the nominal type, */yaqtūl/ is so rarely used that /yaxmūr/ is apparently a wandering word.

XMʃ: Phoen /xmʃy/ *5th*; Ug /χmʃ/ *D(?) do for the 5th time; divide by five; fifth*; Aram /x(a)miʸʃay/ *5th*; /xumʃ/ *5th part*; Syr /xmʃ/ *D divide by five*; /xmīʃåy/ *5th*; Amor /χum(m)uʃ(at)/ *fifth part?*; Akk /χamāʃ/ *be 5th; D multiply by five*; Arab /χms/ *be 5th, make five; divide by five*;

/χamīs/ *army, company*; ESA /χms/ (pl. /χmys/, /'χms/) *army, troops*; Mhr /χōməs/, f. /χəmhēt/ *5th*; G&z /χms/ *D make five*; /χams/, /-sawi/ *5th*; Te /xms/ *D multiply by five*; /xamsay/ *5th*; /xämsit/ *pentad*; Har /xammistāñ/ *5th*; Ch /aməstänä/, Wol /amməstäññe/ =.

Based on Nn for 5, cf. Section C.

XMT: Ug /xmt/ *wine bottle*; Akk /χimt/, /χint/, /χind/ *skin bottle*; Arab /xamīt/ *butter skin.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

XN(N): Phoen /xn/ *favour* (n.&vb.); *free will*; Ug /xnn/ *D be gracious, grant favour*; Aram /xn(n)/ = ; Syr /xn/ = ; Amor /xnn/ = ; Akk /enēn/ = ; Arab /xn/ *long (for one's child), yearn; tD pity*; /xanān/ *tenderness, mercy; blessing*; Soq /xnn/ *give (?)*; /maxnin/ *large, copious*; /xanineh/ *heavy load.*

In Soq, the meaning has been concretized differently. Ebl /en-na/ *be gracious*; /en-ut/ *grace.*

XNV: Phoen /mxnt/ *army (camp)*; ?/xnt/ *arch(?)*; Aram /xnV/ *encamp, dwell*; /xånuʷt/ *shop, tavern*; Syr /xånūt/ = ; ?/xnV/ *aim (a missile)*; ?Amor /χanū/ *semi-nomads* (?as Npr); Akk /χunnū/ *bring (sheep) to shelter*; Arab /xnV/ *(widow) stay with her children*; /xānāt/, /-nūt/ *shop, tavern*; /xaniyyat/ *bow, arch, vault*; Eg /sχny/ *stay, settle*; /ẖn/ *tent*; (Vycichl after Albright, JAOS 47 p. 206); ?Cpt /ʃnaw/ *market.*

The word for shop/tavern must be considered a *Kulturwort*, and so the Cpt entry too could be derived from it; Vycichl, however, combines it with Eg /ʃn&/. The Akk entry could be loan from Amor. The Syr vb. could be connected with the next root.

XNV II: ?Syr (cf. the preceding root); ?G&z /kʷ(i)nat/ *spear, lance, javelin, sword*; ?Te /konat/ *lance; hand (of watch); troop(s), division*; Eg /xnyt/ *spear.*

Usually considered loan from Eg; but the Eth entries suggest that the noun has been a more widespread *Kulturwort*; and if the Syr vb. is relevant, the noun could ultimately derive from the preceding root, cf. also Arab /xnw/ *bend (a bow, for shooting); peel (a stick; to make a primitive spear?).* For possible Cush attestations see Cohen no. 254.

XN7: Ug /x7t/, pl. /x7m/, *wheat*; Aram /xn7/ *embalm*; /xi77t/, /xin7t/; pl. /xi77iʸn/, /xin7-/ *wheat*; Syr /xe77t/, pl. /xe77e/ = ; /xn7/ *(+D) embalm, preserve*; Akk /χunnu7/ *growing ripe*; /u77at/ *grain, seed, barley*; Arab /xn7/ *mature (wheat, fruit); D embalm*; /xin7at/ *wheat*; Soq /xin7eh/ *wheat*; G&z /xn7/ *embalm*; /xe77ät/ *wheat*; Som /hēΛ/ *barley*; /haΛuΛ/, /-ūΛ/ *(any) grain*; ?Eg /ẖnty/ *statue*; or? /χnd/ *kind of cereal.*

The words for wheat (etc.) and embalmment may both be considered *Kulturwörter*; but the vagueness of Eg equivalents makes Sem etymology plausible. The basic meaning is reproduction of live model, whether naturally or artificially; Phoen /xnw7/, if correctly interpreted as *statue*; would not be incompatible with this; but the correctness of the interpretation seems questionable in the side of a miniature altar at least. The second Eg entry (Cohen no.122) I cannot verify.

XNK: Aram /xnk/ *inaugurate, dedicate; D =; train, educate*; Arab /xnk/ *rub (a child's) palate with chewed food; bridle (a horse); train, teach, educate*; Mhr /xnk/ *suck soon after birth*; /xənnūk/ *gum & palate*; G&z /xnk/ *perceive, understand; ?respect*; Te /xnk/ *respect, fear; tD gulp down with effort*; /xänuk/ *medicinal drink*; /xänäk/ *palate*; Wol /enke/ *chew*; Bed /hanāk/, /ləhāk/, /təlhak/ *palate*; Bil /ta'ange/ =; Berb: Sus Tu /anγa/ =; Eg ?/xnk/ *present (with), offer (sacrifice)*; ?/xnkt/ *gift, offering, libation*; /xngg/ *palate.*

The root appears to be an offshoot from /xk(k)/ above, q.v. The Eg verb is combinable assuming that the offering was originally an inaugural one or connected with an initiation ceremony. */xanīk/ is derivable from the meaning, to *train* (agst. Lambdin).

XNP: Ug /χnp/ *be insolent, impious*; Aram /xnp/ *flatter, be hypocrite*; Syr /xanp/ *pagan, heathen*; Arab /xnf/ *have crooked leg(s); in- or decline on either side*; /χnf/ *turn back, (camel) turn its hoof outward when walking*; /χānif/ *haughty*; /χanfat/, /χunfat/ *cause of shame*; G&z /χonafi/, /xän-/ *pagan, heathen*; ?Berb: Lib.

Phonological differentiation in Arab; the G&z entry is LW. On Lib cf. K-B^{3}.

XNQ: Phoen /xnq/ *strangle*; Ug /χnq/ =; Aram /xnq/ =; Syr =; *suffocate*; Akk /χanāq/ *press, squeeze, strangle*; Arab /χnq/ *throttle, strangle*; (syr.) /ʃnq/ *throttle, hang*; Mhr /χnq/ *strangle*; /χanq/ *silver necklace*; Soq /xnq/ *strangle*; /xanq/ *collar, (neck-)chain*; G&z /χnq/ *strangle, suffocate*; Te /xnq/ =; /xrnq/ *rattle in throat (when dying)*; Har /xnq/ *strangle*; /xanqōt/ *broad belt, girdle*; Ch Wol /anäqä/, Sdd /ann-/ *strangle, choke*; ?Eg /ynq/ *embrace, press together, strangle.*

NB. the Syrian Arab sibilant; cf. also the root /&nq/ below.

XSD: Aram /xsd/ *be ashamed, put to shame; D abuse, vilify*; Syr /xesd/ *shame, ignominy*; /xsd/ *D vilify, curse*; ?Arab /xsd/ *envy*; ?Te =.

The Te entry may be a loan from Arab, itself semantically somewhat off-beam.

XSD II: Aram /xisd/ *grace, mercy*; Syr /xesd/ =; Amor /xasīd/ *pious*; Arab /x\$d/ *assemble, comply quickly (when summoned); show hospitality.*

The Arab entry deviates phonologically, but has preserved primary meaning most faithfully.

XSV: Syr /xasy/ *blessed, saint; bishop*; ?Amor /χsy/(?) ?; Arab /χ\$y/ *fear, respect, be in awe; hope*; /xa\$a^{yn}/ *shelter.*

The Akk Eth roots suggested in K-B^{3} seem to deviate semantically too much.

XSL: Ug /xsl/ *plunder*; ?/xsn/ *kind of locust*; Aram /xsl/ *cease; wean; (+A) finish off, lay bare*; /xsn/ *wean*; Syr /xsl/ *wean; deprive of (food); dishabituate*; Arab /lxs/ *(locusts) devour*; ?/xisl/, /xusayl/ *young one of a lizard.*

Apart from flying which is shared with a lot of other creatures, gold-finch and locust have little in common; but as a designation of locust comes also from the Arab root /xs/ from which /xsn/ too is derivable, the second Ug entry must be considered uncertain of relevance. The second Arab entry may be relevant, if the Hbr word means a developmental stage rather than a specific kind of locust. NB. the Aram var.

XSM: Phoen /mxsm/ *muzzle, mouthguard*; Aram /xsm/ *muzzle, silence*; Arab /χzm/ *put a nose-ring to a camel* (Guillaume). Cf. /x7m/ above.

XSN: ?Ug (pl.) /χsnm/ *kind of (military?) personnel*; Aram /xsn/ *(+A) grow mighty, seize, take possession; D, A strengthen*; Syr /xsn/ *be vehement (pain, sickness); resist, overcome, surpass; press, urge*; /xmsn/ *hold fast, sustain, persevere; strengthen, confirm*; ?Arab /xsn/ *be handsome*; /xasan/, /'axsan/ *handsome, fine, better.*

Male beauty implies strength; on the other hand, Arab /xcn/ means primarily inaccessibility rather than strength; again, /χzn/ being borrowed from an Aram semantic sideline, it is hardly relevant to the present study.

XSPS: ?Phoen /xsp/ *Qt be stripped, removed*; /Aram /xasp/ *potsherd*; /xaspåni^{y}t/ =; *coarse skin, scurf, scale*; Arab /$xf/ *skin, flay*; /sxf/ *peel off (grease); shave (the head); (wind) drive (clouds) along.*

The above entries are relevant on the assumption that the Hbr one describes manna as something like flakes or peelings, cf. the flaky nature of heavy frost. Transposition and phonological differentiation in Arab; the Hbr form is apparently apocopated repetition of the 2nd and 3rd radicals, consistent with the frequentative nature of the phenomenon.

XSR: Phoen /mxsr/ *lack, deficiency*; Ug /mχsrn/ =; /χsr/ *have/feel lack (of), miss*; Aram /xsr/ *have lack (of), be lacking*; Syr /xsr/ *lack, miss, be deficient, perish; lose, be mulcted, (have to) pay*; Akk /χasār/, /χesēr/ *cut/ break off*; Arab /χsr/ *lose (in trade), perish*; /xsr/ *be tired, jaded*; ?ESA /χsr/ *dedicate (a hierodule)*; Mhr /χsr/ *pay (as a) bride-price; lose*; Soq /xosir/ *bad pasture*; /di-xosir/ *for little, cheaply*; G&z /χsr/ *be reduced to poverty, misery, shame, depravity*; Te /xsr/ *fall in value; suffer; dishonour, humiliate*; Tu /əsər/ *annul, abolish, demolish.*

As the Tu entry is hard to derive from Arab, this may be one of the few (s)-containing Hbr roots attested outside Sem. In ESA, the semantic connection is tenuous, but not impossible, in Arab, the reflexive aspect has been differentiated phonologically.

XP(P): Ug /χp/ *coast, shore*; Aram /xpp/ *cover*; Syr /xp/ =, *spread over*; /xpīpt/ *kind of vestment*; Arab /xf/ *surround*; ?ESA /xf/ *encirclement, siege (?)*; Mhr /məχfīf/ *cloth, man's waistcloth*; Soq /xff/ *carry in* *lap*; /xafen/ *lap*; /xaf/ *raiment*; Te /xfV/ *embrace*; /xäfät/ *(fenced) courtyard*; ?/xfxf/ *underside of ribs*; Eg /x'p/, (Dem.) /xp/ *hide; hide o.s., be hidden*; Cpt /håp/ =.

The primary meaning is evidently covering or encirclement for protective purposes; context of the ESA entry is against this; on the other hand, as coastal sand was conceived as protecting the dry land against the sea, the Ug entry is semantically plausible. The root is originally biradical with a short vowel (cf. Te nouns), expanded in different ways in different languages; cf. also /xpV/ below.

XPD: ?

Probably a root var. of /'pd/ in SamH only, but evidently presupposed also by LXX (εφοδευσατωσαν Dt 1:22), possibly also other versions, cf. v. Gall ad Nm 12:16b and B-CH, *Tradition* vol. II p.472.

XPV: Aram /xpV/ + *D cover, overlay*; Syr /xpV/ *cover (with garment etc.); D =; conceal, blind; protect; surpass*; ?Amor /χp'/(?) ?; ?Akk /χapū/ *pack up*; Arab /χfy/ *conceal*; /χafā'/ *veil, cover, secrecy*.

On Te cf. /xp(p)/ above, of which this root may be an offshoot; the Gur entries suggested by Leslau (Gur III p. 9b) are semantically fundamentally distinct, as they denote "covering" in the sense of closing or stopping up a hole; they may therefore indeed be borrowed from Cush, and if the Cush root is connected with the Sem /xp(p/V)/, the connection involves a major semantic shift.

XPZ: Arab /xfz/ *push, hurry, urge on*; Mhr /xfz/ *lift & carry s.o. with arms under knees*; ?Eg /xfğ/ *tremble, shiver*.

Eg /ğ/ does not normally correspond to Sem /z/ except in LWW (which Erman-Grapow deem the word to be).

XPN: Aram /xpn/ *take a handful*; /xupn/ *(contents of) the hollow of both palms put together*; Syr /xupn/ *handful; kind of ulcer*; Akk /upn/ *hollow hand; handful*; Arab /xfn/ *scoop up with both hands; give a handful (of)*; /xafnat/ *handful, a little*; G&z /xfn/ *fist, fistful, handful*; Te /xfn/ *take with both hands (joined); joint-hands-ful; hoof*; Ch /ə̃fʷəyä/, Sdd /əmfuññä/, Wol /umfuññet/ *contents of the hollow of both hands*.

XPC: ?Phoen (Poenulus 1142) *epsi?* = ; /xpcy/ *my pleasure?*; Aram /xäpc/ *object (held when taking an oath)*; Syr /xp7/ *take pains (about), favour*; Arab /xf¢/ *guard, preserve, take (good) care*; /xif¢/ *attention, care*; /xif¢at/ *zeal*; Mhr /xf¢/ *keep safe, look after*.

The Aram entry appears to be borrowed from Hbr; in the Phoen one, both reading and interpretation are uncertain. Phoen /mxpc/ (quoted in K-B^{3}) is semi-conjecture, only /mx../ being legible in the Abydos inscription.

XPR: Aram /xpr/ *dig; search, find out*; Syr /xpr/ *dig*; Akk /χepēr/, /χapār/ =; Arab /xfr/ =; ESA =; Mhr =; Soq =; G&z /fhr/, /fxr/ =; Te /xfr/ =, *hollow out*.

The Gur roots suggested by Leslau (Gur III p. 24, 473) seem difficult phonologically and limited semantically and so Cohen's (no. 110) Eg Cush ones. NB. Akk var.

XPR II: Aram /xpr/ *be ashamed*; Syr =; Arab /χfr/ *be shy, bashful*; G&z /χfr/ *be shy, ashamed, in awe; blush*; Te /xfr/ *be in awe*; Sdd /affar/ *shy, timid, ashamed.*

XPʃ: Ug /xpʃ/ *pick up (straw on threshing floor)*; Aram /xp$/ *search, look for*; /xps/ =, *dig*; Arab /xf$/ *apply o.s. (to)*; G&z /xf$/ *grasp, extract, carry away*; Te /xfs/ *scrape corn together*; /xfʃ/ *tL lie in ambush, crouch*; Har /xfs/ *take with the hollow hand(s), (small) cup, shovel (etc.)*; /xufuʃ/ *fill of the hollow of both hands*; Ch /afäsä/, Sdd /aff-/, Wol /ãf-/ *scoop (grain, flour, earth) up with both hands*; Eg /χpʃ/, (Dem.) /ʃps/ *foreleg, arm; force*; Cpt /ʃåpʃ/ *arm, foreleg, shoulder, crop, gizzard.*

All the above entries are relevant on the assumption that hands and arms played an active role in the primary meaning; this may not be self-evident in Hbr, but certainly in most others, and quite compatible with the rest, including Hbr.

XPʃ II: Phoen /xpʃ/ *liberated*; Ug /χpθ/, /χbθ/ *freeman(?), soldier*; /tχpθt/ *nether world*; Amor /χupʃ/ *freedman*; Akk /χupʃ/ *lower-class (soldier etc.)*; ?Arab /xf$/ *extract, expel; D, tD stay in one's tent.*

The basic meaning appears to be setting free, although this need not necessarily mean improvement in subsequent conditions in other respects.

XC(C): Phoen /xc/ *arrowhead*; Ug /x¢/ *arrow*; Aram /xcc/ *sling, shoot away*; /x(a)cåc/ *sand, pebbles*; (imp.) /x7/ *arrow*, (Sfire; pl.) /xcy'/ =; Syr /xcåc/ *gravel*; Akk /χacāc/ *cut off, break asunder*; /ūc/, /ucc/ *arrow(head)*; (late Bab) /χicc/ *gravel*; Arab /xc/ *shave (hair); cut (off), sever; fall (to lot, as a portion); A, L, tL divide & allot (as portions)*; /xa¢wat/, /xi-/, /xu-/ *small (play-)arrow; twig or shoot off the stock of a tree*; Mhr /xa¢/ *share, luck*; Soq /xacaxacihin/ *gravel*; G&z /xc(c)/ *decrease, be reduced; deduct*; /xäc/ *arrow, missile*; Te /xoca/, /-cät/ *sand, dust*; /xäcxc/ *gravel*; /xäc/ (coll.), /-ccay/, (pl.) /xacac/ *(bee-)sting*; ?/xnc/ *pierce*; ?/xncc/ *tear away; cut off (branches)*; Har /xināč/ *arrow*; Ch /ä7/, Sdd /ä7a/, Wol /ən7/ *lot, fortune.*

The word for arrow(head) must be considered *Kulturwort*, but even so, the root is common Sem (and, as the Eg /xǧ/ *club* is not connected (Baer), confined to Sem); Bed /hasi/ etc. is based on a different idea. As the basic meaning of the root appears to be cutting off and into pieces, the word (originally probably for arrowhead and comparable missiles) is well derivable from it; from the small missiles, like pebbles, the use of the root shifted to other comparable objects (gravel, sand, dust), from complete arrows likewise (to beesting, twigs); from breaking into pieces to sharing, allotting and hence to fortune and luck (in which casting lots with pebbles, sticks or arrows may also have played a part). In Eth, secondary nasalization has expanded the root, partly perhaps with secondary meaning (pierce, from arrow or beesting etc.). The root /xcV/ below may also be an early offshoot from this one. Ebl /ú-cu/ *arrow*.

XCB: Phoen /xcb/ *urn(?)*; /mxcb/ *quarry, mine*; Ug /χcb/ *Qt fight, slay*; Aram /xcb/ *hew (out of)*; Akk /χacāb/ *break off*; Arab /xcb/ *pelt, (+D) pave with pebbles*; Mhr /xcb/ *make fire bed with pebbles*; /xōcəb/ *pebbles*; Soq /xanΛab/ *bits, pieces*.

The basic meaning appears to be acquisition of stone, by quarrying or gathering; cf. /x7b/ above with regard to firewood. Indeed, the two roots may ultimately be cognate, cf. the Yemenite Arab /xacab/ *firewood* quoted by Rabin (AWAr p. 26) and the Soq form above (also nasalized secondarily).

XCD: Aram /xcd/ *cut, mow, reap*; Syr =; Akk /ecēd/, (Ass) /ecād/ =; Arab /xcd/ =; ?ESA /δmχ¢d/ *harvest month?*.

LW from Aram in Hbr; cf. /&cd/ below.

XCV: Phoen /xcy/ *half*; Ug /χct/ =; ?Aram /xcV/ *pick out (birds); pick one's teeth*; ?Syr /xcV/ *pluck out (eye)*; /xåcōy/ *tooth-pick*; Akk /ecū/ *cut in, make a cut*; ESA /x¢ynt tx¢yt/ *divide into parts, separate rooms*; ?G&z /χcw/ *castrate*.

The basic meaning may be to *cut, split*; picking one's teeth may be comparable to this, but picking out seeds, an eye etc. as well as castration are somewhat more off the line; however, as the root may have branched off /xc(c)/ above, a coherent basic meaning should not be expected; NB. variation in the 1st rad. too.

XCL: Aram /maxcl/, /-calt/ *mat*.

If originally meaning a reed mat, may be root var. of /xcr/ and the Aram entry LW from Hbr.

XCP: Aram /xcp/ *D be insolent*; Syr =; ?Arab /xcf/ *be/make firm, hard*; ?Soq /xaΛaf/ *wipe off*.

XCR: Phoen /xcr/ *court(yard)*; Ug /x¢r/, /x7r/ =; Aram /xu7r/ *enclosure*; Arab /xcr/ *surround, encompass*; /xΛr/ *be present, settle in*; /xāΛir/ *settlement*; /xaΛar/ *vicinity, cultivated country*; /x¢r/ *enclose, bar access*; /xa¢īrat/ *fence, enclosure, sheepfold*; /χacr/ *encampment (of nomads)*; ESA /xΛr/ *arrive, be present*; /'xΛr/ (pl.) *dwelling (place), house; vestibule (of a temple)*; /mxΛr/ *vestibule, atrium*; Mhr /xcr/ *besiege, hem in*; /xδr/ *build a thatched pen*; /məxδərūt/ *pen for goats*; G&z /xcr/ *surround (with fortifications, walls), bar access, besiege*; Te /xcr/ *D enclose, fence; dwell*; /xäcur/ *enclosure, hedge*; Har /xē7ärä/ *make a fence*; /xu7ur/ *fence*; Ch /a7ärä/, Sdd /i77-/, Wol /en7-/ *make a fence*; ?Tu /əhəΛər/ *be present*.

The Tu entry is very rarely used and may be loan from Arab; accordingly, the root in confined to Sem. The Hbr word for trumpet has been borrowed into Aram as /x(a)co^{w}cart/; it has affinities with the next root too.

XCR II: Phoen /mxcrt/ *herbage*; Aram /x(a)ciʸr/ *grass, leek*; Syr /xecr/ *scribe's reed, pen*; Arab /χΛr/ *be green, verdant*; /χaΛar/ *green*; /xacīr/ *mat (of reeds or rushes)*; Mhr /həźawr/ *egg-yolk; yellow, green, clear*; Soq /ʃeΛar/ *green, blue*; Eg /χθn/ *a vegetable*; (Dem.) /χğn/ *garlic*; Cpt /ʃğēn/ =.

The terms for kitchen vegetables may be *Kulturwörter*, and so the root not original in Eg. The root may be ultimately cognate with the preceding one, all the essential characteristics of both being still represented in the Arab root /xcr/ (partly extended by /-m/); settlements and more temporary encampments, with protective fences around, would also have been established primarily where there was plenty of greenery; and tall, hollow grass and reeds etc. could be used for building or covering huts and fences; grass and vegetables with hollow stems are also in themselves tight enclosures. In Tu /əΛlu/, the emphasis seems to be on growth rather than greenness.

XQ(Q): ?Phoen /mxq/ *engraver (?)*; Aram /xqq/ *engrave*; Syr /xuqq/ *line, rule*; Arab /xq/ *be right, true, certain, proper, just, due, necessary*; /xaqq/ *right, truth, justice, certitude*; ESA /xqq/ *legally binding*; Mhr /xaq/ *right*; /xqq/ *ʃ, Qt find out, ascertain the truth*; Soq /xaq/ *judgment*; G&z /xq/ *modest, satisfactory, good, proper (amount)*; Te /xäq/ *right, legal claim*; /xäqiqät/ *truth, justice*; ?/xg/ *be fixed, sure*; ?Som /xnq/ *scratch.*

The Phoen entry could come from the root /mxq/ (so Tomback), but the above interpretation sounds more plausible for a professional term. The alternative Te root, having religious and legal affinities, could be an oldish loan. In Cush possibly also: Or /hoqu/ *scratch.* Eg /xq'/ *possess, rule (over)* seems too remote.

XQV: Syr /mxaqyån/ *toothpick*; ?Arab /xk/ *scratch, scrape off; L emulate, imitate.*

The Hbr root appears to be a var. of the preceding one; the Arab entry could also be connected with /xk(k)/ above.

XQR: Aram /xqr/ *search, investigate, test*; ?Akk (NBab) /χaqār/ *investigate(?).*

The reading of the Akk entry is uncertain; if correct, it may be loan from Aram.

XR: Aram /xår/ *free*; Syr /xe(')r/ =; Arab /xurr/ *free-born*; ESA /xr/ =; Mhr /xorr/ =; Soq /xor/ *free*; /G&z /xärawi/ *free(-born), nobleman*; Te /xr/ *free*; /xära/ =, *free-born; freedom.*

The Mhr entry is quoted from Leslau, Soq.

XR II: Ug /χrt/ *hole, grave*; ?/χr/ *hole*; Aram /xoʷr/ *hole, cave*; Syr /xōr/ *hole*; /xrūr/ =, *cave*; ?Amor /χrr/ *D?*; Akk /χarār/ *dig, hollow out*; Arab /χurr/ *mouth-hole (of a mill or millstone)*; /χarīr/ *depressed tract between two hills*; Mhr /χərrayt/ *round hole*; G&z /χrw/ *engrave, hew in.*

XR(R): Ug /xrr/ *(D?) burn, scorch, roast*; Aram /xrr/ *burn, scorch; D roast, heat up; R kindle*; Syr /xart/ *vitriol*; /xrårt/ *ulcer*; Akk /erēr/ *be dry(?)*; Arab /xr/ *be (very) hot, dry, thirsty*; /xarr/ *hot; heat*; G&z /xrr/ *burn; dry up*; Te /xr/ *dry in the sun; be burnt (food, offering)*; Har /xrr/ *overdo, burn (food); be/grow angry; AtD offend, vex*; Ch /anärä/, Sdd /arrärä/ *be charred, dry up.*

Metaphorical shift in Syr; the Akk vb. rather rarely attested. Cohen's (no. 117) Cush entries may be loans from Eth.

XRB: Phoen (NPu) /xr'b/ *net-drying facility (?)*; Ug /χrb/ *dry up*; Aram /xrb/ *lie/lay waste; A dry (up, out)*; Syr /xrb/ *lie/lay waste, devastate*; Akk /χarāb/ *lie/become waste*; Arab /χrb/ *be ruined, waste(d); ruin, rob, pierce*; Mhr /χrb/ + *Qt be ruined; L damage*; /χərōb/ *damage, ruin*; /χərūb/ *west wind*; ?Tu /əχrəb/ *ravage, ruin, devastate.*

The Tu entry, although deeply rooted in the language, could still conceivably be loan from Arab. For the Mehri, the west wind is ruinous.

XRB II: Ug /xrb/ *sword, long knife*; Aram /xarb/ *sword*; Syr = ; *spearhead, ploughshare; killing, battle, war*; /xrb/ *slay, kill*; ?Amor /xrb/ ?; Akk /χarb/ *plough*; Arab /xrb/ *plunder; L wage war*; /xarb/ *fight, war, enemy*; /xarbat/ *javelin, spearhead*; /χrb/ *slit, bore, perforate; steal, rob*; /χurbat/ *hole, perforation*; ESA /xrb/ *fight, wage war*; /xrbt/ *battle*; /mxrb/ *protective construction*; /txrb/ *war, battle*; Mhr /xrb/ *be unmarried, left over; L be at odds (Qt with o.s.); f dislike*; Soq /xarib/ *fight*; Te /xrb/ *tD be jealous, complain; tL fight*; /xrab/ *fight*; /-bät/ =, *war*; Har /xarbi/ = ; Ch /arəb/ =, Wol /arb/ =, *javelin*; ?Tu /χurrəb/ *leave dissatisfied, furious*; /χərəbbət/ *be pierced.*

Leslau considers the Eth entries to be loans from Arab; this may be so, although some semantic shift must be assumed in Te; the fact that the lending language must have been some colloquial form(s) of Arab rather than the classical language may account for this (cf. Mhr). The same may be the case for Tu, where meanings have been specialized further still and the root phonologically amalgamated with the preceding one; unless indeed the two roots are ultimately cognate again, as there is some phonetic overlapping in Arab too, and analogous shift must be assumed for Akk alongside the semantic one. The basic word anyway is that for sword, a means of ruin and devastation, all the verbs being directly derivable from it, even if sometimes with somewhat extended meaning.

XRG: ?Aram /xargt/ *fright, agony (of dying)*; Arab /χrǧ/ *leave, depart*; ESA /χrg/ *exit*; /-gt/ *expedition, raid; rebellion*; Mhr (South) /χrg/ *take, pull out*; Soq /xrg/ *cease; be refused.*

If the moment of fright is indeed present in the Hbr entry, the Aram one may be semantically closest, cf. /hlk/ above (with Arab on it); Mhr has shifted into active, Soq into abstract direction.

XRGL: Aram /xarg(o^{w})l/ *locust*; Syr /xarg(å/u)l/ *grasshopper*; Akk /ergil/, /-ic/ *kind of locust*; Arab /xarǧal/ *large wingless locust*; /-łat/ *swarm of locusts; troop of horses.*

Usually considered secondary root from /xgl/, but the Akk var. is hardly explicable on that basis; perhaps a pre-Sem word folk-etymologically connected with /xrg/ *be gathered together* (cf. Arab) and the nominal afformative /-l/.

XRD: Phoen /xrdt/ *terror, awe*; Ug /χrd/ *be watchful, guard (?); realm?; guard, soldier (?)*; Syr /xrd/ *tQ tremble*; Arab /xrd/ *be enraged, bear rancour*; /χrd/ *(+A) be shy, bashful, silent.*

The Ug attestations might be derivable from the concept of being under authority which could also be the primary meaning of the whole root. In Arab, phonological differentiation parallels the semantic one (into active and passive).

XRV: Aram /xrV/ *glow; D poke, stir up (fire)*; Syr /xry/ *tQ intend, favour; contend, litigate (with)*; Arab /xarwat/ *burning (in throat)*; /xarāt/ *sparkling (of fire)*; Soq /xaiher/ *anger, rage; tempest.*

Offshoot(s) from the root /xr(r)/ above, q.v.

XRV II: Arab /xry/ *decrease, wane*; ESA /xry/ *detriment, loss.*

XRZ: Aram /xrz/ *bore (through), prick, sting; put in a string; compare two Scriptural passages*; /xirz/ *thorny bush*; Syr /xrz/ *set in order, dispose, affix, append, ornament (with gems)*; Arab /χaraz/ *string of beads or gems, necklace*; /xirz/ *amulet, (written-in) talisman*; Mhr /xarz/ *silver amulet*; Soq /xarz/ *amulet*; Te /xrz/ *little book, (with?) leather case; talisman*; Ch /ərz/, Wol /hərz/ =.

The word for talisman must be considered a kind of *Kulturwort*; otherwise, the primary meaning of the root seems to be putting bead-like objects on a string; the Hbr meaning seems thus to have shifted farthest in abstraction. The Phoen /xrz/ is semantically vague, but can hardly mean *chain* or the like in a comparable sense.

XR7: Phoen /xr7yt/ (pl.) *sculpture? inscription?*; ?Ug /χr7/ *pluck (?a bird)*; ?Aram /xr7/ *regret, repent*; ?Arab /χr7/ *strip, peel, bark, plane (a piece of wood etc.)*; ?Mhr /χr7/ *pick or pluck (off; fruit, crops, flowers)*; ?Soq /xero7/ *unsheathe (sword); defoliate (a tree).*

The Phoen entry may in any case be related to the Hbr one, although the exact meaning is uncertain; for the others to be related, a shift in meaning must have occurred. A Te /xr77/ *scratch* I am not able to verify, and as the Sam reading in Ex 32:4 does not seem to support the conjecture in K-B^3, this is not taken into account here.

XR7M: Eg /ẖry-x'bt xry-tp/*chief lector priest*; (NK & later) /xry-tp/ *magician* (Baer after Gardiner etc; agst. Lambdin).

Apparently LW from Eg.

XRK: Aram /x(a)rakk/ *opening, window*; ?Arab /χrq/ *perforate, make a hole* (Guillaume).

The Arab root usually refers to a hole smaller than any kind of window, and apparently made for other kind of purposes.

XRL: Aram /xurl/ *kind of weed (Lathyrus)*; Syr =; Akk /χallūr/, /-ār/, /χillūr/, /χu-/ *kind(s) of pea*; Arab /χullar/ *pea, bean, lentil.*

A *Kulturwort*, apparently of non-Sem origin.

XRM: ?Phoen (cf. the next root); Aram /xrm/ *A consecrate, dedicate (to sacred use); ban*; Syr /xrm/ *be prohibited, illicit; A consecrate; exsecrate, detest*; Amor /xrm/ *be taboo*; Akk /χarām/ *set apart*; /χarm/ *consort*; /χarimt/, /-int/, /-mat/ *(sacred) prostitute, hierodule*; Arab /xrm/ *prevent, forbid, ban*; ESA /xrm/ *prohibit, consecrate; H veto, declare illicit; illicit place, time*; /xrmt/ *temple precinct; township*; /mxrm/ *temple*; Mhr /xrm/ *L repent; H bring disaster (by breaching a prohibition); Qt respect*; /xərōm/ *taboo*; /xərmēt/ *widow, defenceless woman*; Soq /xrm/ *curse; Qt be destroyed*; G&z /xrm/ *prohibit from common use, declare sacred or illicit*; Te /xrm/ *take off edge, overflow, cross over; abandon; D forbid; tD swear to restrain o.s. (from)*; Har /xarām/ *(morally) forbidden (thing)*; Eg /χnr/ *shut in; taboo; prison; harem* (Brockelmann).

The Har entry may be loan from Arab (Leslau), but the other ones are probably original; NB. the Akk 1st rad.

XRM II: Phoen /xrm/ *fisherman*; Aram /xarm/ *net*; Arab /χrm/ *perforate (s.th.); cut or slit the partition between nostrils*; /χawram/ *cloven rocks*; (syr.) /taχrīm(at)/ *lace(-work)*; Eg /x'm/ *fish, hunt (with a net).*

One of the two Phoen attestations could also be something else, perhaps a cultic functionary and therefore connected with the preceding root. NB. Arab /χ/ vs. Eg /x/.

XRMʃ: Ug /χrmθt/ *sickle*; ?Arab /χm$/, (syr.) /χrm$/ *scratch (one's) face (with nails).*

The word for sickle may be considered a *Kulturwort*, and the Arab entries relevant, if semantically highly specialized.

XRS: —

Apparently root var. of /xrʃ/s/ below.

XRP: ?Ug (pl.) /χprt/ *(yearling?) ewes*; Aram /xurp(i^{y})t/ *(yearling) sheep*; Syr /xurp/ =; Akk /χarāp/ *be early*; /χarpū/ *(early) autumn*; /χurpū/ *early harvest*; Arab /χarāf/, /χir-/ *harvest time*; /χarīf/ *autumn, year*; ESA /χrf/ =; (Qat.; pl.) /χrwf/ *sheep*; Mhr /χrf/ *bloom, grow ripe, hatch out; Qt pluck/gather fruit*; /χarf/ *summer, monsoon period (mid-June to early September)*; Soq /xorf/ *autumn, harvest, fruit(s)*; G&z /χärif/ *current year.*

The G&z entry appears to be a hapax and is probably a loan with specialized meaning. The basic meaning appears to be harvest time, varying somewhat in the framework of seasonal year, then also harvest itself and, because of the importance of harvesting, the whole year. Transposition in Ug (?).

XRP II: Aram /xrp/ *D sharpen, make pointed; revile, blaspheme*; Syr /xrp/ *be sharp, pointed; D make sharp, pointed; incite*; Arab /xrf/ *distort, pervert (meaning of words, language)*; /xirrīf/, (vulgar) /xa-/ *sharp, biting (of taste)*; /xarāfat/ *sharpness (of taste), acritude.*

The concrete meaning lost in Hbr.

XRC: Ug /xrc/ *a military term (connected with chariots); wrinkle (?)*; Aram /xrc/ *dig, cut (a trench); determine, decree*; Syr /xr7/ *incise; tear into pieces*; Akk /χarāc/ *cut in, out; deduct; determine accurately*; Arab /xarcat/ *wound; hole (in a garment)*; /xrΛ/ *be emaciated*; ESA /χrc/ *prescribed tribute (from future crops)*; G&z /xrΛ/, /xrc/, (/χ-/) *grind (by grindstone etc.)*; /χrc/, /qrc/ *incise, chisel (in)*; ?Ch /an7ä/, ?Sdd /arrä7ä/ *cut, harvest (cereals).*

The basic meaning appears to be making incisions; cf. /xr7/ which may be a specialized var. of the present root (Syr!); NB. the phonological variation in both 1st and 3rd radicals, particularly in Eth where, however, a considerable semantic shift too must be supposed for most entries to be relevant. Eg /ʃd/ seems phonologically too hazardous.

XRC II: Phoen /xrc/ *gold*; Ug /χrc/ =; Syr /xrå&/, /xarrū&/ *yellow, gold-coloured*; Akk /χurāc/ *gold*; Arab /χurc/ *gold or silver ring*; /'ixrīΛ/ *safflower.*

The noun (in Gr also, χρυσος) is a *Kulturwort*; as shown by Syr and Arab (2nd entry), of Sem origin.

XRCB: ?Arab /xcrm/ *brace (a bow), twist (a rope) strongly.*

So according to Belot, Hava, K-B^1 (agst K-B^3); the phonological correspondence is somewhat remote.

XRCN: Aram /xarcanni^{y}t/ *kernel or stone of a fruit*; Arab /xicrim/ *any green fruit.*

The Arab entry looks like expansion of /xcr/ II above, but the use of final /-m/ for such a purpose is not normal; perhaps the original was pre-Sem.

XRQ: Aram /xrq/ *make incisions; gnash one's teeth*; Syr /xrq/ *gnash one's teeth*; Arab /xrq/ =, *rub, file*; ?/χrq/ *be rough, awkward, confounded, unsound; pierce, tear, traverse, pass through*; Mhr /χrq/ *scratch (Qt o.s.); Qt be irritable*; Soq /xrq/ *fall apart, tear o.s. apart*; Te /xrq/ *be indignant, angry, furious*; Eg (Dem.) /χrğ/ *gnash one's teeth*; Cpt /hroğrğ/ =.

The second Arab entry is semantically deviant, but not incompatible with the psychological background of gnashing, scratching, tearing etc.; the root is semi-onomatopoeic.

XRʃ: Phoen /xrʃ/ *ploughing; craftsman*; Ug /xrθ/ *plough; ploughman*; /xrʃ/ *craftsman; Qt work magic*; Aram /xrʃ/ *plough; work magic; D bewitch*; /xrt/ *engrave*; Syr /xrʃ/ *D work magic*; /xrt/ *dig, excavate, incise*; Akk /erēʃ/, (OAkk) /erāʃ/, (+Ass) /ar-/ *sow (with seedplough), cultivate (field)*; Arab /xrθ/ *cultivate (land)*; ESA =; G&z /xrs/

plough; /xär(ä)s/ *magic*; Te = ; *L cultivate*; /xäräs/ *field*; Har /xarʃi/ = ; /xrs/ *plough*; Sdd /arräsä/, Wol /ar-/ *plough, cultivate*; Ch Sdd Wol /maräʃa/ *(blade of the) plough*; Bil /aräs/ *plough, cultivate*; ?Eg (Dem.) /χrʃ/ *flaw*; ?Cpt /ʃårʃi/ *wrinkle, furrow (in the skin).*

Assuming that the Eg "flaw" is similar to the Cpt one, the entry is compatible with the primary meaning, evidently to *plough*. Further Cush attestations: Or /māreʃa/ *plough* (n.) Saho Afar /haras/ = (vb.); however, as agricultural terminology consists mostly of *Kulturwörter*, they as also the Bil entry are no doubt of Sem origin.

XRʃ II: Aram /xrʃ/ *be dumb, mute, unable to speak*; ?/xurʃ/, /xarʃ/ *forest*; Syr /xrʃ/ *be dumb, mute, silent*; ?Akk /χarāʃ/ *tie, bind*; (Mari) *be silent*; Arab /χrs/ *be dumb, mute, silent; walk silently*; ?(syr.) /xurʃ/ *wood, forest*; ?Eg /χ'st/ *foreign land, desert/ mountains.*

On the Akk entry cf. the widespread concept of being "tongue-tied"; however, the concept of magic in the preceding root could also be compared (originally cognate?); for the Mari meaning see G. Dossin in RA 62 p. 75f. "Forest" might be connectable on account of its relative silence; but again, it could derive from the Akk /χursān/, /-ʃ-/ *mountain*, a LW from Sum; or from the Eg entry?

XRʃ/S: Phoen (Poenulus) *chirs: sherd*; Aram /xars/ *itch, scab*; Syr /xers/, /xrås/ *scab (of eyelids etc.)*; /xars/ *scabby*; /xarūs/ *rough, coarse*; Arab /χr$/ *scratch (with nails), scrape*; /xr$/ = ; *hunt (lizards); feel rough (to skin)*; ESA /χrʃ/ *delete, obliterate (an inscription); devastate (a city).*

The primary reference is apparently to the itch or scab and to the scratching done because of it, then to analogous other phenomena and actions, in ESA rather far removed semantically, but still evidently connected. The root is thus of Sem origin.

XRT: ?Phoen /xrt/ *engraver(?)*; Aram /xrt/ *engrave, inscribe*; Syr /xrt/ *incise.*

If the Phoen entry is correctly interpreted, the root (an offshoot of /xrʃ/ above) must be considered a *Kulturwort.*

Xʃ(ʃ): Aram /xʃʃ/ *feel pain, worry; whisper, hiss*; Syr /xʃ/ *sense; suffer, feel pain, be sad*; Arab /xθ/ *(+A,Qt,St) instigate, urge*; /xuθθ/ *bits of straw*; /x$/ *dry up; kindle, poke (fire)*; /xa$ī$/ *dry herbage*; /χaθθat/, /χuθθat/ *bundle of firewood*; Te /xʃʃ/ *D rub (husks off grain)*; /xaʃiʃ/ *dry leaves, branches; hashish*; Har /xaʃa/ *rub (husks off grain etc.).*

The root is evidently of onomatopoeic origin; this also provides the bridge between dry vegetation, fire and the whispering or hissing of those worried or in pain or hurry. The word for hashish may be a *Kulturwort*, but the root is original to Eth (in Tigrinya too, see Leslau, *Contributions* p. 22).

XʃB: Phoen /xʃb/ *accountant, planner*; ?Ug /xθbn/ *calculation, account* (?cf. Dahood, UH p. 58f); Aram /xʃb/ *think, plan, consider, estimate, esteem*; Syr = ; *attribute, calculate*; Akk /χaʃāb/ *D count, calculate*;

Arab /xsb/ *number, count, think, suppose*; Mhr /xsb/ *look forward to; count, calculate*; Soq /xoseb/ *count*; /xasiboh/ *number*; G&z /xsb/ *count, calculate; impute; estimate, esteem*; Te /xsb/ *think, consider, remember, count*; Har /xēsaba/ *think; tF settle (an account); search (one's soul)*; Ch /asäbä/, Sdd /iss-/, Wol /es-/ *think, be pensive*; Eg /xsb/ *count, calculate.*

The terms for counting and calculating may be *Kulturwörter*; but even apart from them, I find it hard to discover evidence that the primary meaning of the word is to *weave*. Cohen's (no. 102) Cush entries seem to be loans from Eth or Arab.

XʃB II: —

Apparently originated from /xbʃ/ (above) by transposition.

XʃD: Aram /xʃd/ *suspect*; Arab /xsd/ *envy, grudge*; Mhr =; Te =.

A shift into more objectival direction in Hbr-Aram.

XʃV: Aram /xʃV/ *stand still; be silent*; Arab /x$y/ *be out of breath, pant for breath*; ESA /xsy/ *be forgotten, not mentioned*; ?G&z /χ$&/, /χ$'/ *be quiet.*

Another root of onomatopoeic origin, subdued voice used to represent complete silence also; the G&z entry is phonologically closer to Arab /χ$&/ which does refer to low voice too. The Cush entries of Dolgopolsky (p. 85) are phonetically equivocal.

XʃK: Phoen /(xdr) xʃk/ *the nether world*; Aram /xʃk/ *be dark; be eclipsed (sun, moon); stay until dark; miss information*; ?Arab /suxkūk/ *very dark.*

The Arab entry appears isolated; connection with /xsk/ *be angry* hardly probable (Irvine).

Xʃ/SK: Aram /x$k/, /xsk/ *(+A) hold back; draw away, strip, deduct*; Syr /xsk/ *impede, withhold, prohibit, deprive; save, defend*; Arab /x$k/ *be full, crammed up (udder with milk, etc.)*; /xi$āk/ *gag (in kid's mouth to prevent sucking)*; /xsk/ *D withhold (remainder), store* (cf. Barth); ESA /xʃk/ *wife*; (pl.) mxʃkt/ *envoy*; Soq /xoʃk/ *vulva.*

Envoys were also protected by taboo. An Ug /xʃk/ does not seem to exist (cf. Gordon, UT no. 907).

XʃL: Aram /xsl/ *cast off, leave behind (refuse etc.)*; /xasīl(at)/ *refuse, rabble (etc.).*

XʃML: Aram /xaʃml/ *a class of angels*; Akk /eʃmarū/ *a silver alloy*; Eg /xzmn/ *purify; natron; kind of bronze*; (Dem.) /xsmn/ *natron*; Cpt /hosm/ =.

The noun is a *Kulturwort* (the Aram entry is a LW from Hbr with a secondary meaning); the Eg verb suggests Egyptian origin, but this could be denominative (from natron). Cf. also /xlmʃ/ above.

XʃN: Aram /xuʃn/ *breastplate of the High Priest.*

LW from Hbr in Aram; etymology unknown.

Xʃ/SP: Ug /xsp/ *pour (water, wine), sprinkle (dew); kind of wine*; Aram /xasp/ *rough clay, postherd*; /xaspåni^{y}t/ *scale(s), coarse skin*; Arab /xsf/ *take (crust) off (a wound); tD (hair) fall off*; /x$f/ *tD = ; wear shabby clothes*; /sxf/ *peel (grease); shave (head)*; /$xf/ *skin, flay.*

The Phoen /xsp/ seems semantically difficult, although the sibilant is parallelled in Ug, cf. Arab too.

XʃQ: Aram /xʃq/ *harness, saddle*; Arab /&sq/ *cleave, stick to*; /&$q/ = ; *love passionately.*

Semantic shift (into active direction) in Aram, phonological ones in Arab. Cf. /&sq/, /&ʃq/ below.

XʃR: Ug /χθr/ *sieve; kind of garment*; Aram /xtr/ *bore, make a hole*; /xʃr/ *sift, scatter out*; ?Arab /χuθārat/ *dregs, lees.*

Dregs are comparable to what remains in the sieve. In Aram, Hbr may have influenced phonological differentiation.

XT(T): Ug /χt/ *confused(?)*; Syr /xt/ *R entice, incite*; Akk /χuttut/ *scare away (with vermin)*; Arab /χt/ *be ashamed of*; Soq /xtt/ *be ashamed, plague o.s.*; Te /täxotätä/ *fear*; Eg /χty/ *withdraw; ward off*; /χtχt/ *withdraw, disappear*; (Dem.) /xty/, /xyt/, /hty/ *fear*; Cpt /hote/ =.

The common meaning is emotional commotion, predominantly fear; this is present, as a connotation at least, in the large marjority of Hbr attestations too.

XTV: Phoen (pl.) /mxtt/ *coal pan*; Aram /maxti^{y}t/ = ; /xtV/ *remove coals; D, A poke (fire)*; G&z /χtw/ *be kindled, burn, give light*; /maχtot/ *lamp, candle, candlestick, candelabra.*

The root centres around fire, although actions with regard to it vary; NB. removal of coals often takes place in preparation to kindling a new fire.

XTK: Ug /xtk/ *father, descendant; master*; Aram /xtk/ *(+D) cut (off), dissect; decide, sentence.*

Meaning shifted into abstract only in Ug. Arab /htk/ seems to be based on an idea of laying bare, with a strong connotation of dishonour.

XTL: Ug /xtl/ *swaddling band*; ?Aram (Elephantine) /xtyl/ *cord(?).*

Again, Arab /xtr/ seems to refer to starvation diet rather than to child care; and Eg /xtr/ seems to mean primarily to *harness*; from Hitt? (cf. Rabin).

XTM: Phoen /xtm/ *complete(?); seal* (n.&vb.); *seal-keeper*; Aram /xtm/ *sign, seal, close (up)*; Syr = ; /xåtm/ *seal*; Arab /xtm/ *decide, finish (up), make obligatory*; /xatm/ *definitive decision, decree*; /χtm/ *seal, stamp*; /χitm/, /χātim/ = (n.); ESA /χtm/ *seal*; Mhr /χōtəm/ *ring*; G&z /χtm/ *close, seal, confirm, complete*; /maχtäm/ *seal(-ring), confirmation*; Te /xtm/ *shut, seal, stamp, print*; /xatm/ *seal(-ring)*; Ch

Wol /atämä/, Sdd /att-/ *seal*; Bed /atim/ =; /'atma/ = (n.), /hātam/ *seal-ring*; Som /kātun/ =; Eg /χtm/ *close, shut, seal; seal, lock, closet, fortress*; /-mt/ *treaty*; Cpt /ʃåtm/ *shut (in)*.

Based everywhere on the main noun which is a *Kulturwort*; derived from Eg. Ebl /χu-tá-mu/ *ring*.

XTN: Ug /χtn/ *marry; son-in-law*; Aram /xtn/ *D/tD make/become related by marriage*; /xatn/ *bridegroom; son-in-law*; Syr /xtn/ *tD become related by marriage; marry*; /xatn/ *bridegroom; son/brother-in-law*; Amor /χtn/ *protect(?)*; /χatan/ *son-in-law*; Akk /χatān/ *protect*; /χat(a)n/ *son/brother-in-law*; Arab /χtn/ *cut, circumcise; (+L) ally by marriage*; /χatan/ *wife's relative*; /xtn/ *Qt suit, agree together; tL be equal (in)*; /xatn/, /xitn/ *companion; alike*; ESA /χtn/ *ally by marriage*; Mhr /χtn/ *circumcise*; Soq /xeton/ =.

Basic reference is to circumcision as a prophylactory rite originally performed upon attainment of puberty, in preparation for marriage.

XTP: Aram /xtp/ *seize, tear off*; Syr /xtp/ *D break, shatter*; Akk /χatāp/ *slaughter*; Arab /χ7f/ *seize, carry off (by force, quickly)*.

Arab /xatf/ is somewhat off-beam, particularly as the non-violent nature of the death is emphasized.

XTR: Aram /xtr/ *bore through, make a hole*; Arab /xtr/ *tighten (a knot); stare (at)*; /xitār/ *rim*; ?Soq /xetareh/ *open road*.

The root may be cognate with /xʃr/ above, concentrated on the aspect of making holes; on Arab cf. the concept of penetrating look and the fact that a rim describes the outer limits of a hole and if it is flexible, it can be tightened; Soq, if relevant, has a more expanded connotation.

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7': Aram /7'/ *R sweep*; Arab /7'/ *R hasten, 'let go' (horse, activity)*; /7w'/ *come & go; be off, depart*.

The common characteristic is quick and/or frequentative movement.

7BX: Phoen /7bx/ *(cultic) slaughterer*; Ug /7bχ/ *slaughter, cook*; Aram /7bx/ =; Syr /7bx/ *sprinkle; D bruise, crush, slaughter, kill*; Amor /7ābiχ(at)/ *butcher*; Akk /7abāχ/ *slaughter, kill, massacre*; Arab /7bχ/ *cook (meat), boil*; /7abbāχ/ *cook*; /ma7baχ/ *kitchen*; ESA /7bχ/ *animal(s) for slaughter*; Mhr /7bχ/ *make a mark; cook*; /mə7bāχ/ *kitchen; (ship's) galley*; G&z /7bx/ *cut, incise; skin, flay; cut throat, slaughter*; Te /7bx/ *skin*; /m7bax/ *scars in skin*; Har /7bx/ *skin (an animal)*; Ch /7äpa/, Sdd /7äbba/, Wol /7äbä/ *skin (an animal); dig (a channel)*.

The primary meaning appears to be slaughtering for food. NB. G&z /x/. Cf. the root /zbx/ and, for a possible Eg cognate, /x7b/ above. ?Ebl /7a-ba-um/ *hit (with hand).*

7BL: Aram /7bl/ *take a ritual bath; make subject to tithing*; ?Arab /7ml/ *(+Q ps) be impregnated with (blood, oil)*; /7amīlat/ *pond, reservoir*; ?G&z /7bll/ *roll (around, together, in); swaddle (a child).*

The Aram entry appears to be loan from Hbr; should the others be relevant, considerable shifts of meaning must be assumed.

7BL II: Aram /7abl/ *board, tablet, plate, table*; Syr /7ablåyt/ =; Arab /7abl(at)/ *kind of tray; (counting) table; tax.*

LW, ultimately from Lat *tabula.*

7B&: Phoen /7b&/ *coin(age)*; /-&t/ (pl.?) *signet ring*; Aram /7b&/ *(make, let) sink, drown; stamp, impress (upon), fashion*; /7ab&/, /7ib&/ *coin; sinking, drowning*; /7m&/ *sink down, under*; Syr /7b&/ *stamp, impress (upon); (make, let) sink, penetrate*; /7ab&/ *seal, imprint, stamp, coin, gem; (stamped) host; hymen; sentence*; Akk /7ebū/, (Ass) /7abā'/ *(let, make) sink, drown*; Arab /7b&/ *imprint, coin, stamp, seal, print; fashion, shape*; Mhr /7b&/ *drink (from a source)*; /7āba/ *manners*; G&z /7m&/ *immerse, dye*; Te /7mu&/ *immersed*; /7m&/ *A besmear*; Har /7ābi'/ *seal*; /7abī'a/ *character*; Eg /ğb&/ *seal*; /-&t/ = (n.); Cpt /tååbe/ *shut, seal*; /tbbe/ *seal* (n.) /tebbi/ *a small coin (obol).*

The root is so widespread in Sem and so deeply rooted in several Sem languages that it cannot possibly all be based on a loan from Eg; moreover, in Eg, the verb is not attested until neo-Egyptian, so there is little doubt that the noun is the primary one in Eg which strongly suggests that, if the assumption of borrowing is correct, Eg is the borrowing rather than lending language. The issue is further complicated by the fact that normally, Sem /7/ does not correspond to Eg /ğ/, whether in cognate or loan words. In ancient *Kulturwörter*, however, comparable irregularities do occur, and as the noun also otherwise qualifies as such a one, this may be the plausible solution; whether the root nevertheless is original to Eg too may be left undecided. Akk /timbu'/ seems hardly related.

7BR: Aram /7ibbu^{w}r/ *navel*; ?Arab /7ibr/ *pillar*; ?Te /7äbära qälta/ *kind of shield (with metal embossments?).*

As the "navel of the earth" was conceived as a high hill, the Arab entry could be a further development from this; and the Te one likewise, as the main embossment is in the centre of the shield.

7BT: Aram = Hbr; Akk /7ebēt/ *the 10th Babylonian month.*

LW from Akk (where derivation obscure).

7HR: Phoen (Pu) /7hrt/ *purification*; ?/7(')r/ *pure(?)*; Ug /7hr/, /7u-ú-r[u]/, /¢hr/ *pure; (pure) gem*; Aram /7hr/ *be ritually pure*; Arab /7hr/ *be clean, pure, chaste, just*; ESA /7hr/ *(ritual) purity*; Mhr /7hr/ *(+Qt) be (ritually) pure; Qt II shave one's pubic hair*; /7əhayr/ *(ritually)* *pure; virtuous*; Soq /7ahir/ *pure, clean*; G&z /7hr/ *A purify (ritually)*; Te /7hr/ *be pure, clean, innocent*; Har /a7ēxara/ *cleanse*; ?Eg /twr/ *be pure, purify, preserve, abstain, reject* (Calice no. 895).

Terms of ritual purity could be wandering words, and the (Soq?) Te Har entries borrowings from Arab.

7WB: Ug /7b/ *good; sweet(?)*; Aram /7wb/ *be good, benevolent; feel well*; Syr /7wb/ *be good, adequate, merry; precious (stone)*; Amor /7āb/ *good*; Akk /7(i)āb/ *be good, adequate, nice*; Arab /7yb/ *be good, pleasant, pure*; /7ayyib/ *good, pleasant, sweet, healthy*; ESA /7yb/ *good; H make pleasant*; Mhr /7yb/ *enjoy, have enough*; /7əyōb/ *goodness*; Soq /7ef/ *give, let, allow; ʃ calm down, be content*; Te /7ayb/ *good*; ?Chad: Ron (Fyer) /ndaaf/ =.

The Te entry may be loan from Arab; consequently, the Chad one, if indeed related, is the only survival outside Asian Sem. Ebl (sf.) /7ù-bí/ *good(ness)*; /7a-bù/.

7WV: Aram /ma7we^{y}'(a)t/ *spider*; Syr /7wV/ *corrugate, make wrinkly; fast*; Akk /7awū/, /7amū/ *spin, twine, twist*; Arab /7wy/ *roll, fold up*; Mhr /7wV/ *wrap (up); visit (at night)*; G&z /7wy/ *be twisted, tortuous, perverse; twist, contort, pervert*; Te /7wV/ *twist, bend, wring; L take aside for counsel*; Sdd /a7wayyä/, Wol /-ye/ *twist*.

Meanings specialized in North-West Sem. Bed /da'-/, Or /daw-/, /Λaw-/ *dress (material)* (Dolgopolsky p. 58) look like loan words.

7WX: Phoen /7x/ *plaster*; Ug /7χ/ =; Aram /7wx/ =, *bedaub, besmear*; Arab /7yχ/ *revile, charge with something bad or foul; (+tD) be charged with s.th. bad, foul; tD be tarred (camel)*; G&z /7y&/, /7y'/ *anoint, besmear*; ?Cpt /ğåh/ =.

Again, the phonological variation suggests an early *Kulturwort*, although with somewhat variable meaning and in Arab, used mostly figuratively.

7WL: Aram /7wl/ *D walk about, travel; expel; R move, shake, carry off; ban*; Syr /7yl/ *D walk, ride around*; Arab /7wl/ *last long, be protracted; R throw*; /7ūl/ *length, tallness, duration*; ESA /7l/ *length*; Mhr /7wl/ *A (God) prolong life; ʃ feel (night) long*; /7ōl/ *length*; /7əwayl/ *long*; ?G&z /'än7olälä/ *hang down loosely*; /'än7ol&ä/ *extend, expand*; Te /7wl/ *D lengthen*; /7wil/ *long*; ?Har /7äl7äl bāya/ *dangle*; ?Ch /an7ərä7ärä/, ?Sdd /an7əlä77älä/, ?Wol /-7älä/ *suspend, hang up*; Bil /ʃīr/ *stretch; be long, high, far*; Som /Λēr/ =.

Semantically somewhat incoherent, particularly the Eth entries (Te loan from Arab?), but still not beyond the bounds of possibility. For more Cush attestations see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 329. Eg /dwn/ is hardly related, cf. Cpt /tåwn/.

7WS: Aram /7ws/ *fly*; Syr =; *wander about*; Arab /7y$/ *be inconstant*; /'a7ya$/ *a bird*.

Probably LW from Aram in Hbr.

7WP: Aram /7wp/ *rise, overflow; drown*; Syr /7wp/ *overflow, inundate, flood; sail; be flooded, carried off by windgust; wander about*; Arab /7wf/ *go, walk round about, travel; excrete*; /7ūfān/ *overpowering rain or flood.*

Cf. the roots /n7p/ and /ʃ7p/ below.

7WR: Aram /7u^{w}r/ *mountain; open field*; Syr /7awr/ *space, interval, territory*; /7yår/ *(stone wall around) encampment; herd*; Arab /7wr/ *go round about*; /7awr/ *measure, extent, limit; (a) time, turn*; /7ūr/ *house yard; mountain; Mt. Sinai*; /7ūriyy/, /7ūrāniyy/ *wild, savage; stranger*; ESA /m7wr/ *enclosure*; Mhr /7awr/ *(a) time, turn.*

The words for mountain may be of Aram origin in Hbr and Arab, but the root is probably cognate with /cwr/ IV below; the Mhr entry may be loan from Arab.

7XB: Aram /7ax(a)bu^{w}t/ *dew, fog*; Arab /7axmat/ *tide, rush, of a torrent*; (+/7axmā'/) *a juicy plant.*

7XV: Aram (Pahlavi) /7xy/ *reach, attain*; Akk /7eχū/, /7aχū/, (Ass) /7aχā'/ =; *approach*; Arab /7xV/ *spread, expand; go (far) away; (heart) carry away*;

Eg /ytx/ Cpt /åth/ hardly related (Baer, cf. Vycichl).

7XL: Aram /7xål/ *spleen*; Syr =; Akk /7ulīm/, /tu-/=; Arab /7ixāl/ =; Ch /7ar/, Sdd /7ala/, Wol /7alä/ =.

The phonological transformation of the Akk entry is puzzling, but the word can hardly be detached from this root.

7XN: Ug /7xn/ *grind*; Aram =; Syr =; Akk /7ēn/ =; Arab /7xn/ =, *pound, crush*; ESA /7xn/ *flour*; Mhr /7xn/ *grind*; /7əxayn/ *fine (ground; flour)*; /mə7xənēt/ *quern*; Soq /7axan/ *grind*; G&z /7xn/ *flour, barley-groats*; Te /7xn/ *grind*; /mä7xän/ *mill; lower millstone*; Har /7ēxana/ *be fine (flour), clever; A grind fine, crush*; /7ixin/ *clever, precocious*; Bil /7a'an/ *grind.*

The root may be of the nature of *Kulturwörter*, but appears to be well established practically over the whole Sem area. For more Cush attestations see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 345; Cohen no. 338.

7XR: Aram /7xr/ *strain the rectum*; Syr /7xår/, /7xor/, /7uxår/ *strain at defecating; piles; anus*; Arab /7xr/ *(eye, spring) bring out (dirt)*; ?Te /7xr/ *repent, be clean(sed), free, saved.*

The Te entry is combinable in a metaphorical sense, if the primary meaning is bodily purification; if so, the root is an offshoot from /7hr/ above.

7Y7: Aram /7i^{y}n/ *clay, dirt*; Syr /7īn/ *mud, mire*; Akk /7īd/, /7ī7/, /7idd/, /7i77/ *clay, muddy mass*; Arab /7īn(at)/ *mud, clay*; /7yn/ *plaster (with mud)*; Mhr /7yn/ =; *wet (soil)*; /7ayn/ *clay, soil*; Bed /tīn/, /7-/ *clay*; /7in/ *mud.*

Te /7yn/ looks like a misunderstood loan from Arab; the Hbr entry can hardly be phonologically accounted for except as a loan from Akk; that the Bed one is a secondarily differentiated loan from Arab may then also be possible.

7KS: Aram /7ks/ *D put in order*; /7iks/ *wall*; Syr /7ks/ *D put in order, dispose, compile, perform*; /7eks/, /7aksis/ *order; unit.*

Based on LWW from Gr.

7L(L): Ug /7ll/ *(D?) fall (dew)*; /7l/ *dew*; Aram /7all/ *dew*; Syr = ; Amor /7all/, /7ill/ *dew, drizzle*; Arab /7all/ = ; /7ull/ *milk, blood*; /7ill/ *serpent*; Mhr /7al/ *dew*; G&z /7äl/ *dew, drizzle, fertility*; Te /7äl/ *dew*; /7l/ *be moist, generous, happy, rich*; ?Chad: Dera /Λəla/ *dew.*

In Cush: Quara /7al/ *dew*; but this could be a loan from Sem. Whether the same could be the case with the Chad attestation is not clear.

7L'/V: Aram /7aly/ *young, tender; boy; lamb*; /7alyt/, /7li^{y}t/, ταλιθα *girl*; Syr /7aly/, f. /7līt/ *adolescent, (more) recent; boy/girl servant*; Arab /7alw/, /7ala^{n}/ *gazelle's young*; /7aliyy/ *lambkin*; ESA /7ly/ *lamb*; ?Soq /7al/ (pl. /7ohol/, dim. /7ulhel/, /7u'elhol/) *white tail of a sheep*; G&z /7äli/, f. /-it/ *goat, herd of goats*; Te /7älit/, (coll.) /7el/ *goat, antelope*; Har /7āy/ *sheep*; Ch /7ä/, Sdd /ä7ay/, + Wol /7ay/ = .

Must be considered akin to a *Kulturwort*; the Soq entry, if relevant, has undergone somewhat unusual phonological and semantic developments. The word for mantle may be relevant, if it originally meant a skin garment. Connection with Cush /7yl/ *beget* (Dolgopolsky p. 58) seems possible.

7LP: Aram /7ilp/ *cloven hoof*; Arab /¢ilf/ = .

LW from Aram in Hbr.

7M(M): ?Phoen (Pu) /'7wm7'/ *sexual underdevelopment?*; Aram /7mm/ *stop up*; Syr /7m/ = ; *stupefy*; Akk /7ummum/ *'stop up' (ears), make deaf*; Arab /7m/ *fill up (a vessel; with water, earth); (sea) overwhelm, swallow up; R stammer*; /7im7im(iyy)/ *having a bad Arabic accent*; ?Eg /tmtm/ *crush, annul*; ?Cpt /temθam/ *mule.*

Assuming the root to have had originally sexual reference, the Aram Syr Akk Arab meanings could have developed from the concept of impenetrability, while in Eg Cpt, generalization into inability to procreate would have taken place; conversely, the concept of impenetrability could have originated from being stopped up, but the Eg Cpt entries could then hardly be related.

7M': Aram /7mV/ *be (ritually) unclean*; Syr /7mV/ *D defile*; /7ammå'/ *impure; abomination*; ESA /7m'/ *dirt.*

The Egyptian Arab /7amy/ *silt (of the Nile)* appears to derive from /7mV/ *overflow.*

7MN: Aram /7mn/, /7mr/ *hide, preserve*; Syr /7mr/ *bury, hide in the ground; penetrate*; Akk /temēr/, /tamār/ *dig, bury in*; Arab /7mr/ *bury, hide, conceal; fill in; absent o.s., go away; leap (into a well etc.).*

According to Lane who quotes half a dozen Arab lexicographers, /7mr/ did exist in Classical Arab in the sense of hiding for preservation, and as the other meanings in Arab are partly quite closely related to that, I do not see sufficient reason to assume borrowing from Aram in this sense (as proposed by Fraenkel p. 137), let alone the entire root. NB. Akk /t-/ (no /7-/ besides, according to v. Soden). Cf. /dpn/ above and /cpn/ below.

7MS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /7ums/ *book(let), epistle.*

LW from Gr.

7N(N): Aram /7nn/ *D moisten.*

Probably LW from Aram.

7N': Phoen /7n'/ *donate (as an offering), dedicate; appoint; Y set up, erect*; ?ESA /7ny/ *erect (?an image)*; Eg /dnyt/ *basket.*

The Hbr word may be a loan from Eg, but its use in cultic contexts suggests that the root was original to Hbr too, cf. the Phoen entry.

7NP: Aram /7np/ *D dirty*; Syr /7np/ *be dirty, sordid, sinful*; Akk /7anāp/ *be dirty/ied*; Arab /7nf/ *be suspicious, have depraved heart.*

Shift into figurative usage in Arab; hardly enough to justify assumption of borrowing.

7SN: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

7&V: Aram /7&V/ *err, go astray, forget; worship idols*; /7å&u^{w}t/ *error; idol*; Syr /7&V/ =; /7å&ūt/ *error; forgetfulness*; Arab /7γV/ *be excessive, inordinate*; G&z /7a&ot/ *idol*; Te /7a'ot/ =.

The Eth entries are borrowings, ultimately from Hbr-Aram. Cf. the root /t&V/ below.

7&M: Aram /7&m/ *taste, feel, enjoy*; Syr /7&m/ *taste, eat, use; perceive*; Akk /7ēm/ *information, understanding, intelligence, decision*; Arab /7&m/ + *St taste, eat*; /7a&m/ *taste, flavour*; ESA /7&m/ *(D/L) feed, let enjoy*; Mhr /7&m/ *taste, eat*; G&z /7&m/ *taste, perceive; be pleasant, sweet*; Te =; Har /7āma/, /7ēma/ =; /7ima/ *taste, pleasure*; Ch /tamä/, Sdd Wol /¢a-/ *taste (good), be sweet; be expensive*; Bed /tam/ *eat*; Bil /7ām/ *taste, enjoy*; ?Chad (bud.) /tam/ *taste*; (Müller after Lukas).

In Cush also: Afar /tām/, Saho /7ā&am/ *taste*; and cf. Dolgopolsky p. 317f, Leslau, Gur III p. 619 and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 349; Cohen no. 337. While the Saho form is probably loan from Sem, Bed Afar ones can hardly be that; this supports the originality of the Chad entry too.

7&N: Ug /7&n/ *load*; Aram =; *carry, bring; charge with, object, require*; Syr /7&n/ *load, impose, leave, carry, tolerate; conceive.*

Root var. of /c&n/ (q.v.); in Hbr, may be loan from Aram.

7P(P): Arab /7f/ *D make defective, deficient; R be weak, lax*; /7afīf/ *little, incomplete; paltry, mean, contemptible*; /7affāf/ *light, brisk, quick*; Soq /7ef/ *be little, small.*

The primary idea seems to be smallness, sometimes from positive, sometimes negative points of view.

7P(P) II: Aram /7ipp/, /7eʸp/ *drop*; Syr /7påp/ *torrent*; ?Akk /7apāp/ *be very full*; ?Arab /7fw/ *float (upon water)*; Eg /dfdft/ *drop* (n.); /ğfğf/ = ; *drip, weep*; Cpt /θoftef/ *fall drop by drop.*

The Akk Arab entries are semantically rather remote; while the rest are evidently onomatopoeic and could therefore be of separate origins. Cf. also /7wp/ above; and /n7p/, /ʃ7p/ below.

7PX: Aram /7px/ *slap, clap (hands), stomp; beat flat*; Syr = ; *expand*; Akk /7epū/ *expand, extend; add*; Arab /7fx/ *overflow*; /f7x/ *be broad, flat; flatten, expand (by beating etc.)*; ?Soq /7ofxoh/ *side*; G&z /7fx/ *clap (hands)*; Te /7fx/ *be level, flat, wide*; /7lfx/ *be even, flat*; Sdd /7əfä77äfä/, Wol /-7-/ *flatten (dough etc.).*

The primary meaning may be clapping (flat) hands together, then other kinds of beating with hands and beating s.th. flat, hence expansion.

7P7: Aram = Hbr; Syr /7åpī7/ *tapestry.*

LW from Gr.

7PL: Aram /7pl/ *plaster (up), overlay, attach*; Syr /7pl/ *contaminate, stain*; Akk /7apāl/ *revile, make (false) accusations*; Arab /7fl/ *be dusty (plant); be red (sun when setting); be soft, tender*; /7afl/ *soft, tender; fuller's earth*; /7ifl/ *infant, youngling*; /7afāl/, /7u-/ *dry mud, clay*; Mhr /7āfəl/ *infant*; Soq /7afel/ =, *stupid.*

The connecting link between overlaying and small children is probably in some actions when caring for the latter, such as application of powder, ointment etc. Eg /tfn/ *orphan* (Cohen no. 342) is so tenuously connected with the Sem meaning that its relevance is hardly probable.

7PL II: —

LW from Lat; cf. /7bl/ II above.

7PS: Aram /7ups/ *form, mould*; /7aps/ *box, trough*; Syr /7ups/ *model, form, symbol.*

LW from Gr (ultimately maybe two Gr words, but καψα also contaminated with τυπος).

7PSR: Ug /7upʃarr/ *scribe(?)*; Aram /7apsår/ *a court official*; Akk /7upʃarr/, /tu-/ *scribe.*

LW ultimately from Sumerian.

7Pʃ: Aram /7pʃ/ *be foolish, stupid*; ?Syr /7pʃ/ *be dirty(?)*; Akk /7apāʃ/ *be fat, obese*; ?Arab /7fs/ *be dirty, filthy.*

There are parallels (/'wl/, /ʃmn/) to fatness being equated with stupidity; dirt and filth are also quite conceivably connected with foolish behaviour.

7RGN: Aram = Hbr; Syr /7rīgōn/ *triangle.*

LW from Gr.

7RGS: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

7RD: Ug /7rd/ *expel*; Aram = ; *close, lock up; be busy*; Syr /7rd/ *expel, urge, accelerate*; Amor /7rd/ *send*; Akk /7arād/ *send (off); expel*; Arab /7rd/ *pursue*; Mhr /7rd/ *follow (after flocks), investigate (a theft)*; Soq /7eyred/ *chase, pursue, rescue.*

The primary meaning may be sending off in a neutral sense.

7RX: Aram /7rx/ *take trouble, plague o.s.; A load, pester*; Arab /7rx/ *put (upon); fling, cast away*; Mhr /7rx/ *let, allow*; Soq /’e7rax/ *cast (anchor), stay*; Te /7rx/ *cast anchor*; /mä7räx/ *anchorage, night-quarters*; ?/7rax/ *marble.*

Toleration is often equated with burden (e.g., /nʃ/s’/), and Arab provides link between it and throwing; some marbles are also used for throwing, or it could be a burden, but in the context, neither is applicable.

7R7N: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

7RM7: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

7RP: Aram /7rp/ *tear off, knock, throw down*; Syr = ; ?Arab (Moroccan) /7ərf/ *piece, fragment*; Cpt /tårp/ *seize, rob.*

The Cpt entry may be loan from Sem. ClArab /7rf/ seems semantically remote (Irvine).

7RP II: Aram /7arp/ *(fresh) leaf*; Syr = ; /7rp/ *D pick young shoots, glean grapes*; Arab /7rf/ *be newly acquired (property).*

May be ultimately cognate with the preceding root (cf. K. Galling in V.T. 4/1954 p. 420f); though if so differentiated at an early stage, cf. also the Amh cognate (Leslau, *Contributions* p. 23).

י

Y’V: Phoen /y’/ *good, nice*; Aram /yå’(a)y/, /-’e^{y}/ = ; *beautiful*; Syr /yå(’)y/ = ; Arab /y’/ *R be kind (to), flatter*; ?/w’y/ *promise, threaten; bind o.s., answer (for)*; Soq /(di)ye/ *good, kind; goodness, salvation, welfare*; G&z /ywh/ *be mild, kind, benevolent; placate, appease, entice, flatter, persuade.*

The basic reference seems to be to kindness rather than to beauty; this is best preserved in G&z which has phonologically gone its own way, expanding the basic biradical structure into a hollow root and relaxing the glottal stop into fricative.

Y’L: —

Root var. of /’wl/ (q.v.).

Y’L II: —

Root var. of /’wl/ (II); cf. /’wlm/ above.

Y’R: Aram /y’o^{w}r/ *channel, dyke*; Eg /ytrw/, /yrw/, (Dem.) /yr, /y&r/ *river, channel*; Cpt /yoor/, /-re/, /yor/, /yååre/ =.

LW from Eg.

Y’ʃ: Aram /y’ʃ/ *D cause to despair; (+tD) despair*; Arab /y’s/, /’ys/ *despair (of)*; /ya’s/ *despair, desperation*; /’ā’is/(!) *hopeless*; ESA /’s/ *be in trouble, despair*; G&z /’ys/ *melt, lose courage.*

Eg /’s/ *hurry* seems to accentuate speed and catching up rather than despair which is clearly the primary concern in Sem.

YBL: ?Phoen /bl/ *name of a month*; Ug /ybl/ *bring, convey; yield, produce* (n.); Aram /ybl/ *bring, carry, convey*; /yabl/ *brook, creek; grass*; Syr /ybl/ *D bring, convey, deliver, propagate*; /yabl/ *brook*; Amor /ybl/ *carry, bring*; Akk /(w/b)abāl/, (M/NAss) /ubāl/ =; *convey*; /tabāl/ *take, carry away (for o.s.)*; Arab /wbl/ *(sky) rain heavily; (horse) run vehemently*; /wabl/ *heavy rain*; ESA /wbl/ *pay tribute*; Mhr /wbl/ *Qt be well off*; Soq /tebil/ *(re-)gather; prepare o.s.*

Also in Eth: Ǝza /wäbär/ *rainstorm* (Arab LW?). If Phoen /bl/ was a harvest month, it could conceivably derive from this root. Rain as a fertility agent also certainly belongs to this root. Eg /wbn/ *spring* (Rössler), however, seems hardly connected, its root meaning primarily to *go up, run over.*

YBL II: Phoen /ybl/ *ram*; Aram /yubl/ =; /yo^{w}bel/ *jubilee year*; Syr /yublåye/ =.

Ram being an important fertility agent, the root may ultimately be identical with the preceding one; however, in Hbr it is now clearly differentiated. An Arab /yubla/ *ram (?)* I am unable to verify.

YBM: Ug /ybm/ *procreate (?)*; Aram /ybm/ *D perform levirate marriage*; /yabm/, /ybåm/ *brother-in-law*; /ybimt/ *sister-in-law*; Syr /ybm/ *D* =; /yabm/, f. /ībamt/ =; ?Arab /wbm/ *procreate.*

The Aram Syr entries may be loans from Hbr. The Arab entry is on the authority of K-B.

YBʃ: Aram /ybʃ/ *be dry, dry up*; /yabbaʃt/ *dry land*; Syr /ybʃ/ *dry up; grow numb, rigid, paralyzed; be extinguished*; /yabʃ/ *(dry) land*; Amor /ybʃ/ *be dry*; Arab /ybs/+*Qt dry up, wither, languish*; ESA /ybs/ *dry up; (dry) land*; G&z /ybs/ *dry up, be dry*; /yäbs/ *(dry) land, continent*; Te /ybs/ *dry up; be insensitive*; /ybus/ *dry, thirsty.*

In Cush: Afar /yabas/ *be dry*; /yubūs/ *dry, waste (land)*. However, this may be borrowed from Sem.

YGB: Arab /ğb/ *impregnate (a palm tree).*

As the meaning and even form of the Hbr entry is uncertain, any comparison must be likewise.

YGV: Syr /ygy/ *A warn off, prohibit, repel, expel*; Arab /wğy/ *(+tD) (horse) feel pain in hooves; (+A) find, make worthless; A abstain (from); (hunter) return empty-handed*; G&z /wg'/, /wg&/ *push, gore, transfix (with horns etc.)*; Te /wgV/ *push away, discard.*

The root is rather heterogeneous semantically, whereas G&z is specialized — though still compatible — and deviates also phonologically.

YG&: Akk /egū/ *be tired, careless, negligent*; Arab /wğ&/ *ache, feel pain*; /wağa&/ *pain, disease.*

Cf. the root /gw&/ above. Eg /wrğ/ is phonologically hazardous.

YGR: Arab /wğr/ *dread, caution o.s. (agst.)*; /wağar/ *fear.*

Cf. also /ygr-/, /y'gr-/ in Phoen Npr (Harris, *Grammar* p. 106). Root var. of /gwr/ III above.

YD: Phoen /yd/, (pl.) *iadem: hand, side*; Ug /yd/, /-'id/, /-d/ *hand, power; handle; penis; portion*; Aram /yd/, /yad/ *hand, foreleg; side*; Syr /īd/ *hand, arm, foreleg, glove; power, extraordinary deed; bank (of a river)*; Amor /yad/, /yid/ *hand*; Akk /id/ =, *arm, side; power; reward, payment*; Arab /yad/ *hand, arm, foreleg, wing, sleeve, handle; might, help*; ESA /yd/, /'d/ (pl. /'yd/) *hand; part*; Mhr /xayd/ (pl. /xādūten/) =, *arm*; Soq /'eđ/ *hand*; G&z /'d/ =, *arm, foreleg, glove, handcuff, sleeve; part, portion, side, place*; Te /'de/ *hand, forefoot/-hoof; piece, length (of); (a) time, turn; district*; Har /iği/ *hand; part*; Ch Sdd /äğ/, Wol /əňğ/ *hand, arm, handle*; ?Bed /ay/ *hand; five*; (Reinisch; Fleming: /εyi/ *hand*, /εi/ *five*); ?Chad: Ron (Fyer) /ya/ *hand*; ?Eg /d/ *hand (sign only)*; /dyw/ *five* (Baer).

For more Cush attestations see Cohen no. 493. The Mhr entry contains the petrified PTdt (Johnstone). The non-Sem entries are all phonologically more or less defective compared with the Sem ones, but conceivably as somewhat different results of separate phonetic developments. Eg /&/ seems too hazardous, cf. the note on /dl/ above. Ebl /i-ad/, (instr.) /i-da/ *hand.*

YD(D): Ug /yd/ *love*; /ydd/, /mdd/ *beloved, darling*; Aram (Sfire) /mwdd/ *friend*; Syr /yaddīd/ *beloved, darling*; Amor /ydd/ *love*; /yadīd/, /mūdad/ *beloved, darling*; Akk /mūdād/, /namadd/ =; Arab /wd/ *love, be fond (of), wish*; /wadd/ *love, desire*; ESA /wdd/ *love; St agree*; /mwd/ *friend, ally*; Soq /wudd-/ *will, would*; Har /wdd/ *love; tQ be preferred*; /däd/ *love, friendship*; /wådāği/ *friend*; Sdd /wäddädä/, Wol /wäd-/ *love, like*; Sdd /wäđağ/ *friend, mate*; /wo-/ =, *lover, sweetheart*; ?Tu /awd/ *treat softly, with consideration.*

The Tu entry must be considered doubtful because of the alternation of Tu /w/ with /g/, and so the root may be original to Sem only. Cf. the root /dwd/ above.

YDV: Aram /ydV/ *confess; A =, admit; thank, praise*; Syr /ydV/ *A = ; join treaty*; Amor /wdV/ *A thank (?)*; Arab /wdy/ *pay the blood-price; St acknowledge (debt, right).*

Cf. the root /wdV/ above. Eg /dw'/ seems too hazardous phonologically.

YD&: Phoen /yd&/ *know*; /d&t/ *knowledge, attention*; Ug /yd&/ *know*; /d&t/ *acquaintance*; /md&/ *friend*; Aram /yd&/ *know, experience; be intimate (with)*; Syr = ; Amor /yd&/ *know*; /da&(at)/, /di&(at/atān)/ *knowledge*; Akk /idū/, /edū/, (OAss) /idā'/; /(w)adū/, (M/NAss) /udā'/ *know, understand*; Arab /yd&/ *A impose (pilgrimage) on o.s.*; /wd&/ *be quiet, calm; let, permit; (+tL) take leave (of); A entrust (with), deposit; L be reconciled (to); tL make peace (with)*; ESA /yd&/ *(+D) know, take care; inform; H inform; St consult; seek a favour*; /d&/ *know, be informed (of)*; /wd&/ *deposit; tranquillity, quiet*; Mhr /wd&/ *know; H tell, inform; ∫ keep safe*; /wədɛ̄t/ *pledge*; Soq /'edax/ *know*; G&z /yd&/ *A say, tell, indicate, make known*; ?Har /ēda/ *tell, inform*; ?Ch /odä/, ?Sdd =, /wodä/, (+Wol) /ewädä/ =.

In Cush: Saho /da&/, /Λa&/, /dī&/, /Λag/; Afar /de&/, /Λa&/, /dag/, /Λag/ *know*; and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 112; Dolgopolsky p. 316 (for Om too). In the light of these, the root is best considered original to Sem and Cush, even if the Cush forms might have influenced the Eth Sem forms and perhaps also limited the semantic field. The Arab meanings are quite compatible with intimacy and attention, so there is no need to postulate a different root, only a somewhat one-sided semantic development. The root appears to have been biradical, with initial augments added differently in different languages, at times serving to differentiate between different varieties of meaning. Ebl (pref) /ì-da/.

YHB: Aram /yhb/ *give, put, place*; Syr = ; *let, cause (that)*; Arab /whb/ *give, bestow; assume*; ESA /whb/ *give, donate*; Soq (imp) /habu/, /hibo/ *give, let*; /weheb/ *generous*; G&z /whb/ *give, let; put*; Te /hb/ *give*; /hibät/, /hyab/, /mähayb/ *gift, present*; Ch Sdd /abä/, Wol /wabä/ *give, let*; Ch Sdd Wol /wabi/ *generous*; Bed /au/ *give*; Bil /uw/ = ; ?Eg /h'b/ Cpt /håb/ *send.*

Further in Cush: Saho Afar /häb/ *give, let (etc.)*; Afar /hau/ *give*; Quara /yuw/ = ; cf. also Cohen no. 500. Why Te should have lost an initial /w/ without any trace (while in other languages it is now generally recognized as a secondary root augment) and developed characteristics of hollow roots instead escapes me; even the neighbouring Cush languages, likewise lacking /w/, do not provide parallel forms close enough to have precipitated such a wholesale loss; but they might have had influence enough to forestall the development of /w/-initial forms in the first place.

YHR: Aram /yhr/ *be proud, boast*; Arab /yhr/ *St lose mind; ascertain, persist (in)*; /yah(a)r/ *persistency, troublesomeness*;?ESA /yhr/ *H exalt (?).*

The ESA entry, if relevant, has preserved or acquired a neutral/positive connotation as against negative tendencies elsewhere. Cf. also Blau, V.T. 5 p. 342 (with /w-/!).

YWD: Aram = Hbr: Syr = ; (pl.) /yūde/ *amulet.*

LW, apparently from Phoen.

YWXN: Aram /yo^{w}xannå’/ *kind of locust.*

Borrowed from a Hbr Npr.

YWM/YM: Phoen /ym/, (pl.) *iymmoth: day*; Ya /ywm/, (pl.var.) /ym-/ = ; Ug /ym/ = ; Aram /yo^{w}m/ = , *daylight, lifetime*; Syr /yawm/ *day*; Akk /ūm/ = , *time; storm*; Arab /yawm/ *day, time*; ESA /ywm/, /ym/ = ; Mhr /yəmō/, /-oh/ *today*; /xəyawm/ *sun*; Soq /yom/ *day*; G&z /yom/ *today*; Te = ; *day; this (year, winter)*; Har /yām/ (,/yōm/, /yäwm/) *day*; ?Bed /yāym/, /āyim/ *spend the day.*

The Har varr. are LWW from Arab. The initial accretion of the last Mhr entry is the petrified PTdt (Johnstone). The Bed entry may also be based on Arab, as Hsa /yau/ no doubt. Amm (pl.) /(b)ywmt/.

YWN: ?Aram (Mandaic) /yawn/, /yūn/ *clay.*

YZN: Phoen /m’znm/ *scales*; Ug /mznm/ = ; /mzn/ *weight*; Aram /mo^{w}dni^{y}n/, /mo^{w}zany/, /-znayy/, /-znåwån/ *scales*; Arab /wzn/ *weigh; be equal/worth*; /wazn(at)/ *weight, measure*; /mīzān/ *scales, balance, measure*; Mhr /wzn/ *weigh*; /wēzən/ *weight*; G&z /mizan/ *scales, balance*; /mzn/ *(D?) weigh*; Te /mezan/, /mizan/ *scales, balance, plummet*; /mzn/ *D*, /mezänä/ *weigh (also figuratively)*; Har /mizān/ *scales, balance*; /mēzäna/ *weigh*; Ch Sdd Wol /mizan/ *scales, balance*; Ch /mezärä/, Sdd /mizzänä/, Wol /mez-/ *weigh, count*; Eg /wdn/ *be heavy, burden.*

The principal noun is a *Kulturwort*, the verb in Eth denominative from it; on Eg /d/ cf. /’zn/ above and the first Aram form. ?Ebl /wa-za-nu-um/, /-núm/ (=giʃ-DILMUN).

YZ&: Ug /d&/ *perspire*; /d&t/ *perspiration*; Aram /de^{y}&(a)t/ = ; Syr /dū&t/ = , *foam, resin*; Akk /zu’t/, /zūt/, /iz-/ *sweat, perspiration*; Arab /wδ&/ *(water) flow*; /wzγ/ + *A (she-camel) scatter (urine)*; G&z /wxz/ *flow (water, tears, milk, blood)*; Te /wxz/ *flow, stream*; Har /awåza’a/ *(A) sweat*; /wuzi’/ = (n.); Ch /awzasa/, Sdd /awäzza/, Wol /-za/; (n.) Ch /wəzat/, Sdd = , /wuzat/, Wol /wəzi/, /wuzih/ = .

The Sdd Wol varr. are my recordings. Transposition with devoicing of the pharyngal in North Eth, probably to differentiate from a semantically more original var., subsequently lost (cf. South Eth & Arab).

YXD: Ug /yxd/ *lone, only: (religious) community?*; Aram /yxi^{y}d/ *lone, only, unique; private person*; /yxd/ *D unite; leave alone; determine; declare (God’s) unity*; Syr /īxīd/ *only, unique*; /yxd/ *D unite*; Amor /yxd/ *be one, alone*; Akk /(w)ēd/ *one, only, (a)lone*; Arab /wxd/ *be unique,* *apart, identical, D unify, identify*; /waxīd/ *solitary, only, unique*; ESA /wxd/ *one, single*; Mhr /wəxayd/ *solitary, alone*; G&z /wχd/ *be few, little, less*; /waxd/ *unique, only-begotten*; /wxd/ *tQ/tL be united; St(L) unite; declare (God's) unity*; Te /xd/, /wxd/ *be little.*

In G&z, the root has split phonologically and semantically, the /x/-var. concentrating on theological usage; in Te, this has been lost. Cf. the root /'xd/. ?Ebl /wa-χi-zu/ *a profession.*

YXL: ?Syr /yxl/ *A despair*; ?Arab /wxl/ *sink into mud; A afflict (with evil).*

A hope too long tested may turn into despair and affliction. Of the ESA /wxl/?, the final rad. has broken off.

YXM: Aram /yxm/ *D (make to) be in 'heat', sexually receptive*; Arab /wxm/ *(pregnant woman) have a craving*; /waxam/ *craving, lust*; Eg /xmt/ *vulva; woman, wife, slave-girl.*

Based on the root /xm(m)/ above; Eg may have been differentiated separately.

YXP: Aram /yxp/ + *D go barefoot*; Syr /nxp/ = ; /xepyåy/, /īxep/ *barefoot*; Arab /xfy/ + *Qt go barefoot*; ?/wχf/ *Qt slip (foot)*; ?Mhr /wxf/ *live (with one's animals); Qt come in the evening, stay.*

The second Arab entry might have meant originally stepping into mud; on the other hand, nomadic life may often involve going barefoot.

YXR: —

Appears not to have cognates elsewhere.

YXʃ/S: Aram /yxs/ *D trace, record (genealogy, events); distinguish, raise to nobility*; Arab /wx$/ *St miss, feel lonely.*

Y7B: Phoen /my7b/ *best (of)*; Aram /y7b/ *be good, well; A = ; do good, perform well*; Syr /y7b/ *tA be helped*; ?Arab /'ay7ib/ *how good ...!* (Guillaume).

In the Arab entry, /y/ may not necessarily be radical; cf. the Syr form (with /w/). Cf the root /7wb/ above.

YYN: Ug /yn/ *wine*; Akk /īn/ = ; Arab /wayn/ *black grapes*; ESA /wyn/, (lx) /yyn/ *vine(yard)*; G&z /wäyn/ =, *wine*; Wol /wäyn/ *wine*; Bed /wayni/ *vine.*

The Wol entry is my recording; the same also in AmhS. Further in Cush: Quara /wayn/ *wine*; Saho =, *vine*. The word is an ancient, non-Sem *Kulturwort*; for attestations elsewhere see K-B^{3}.

YKX: Aram /ykx/ *A rebuke, convince, decide*; Arab /wkx/ *trample (upon); A be weary, interrupt, cease, abstain (from); St refrain (from giving)*; /wk&/ *reprehend, strike (on the nose); (scorpion) sting; A lack good qualities, cause inconvenience.*

The basic idea is that of opposition, the basic stem H/A; the so-called primary stem is secondary in this root where it exists. Cf. the root /nkx/ below, and /wkx/ above.

YKL: Aram /khl/ *be able (to)*; /ykl/ =; *overpower*; Amor /kahal/ *might*; /kihil/ *mighty(?)*; Arab /khl/ + *Qt, L reach maturity; Qt, tD (plant) be full-grown*; ESA /khl/ *be able*; /khlt/ *faculty, potency*; Mhr /khl/ *be able (to)*; Soq /khl/, /kol/ =, *(learn to) know*; /kohote/ *force*; G&z /khl/ *be able (to); overpower*; Te /khl/ *be able, tolerate, persevere; tQ be possible*; /kähälat/ *patience*; Sdd /čalä/, Wol =, /ʃalä/ *be able (to)*; Bed /akir/ =; Bil /gäräs/ =; *be possible*; Tu /aglu/, /agər/ *surpass*; Chad: Dghwede /gwla/ *be able.*

The second Aram entry may be loan from Hbr; thus, Hbr seems to be the only language with initial augment in this root. This fact may support the assumption that Arab etc. /wkl/ originally derives from this root, as trust, confidence and ability are closely connected concepts (cf., e.g., root /'mn/ above). For more Cush attestations see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 157; Cohen no. 171.

YL(L): Aram /yll/ *D wail, lament*; Syr /yll/ *A* =; Arab /wl/ *R wail, howl, shriek.*

Akk /alāl/ is not a lamentation, and G&z /wäyle/ is combination of /wäy/ with /'le/. Onomatopoeic.

YLD: Phoen /yld/ *bear; (Y?) beget; child(?)*; Ug /yld/ *bear*; (+ /wld/) *child*; Aram /yld/ *bear; produce; D act as a midwife; give birth*; Syr /yld/ *bear, give birth, produce; D act as a midwife; divert*; Akk /(w/m)alād/, (M/NAss) /ulād/ *bear; beget, produce*; Arab /wld/ =; ESA /wld/ *bear; H beget; son, child*; Mhr /wəlēd/ (coll.) *children*; G&z /wld/ *bear, beget, procreate*; /wäld/ *son, child, offspring; boy, youth, servant*; /wälät/ *daughter, girl*; Te /wld/ *bear, beget; germinate; (star) rise; A act as a midwife*; /wäd/, /wäl(d)-/ *son, child, youth; fruit*; /wälät/ *daughter, girl, female young*; /walde/ *generation, offspring*; Har /wld/ *bear, beget*; /wīğ/, /liği/ *child*; /wåldi/ =; *son*; Sdd /wällädä/, Wol /-l-/ *give birth*; Ch /ärč/, Sdd /wäld/, Wol /weğ/, /liği/ *child, son, boy, male*; Berb: Rif /u/ (pl. /aiθ/) *son*; /ult/ *daughter*; Sus =; /illi/ *my daughter*; Fass /yellī/ (pl. /t(i)yessī/) *daughter*; Tu /aw/, /ag/, /u/ (pl. /ait/, /dag/) *son (of)*; /ul(ə)t/, /wəl(ə)t/, /ələt/, /ʃet/ (pl. /ʃet/, /ʃăt/) *daughter (of)*; /yell/ *girl, daughter, niece, cousin's daughter (etc.)*; ?/iwi/, /əhəw/ *be born*; Lib /'w/ *son (of)*; Chad: Yedina /ūli/, /ūği/ (pl. /wēle/); Kotoko (Kuseri) /wulo/ *son*; ?Eg /yd/ *youth, young man* (Vycichl after Ember).

Baer considers the Eg entry poor both phonetically and semantically; however, some Eth and Berb forms are comparable, phonetically even more, even if these are of a more recent date. Cf. the root /wld/ above. Cohen's (no. 498) Cush entries are too equivocal without any further attestations. Ebl *D* nag f., /mu-wa-li-tum/ *puerpera (?); A* nag f., /mu-li-tum/, /-tù/ *midwife.*

YLP: ?Aram /ylp/ *be used to*; ?Arab /wlf/ *come in sequence; L be familiar with, attached to*; ?Mhr /wlf/ *Qt/ʃ be(come) friends*; ?Te /wlf/ *tD be(come) used to, have desire.*

The semantic connection with Hbr is rather feeble for all four.

YM: Phoen /ym/ *sea*; Ug =; Aram /yamm/ =; Syr =, *lake, marsh*; Amor /yamm/ *sea*; Akk /yām/ =; Aram /yamm/ =; ?Hsa /yammā/ *west(ward)*; Eg /ym/ *sea*; (Dem.) =; *lake; receptacle*; Cpt /yom/ *sea; wine vat.*

The Akk, Eg-Cpt and probably Arab entries are loans from NWSem; the Hsa form with its perfect parallel in Hbr is strange; it might be connected with the word for water (cf. the root /m/ below), but then, so could this root as a whole, and even so the parallel is strange, as the Hausas are not known to have lived east of a major body of water for any appreciable time. Perhaps there is some forgotten mythological motif behind it? (cf. the common combination of west with the ocean or other major body of water as the abode of the deceased in the mythologies round about the eastern Mediterranean). Or from the next root (with progressive assimilation)?

YMN: Ug /ymn/ *right hand (side)*; Aram /yammi^{y}n/ =; Syr =; *oath*; Amor /yamin/ *right (hand side)*; Akk /imn/ *right hand* (+ /imitt/, /em-/ *(side)*; Arab /yamīn/ =; ESA /ymn/ =, (+/ymnt/) *south; H go/turn right*; Mhr /xaymǝl/ *right hand (side)*; Soq /’imhel/ =; G&z /yä-man/ =; Te /man/ =; ?Hsa (cf. /ym/ above, with note); Eg /ymn/ *(to the) right; western* ; /ym(n)t/ *west, realm of the dead*; /ymnty/ =; *western*; /-tyw/ *the dead*; /wnmy/ *right hand (side)*; /wnmt/ *right eye; the sun*; Cpt /amnte/ *the nether world; hell, inferno*; /emnt/ *west, occident; western, occidental.*

In Mhr Soq, the word for left hand (side) may have influenced the final rad.; the initial accretion in Mhr is again the petrified PTdt. In Sem, the directions are determined facing the rising sun; in Eg, facing the Nile upstream and analogously in Hsa? (cf. RO 24:1 p. 123). NB. the Te form without the initial augment. Amm (sf.) /(m)tymtn/ *from their southernmost*; Ebl /i-me-tum/ *right hand*; ?/a-/ = ? (cf. /’mn/ above).

YNV: Aram /ynV/ *A (op)press, take advantage (of)*; Arab /wny/ *be weak, remiss; forsake, give up; A weaken, enervate.*

YNV II: ?Ug /ynt/ *dove(?)*; Aram /yo^{w}n(t)/ *dove*; Syr /yawn/ =.

Stade's etymology from /’nV/ somewhat too far-fetched to be fully convincing.

YNQ: Ug /ynq/ *suck*; /mʃnq[t/ *wet nurse*; Aram /ynq/ *suck; D, A suckle*; Syr /ynq/ *suck; A suckle*; Akk /enēq/ *suck; ʃ suckle*; Arab /nāqat/ *she-camel*; ESA /nqt/ =; Bed /nūg/ *nipple*; Bil /ungū/ *female breast, nipple, teat*; Som /nūg/ *suck(ing)*; /nāg/ *woman, wife*; Eg /snq/ *suckle, suck*; (Dem.) /snqy/ *suck*; Cpt /sånk/, /såmk/, /såmg/ *suck, drink.*

For further Cush attestations cf. Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 35 and Dolgopolsky p. 175f. Along with Arab, and the Hbr & Eg-Aram varr. they should be sufficient to prove that the root was originally biradical. Vycichl, Discussions in Egyptology 1 p. 67 considers the Arab pl. /’aynuq/ proof that the initial /y-/ was originally present in Arab too; if it was the only pl. form of /nāqat/ the argument would have some weight, but being a rarely attested form out of eleven, it is more likely to have been derived through metathesis from /niyāq/, cf. /'awnuq/ apparently from /'anwuq/ etc. Derivation of the Cpt vowel from /ay/ does not follow normal phonetic rules either, where developments can be empirically followed.

YSD: Ug /ysd/ *found*; /msdt/ (pl.) *foundations (of earth)*; Aram /ysd/ +*D found, establish, arrange*; Syr /'essåde/ (pl. tantum) *support for head*; Akk /iʃd/ (etc.) *foundation*; Arab /wsd/ *D put pillow under the head; rely (upon); tD use as a pillow*; /wisād(at)/, /wa-/ /wu-/ *pillow, cushion*; ESA /m$d/ *base (of a statue)*.

NB. the ESA and Akk sibilants.

YSD II: —

Root var. of /swd/, q.v.

YSK: Phoen /ysk/ *pour, cast (metal)*.

Cf. the roots /nsk/ and /swk/ below.

YSP: Phoen /ysp/ *add*; Aram /ysp/ *A =; repeat*; Syr =; Akk /ecēp/ *double, multiply*; /(w)acāb/, /acāp/ *add, augment*; ESA /w$f/ =; /wsf/ *(god) grant in abundance*; Soq /sef/ *come after, augment*.

NB. the variation in the sibilant. Cf. the root /'sp/?

YSR: Ug /ysr/ *chasten, instruct*; /wsr/ *D =; warn?*; Aram /ysr/ *tD be chastened*; Akk /esēr/, (Ass) /esār/; varr. /as-/; /ezēr/, /ec-/ *enclose, regulate, imprison*; Soq /ysr/ *ought to; be able (to)*.

The common theme is rather coercive instruction, with some more lenient variation. NB. the variation in the sibilant again.

Y&D: Ug /&dt/ *assembly; (appointed) time(?)*; ?/m&d/ *assembly(?)*; Aram /y&d/ *designate for wife; warn*; Arab /w&d/+*D promise; L appoint (time, place)*; ?/wγr/ *A make appointment*; ESA /w&d/ *promise; H appoint (time)*; /mw&d/ *appointed time; assembly*; Mhr /w&d/ ʃ *make appointment*; /wɛ̄d/ *meeting place; promise*.

Proposed connection with Eth /w&l/ is not convincing (Leslau). Cf. the root /w&d/ above. Distinction between /muwwad/ and /-wed/ in Sam (cf. B-CH, Tradition IV p. 124) is late; e.g., the 14th century Ms.B still has /-ed/ in Ex 9:5 Nm 16:2 (agst. CD /-ad/).

Y&V: Aram /yå&/ *(ash-)shovel, scoop*; Arab /w&y/ *accumulate (victuals etc.); (pus) be secreted, flow*; /wi&ā'/, /wu-/ *vessel, bag*.

Y&Z: —

Root var. of /&z(z)/, q.v.

Y&L: Amor /y&l/ *profit*.

Arab /w&l/ seems rather connected with the next root (and with it, /&lV/ below).

Y&L II: Ug /y&l/ *wild (mountain) goat*; Aram /ya&l/ =; Syr =; *unicorn*; Amor /ya&il(at)/ *mountain goat*; Arab /wa&(i)l/ =; /w&l/ *overtop;*

tD, St climb (a mountain; ESA /w&l/ *be eminent, rule over(?); mountain goat*; Mhr /wēl/ *mountain goat*; G&z /w&la/ *kind of gazelle*; Te /wär&e/ *mountain goat.*

Probably an old root var. of /&lV/; the noun apparently a wandering word.

Y&N: ?Arab /wa&n(at)/ *whitish hard and barren ground.*

On this etymology, /bat/ would be an original and essential part of the designation for the bird. For an alternative, see K-B[3]; but it seems semantically too tenuous.

Y&P: Arab /w&f/, /wγf/ *be weakened (sight).*

Root var. of /&yp/, q.v.

Y&P II: ?Arab /na&f/ *high ground* (Guillaume after Tritton).

Root var. of /yp&/?

Y&C: Phoen /y&c/ *advisor*; Aram /y&c/, /y&7/ *D advise*; Arab /w&¢/ *exhort, warn, preach*; ESA /&¢t/ *admonition, counsel.*

Cf. the root /&wc/ below.

Y&R: Phoen (Pu) /yr/, *iar: forest*; Ug /y&r/ =; *thicket*; Aram /ya&r/ =; Syr /ya&r/ *(useless) bushland, thicket, brushwood*; Arab /w&r/ *be hard, rugged, uneven (ground)*; G&z /wär&/ *hard, rugged, rough place.*

Transposition in G&z. Eg /wx't/ *oasis* has different basic meaning.

YPV: Phoen (NPu) /yp'/ *fitting*; Syr /ypV/ *A complete, perfect; expire, come to an end*; /p'V/ *be beautiful, pleasant*; Arab /wfy/ *fulfil (a promise), pay (a debt); atone (for a fault); be plentiful, complete; tD receive one's due; tD ps die*; /wafiyy/ *faithful to promise; perfect, complete*; ESA /wfy/ *make perfect; protect; perfection, integrity, safety, welfare*; Mhr /wfV/ *H pay in full*; /wōfi/ *honest, faithful*; G&z /wfy/ *A (sur)render, deliver, commit, pay (in full)*; Te /wfV/ *be complete; A complete; tD die*; ?Tu /ufu/, /afu/ *be better (than), preferable.*

The Sem entries are semantically quite coherent, seeing that completion overlaps with both coming to an end and perfection, while perfection equals beauty; the Tu entry stops short of perfection, and as the root has only one consonantal radical, the phonological basis is not very secure either. The Te entry has been influenced by Arab, but hardly borrowed completely.

YP&: Ug /yp&/ *arise (?prevail?)*; Aram /yp&/ *appear*; Amor /yp&/ *shine*; Akk /(w)apū/, (OAkk) /wapā'/ *be(come) visible, appear*; Arab /waf&/ *lofty building; rain-cloud*; /wafa&/ *(young) adult*; /yafa&/, /-ā&/ =; *hill*; /yf&/ + *A be grown up, (young) adult*; ESA /yf&/ + *tD rise, go up; raise; be valid; St exalt.*

Eg /wbχ/ *shine, light (up)* is phonologically difficult and semantically one-sided. The basic meaning may be rising high, eminence; this amounts to good visibility which is characteristic of shining too; and as the Arab distinction between /w/- and /y/-forms has no semantic parallel, there does not seem to be sufficient reason to split the root in two. ?Ebl (gn) /a-ba-i/ *sight, appearance(?)*.

YPT: ?Phoen /mpt/ *dignitary(?)*; Aram /mo^{w}pt/ *sign, portent.*

Perhaps a root var. of /ptV/ (being persuasive or convincing). The Aram entry seems to be loan from Hbr.

YC’: Phoen /yc’/, (nag pl.) *iusim: come out; attack; (sun) rise*; /c’n/ *small cattle*; Ya /mwq’/ *(sun)rise*; Ug /yc’/, /y¢’/ *come, go, bring out; appear*; /c’in/ *small cattle*; Aram /y&V/ *burst forth, bloom*; Syr /y&V/ *grow, rise, appear*; Amor /yc’/, /wc’/ *go out*; Akk /(w)acū/, (OAkk OAss) /wacā’/, (Ass) /ucā’/, (NAss) /ucū/ *go out, forth*; Arab /wΛ’/ *tD attain puberty*; /Λā’in/, /Λa’(a/ī)n/ *sheep*; ESA /wΛ’/ *exit, go forth; S carry off; St proceed*; /Λ’n/ (coll.) *sheep*; /m¢’/ *exit, limit, shore*; Soq /’eΛa/ *(herbs) grow, 'push out'*; G&z /wΛ’/, /wc’/ *exit; go/come out, forth*; Har /w7’/ =; /āča/ *take off, out; bring out, reveal; vomit*; Ch /wä7a/, Sdd /-77a/, Wol /-7ä/ *go/ come out, ascend, (sun) rise*; ?Chad: Ron (Fyer) /sa/ *come out*; Eg /wğ’/ *go (forward, to)*.

The common meaning is movement outward and forward; as this is also characteristic of small cattle on being taken to pasture, particularly in comparison with rather slow-moving cows etc., and the sibilant agrees everywhere, derivation from this root is plausible. The Chad entry also is quite regular assuming that it derives from the more original unaugmented root form (cf. /ykl/ above and /yqʃ/ below), but /s/ could derive from so many pre-Chadic consonants that the entry must be considered uncertain. Ebl (pref 3.) /ì-ca/; ?/wa-za-(ù-)um/, /-zu-um/ (=ʃu-gub).

YCB: Aram /ycb/ *D establish*; Arab /wcb/ *apply o.s. (to); manage s.th. skilfully; last, continue; be firm, settled; A persevere (in)*; /w¢b/ *apply o.s. assiduously (to), persevere (in); trample (upon the ground).*

Cf the root /ncb/ below. NB. the variable Arab sibilant.

YC&: ?Phoen (Pu) /cw&t/ *type of sacrifice*; Aram /yc&/ *A, D spread (out), unfold (mattress etc.), prepare (bed)*; Arab /wΛ&/ *put (down), place, (+D) humble, behead; D wad (a garment)*; ESA /wΛ&/ *subdue, humiliate*; /mc&/ *minted (coin).*

NB. the variable sibilant again.

YCQ: Phoen /ycq/ *statue (?)*; Ug /ycq/ *pour out; cast (metal).*

Cf. the root /cwq/ II below. A *Kulturwort?* cf. Eg /wdx/ Cpt /wåth/ *pour out; cast (metal).*

YCR: Phoen /ycr/ *potter*; Ug =; *shape, create, cultivate*; Aram /yicr/ *instinct*; Syr /yacr/ =, *thinking*; Akk /ecēr/, (Ass) /ecār/ *mark, draw, sketch, form.*

Cf. the root /cwr/ III below.

YCT: —

In MT, vocalization implies root var. /cwt/ in Is 27:4. ESA /mwctt/ seems hardly related.

YQB: Arab /waqb(at)/ *cavity, hollow; hole*; ?Mhr /wkb/ *enter; H insert*; ?Soq /'ekob/ *enter.*

As the Hbr noun may mean the cavity into which the wine enters, the Mhr Soq entries could be relevant. However, the connection is loose, and variation between /q/ and /k/ not common either. Cf. the root /nqb/ (and /qb(b)/?) below.

YQD: Aram /yqd/ *burn; (+A) kindle*; Syr /yqd/ *burn (also figuratively)*; Akk /qād/, (lx) /qiād/ *kindle, burn*; Arab /wqd/ + *tD, Qt, St be kindled, lit; blaze*; /waq(a)d/ *fire*; /mawqid/ *fireplace*; ESA /mqd/ =; Mhr /wqd/ *L build up fire*; Wol /muqad/, /maqud/ *lamp, torch*; Berb: Rif /'qqe'δ/ *kindle*; /iγ'δ/, /iγδ'n/ *ashes*; Tu /əqqəd/ *burn (up); be burnt.*

The Te Har Gur /mgd/ may be a different root (cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 393). NB. the lack of augment in Berb.

YQ&: Arab /yq&/ *(rain) fall; (camel) kneel; happen, take place*; /q&/ *R crackle, clash, clatter; overrun (the earth)*; Mhr /wq&/ *happen, be(come); H put down; ʃ fall, be thrown (on to)*; Soq /'eqax/ *become; (try to) divine*; G&z /wq&/ *hit, beat (off, through); thresh*; Te =; Sdd /wäqqa/, Wol /wäqä/ =.

The basic notion may be movement downwards, in Asian Sem more passively and partly shifted towards abstraction, in Eth more actively accentuated.

YQC: Ug /(y)qγ/ *be alert*; Arab /yq¢/ *wake up; be awake, cautious*; ESA /myq¢/ *sleeplessness*; Mhr /wq¢/ *Qt wake up; L awaken*; /tq¢/ =; Soq /tiqe7/ *be awake.*

Akk /akāc/ seems somewhat remote both semantically and phonologically.

YQR: Aram /yqr/ *be heavy, valuable, respected*; Syr =; *be difficult, rare*; Amor /yqr/ *be dear, valuable*; Akk /(w)aqār/ *be rare, dear, valuable, respected*; Arab /wqr/ *be dignified, sedate, patient; D honour, praise; A (debts) burden, crush*; /waqār/, /tayqūr/ *dignity, gravity of conduct, forbearance*; ?Eg /yqr/ *(be) excellent* (Erman-Grapow, Vycichl).

On the Eg entry cf. also (Νιτ)ωκρις (Erman-Grapow); according to Baer, the Eg /y-/ is not normal because of the original /w-/ in Sem; but cf. the Arab /tayqūr/ which seems to imply a root var. with /y-/ in early Sem too.

YQʃ: Ug /yqʃ/ *fowler*; ?Arab /wqc/ *(neck) be broken; (+D) break s.o.'s neck*; ?G&z /wq$/, /wqs/ *litigate, argue against, call to court, prove by argument*; ?Ch /wäqäsä/, ?Sdd /-qq-/ *reprimand, blame*; ?Tu /wăγsăt/ *(animal) be wild*; /wəqqəs/ *flee*; /awăqqas/, (coll.) /iwəγsan/ *wild animal, game*; Chad: Bata (Garua) /kəs/, (Bacama) /kuse/ *catch.*

The entries are semantically rather loosely connected, but nevertheless enough for us to maintain the possibility of cognation; it is interesting that

Chadic, geographically farthest from Hbr, is semantically closest; on the lack of the initial rad. cf. /ykl/ and /yc'/ above. The connecting link for Arab is the birdcatcher's habit to break the quarry's neck; in Eth, the trapping has shifted into abstraction; while Tu concentrates on the intended victim (which has also descended onto the ground) and its attempt to avoid being caught. Arab /waqa$/ *chips of wood* seems still more far-fetched than the above Arab alternative.

YR': Ug /yr'/ *fear*; Arab /wr&/ *be weak, faint-hearted, pious, godly; abstain (from unlawful things etc.)*; ?Te /wär&/ *holy, magic water*; /wr&/ *sprinkle with holy water.*

In Arab /w'r/, the primary meaning seems to have been making fire (which then would frighten wild animals away); in /wr'/, again, the central theme is a distance in any direction or excess. Cf. also the root /yr&/ below.

YRD: Phoen /yrd/ *descend; (Y?) bring down*; Ug /yrd/ *descend; ʃ present (god, with offerings)*; Aram /'(a)ritt/ *channel, watercourse*; Syr /yard/ = ; Amor /yrd/ *descend*; Akk /wrd/*tD, tL, St come down (to water)*; ESA /wrd/ *descend; (spring) arrive*; Mhr /wrd/ *go down to water*; /mawrəd/ *watering-place*; Soq /'ered/ *go down to water (animals)*; /red/, /'erod/ *let (animals) drink*; /ʃered/ *drink*; /merod/ *water*; G&z /wrd/ *descend*; Te = *(to water); tD = (ps); bet, litigate; watering place, turn; oath*; /ward/ *bet, lawsuit*; /wärdät/ *descent*; Har /wrd/ *descend; tD be supported; At dismember (a slaughtered animal)*; Ch /wän(ä)dä/, Sd /wärrädä/, Wol /-r-/ *descend.*

The Aram and apparently (ultimately) Syr entries have been borrowed from Akk. As water figures prominently also outside these and the Arab Mhr Soq Te entries, the root may have been originally connected with water, as animals' drinking places must have been important for hunters even before the taming of domestic animals.

YRV: Ug /yr(V)?)/ *throw, shoot*; Aram /yrV/ *A teach*; Syr /yrV/ *ʃt (happen to) meet; conflict (with); dare; go into conjunction* (astron.); Akk /(w)arū/, (OAkk, OAss) /warā'/, (M/NAss) /urā'/ *lead, guide, fetch*; Arab /wr/ *throw, reject*; /wry/ *D allude ambiguously; St ask (for advice)*; ESA /wrw/ *attack, fight; H proclaim*; G&z /wrw/ *throw, shoot, precipitate*; Te /wr/ *R throw, fling; winnow*; /wrV/ *threaten, strike, beat; proclaim; L blow*; ?/wäre/ *news*; Sdd /wəräwwärä/, Wol /-äwä-/, /-ō-/ *throw*; ?/wäre/ *news, rumor, lie*; ?Bil /wårays/, /-rīs/ *inform, narrate, proclaim*; /-rē/ *information, news, rumour*; ?Som /wår/ *report* (vb.&n.); *news*; /waran/ *lance*; Chad: Kabalai /wəri/; ?Kwang (Ngam-Mobu) /nyōre/ *throw (a spear, stone)*; ?Eg /w&/ *harpoon.*

The entries referring to providing (or asking for) information, rumour etc. may originally derive from oracular consultation (cf. particularly Arab); but if so, in African entries this has become so remote through semantic generalization that the degree of probability must be considered to be low. The second Chad entry, again, is phonologically difficult. (Further Cush examples in Leslau, Gur III p. 660, and in Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 359). The

Hbr word for early rain could also derive from this root, cf. the English term, precipitation.

YRX: Phoen /yrx/ *moon, month*; Ug /yrχ/ =; Aram /yarx/ =; *new moon*; Syr /yarx/ *month*; Amor /yar(a)χ/, /yer-/ (Ndiv); Akk /(w)arχ/, (Ass) /urχ/ *moon, month*; Arab /wrχ/, /'rχ/ *D date; write chronicle, history*; ESA /wrχ/ *month; moon (god)*; Mhr /warχ/ *month*; Soq ?/'ere/ *moon*; /yerax/ *follow*; G&z /wärχ/ *moon, month*; Te /wärx/ =; Har /wårxi/ *month*; /wåxri/ =, *moon*; Sdd /wärä/, /wara/ *month*; Wol /wärri/, /wər/ =; /wäri/, /wori/ *moon*; Berb: Rif /^{i}yur/, /aggur/ *moon, month*; /iwa^{n}/ *moon*; Sus /ayyūr/ =, *month*; Shilxa /aiur/ =; Tu /əwər/ *be risen, high, upon (moon, sun etc.); moon (?)*;?Hsa /ayari/ *caravan*; Eg /y&x/ *moon*; Cpt /ooh/ =.

Cf. the root /'rx/ above; the moon being the heavenly wanderer κατ' εξοχην, there is little doubt that the roots are cognate. Otherwise too, ancient words like this can be used to work out what phonetic developments are possible rather than trying to fit them into too rigid schemes worked out on the basis of material from more limited periods. In Soq, however, the two entries deviate from each other to the extent that the possibility of the noun deriving from the root /'wr/ must be left open.

YR7: Arab /war7at/ *precipice, abyss*; /wr7/ *D, A hurl down into abyss.*

The entries may be related in any case, but the degree of closeness depends on the exact meaning of the Hbr entry.

YRK: ?Ug /yrk/ *backside? retinue?*; Aram /yirk/ *thigh, side; sexual potency*; Akk /(w)arkat/ *backside, remainder*; Arab /war(i)k/, /wirk/ *haunch, hip-bone*; ESA /wrk/ = (Beeston); Mhr /wərkīt/ *hip*; Te /wärkät/ =, *side*; /wrkV/ *take, drive away*; Ch Sdd /wärčä/ *(top of) front leg (of cattle)*.

The primary reference may be to the region of hip, with different expansions and generalizations in some languages.

YR&: Aram /yr&/ *tQ be faint-hearted, despair*; Arab /yr&/, /wr&/ *be faint-hearted, cowardly*; ESA /wr&/ *H frighten.*

Appears to be an intensified root var. of /yr'/, overlapping with it in Arab. Tent-cloth trembling easily, may belong here.

YRQ: Aram /yrq/ *spit*; G&z /wrq/ =.

Root var. of /rq(q)/, q.v.

YRQ II: Ug /yrq/ *gold*; Aram /yarq/ *herb, vegetable(s)*; /yårq/ *green, yellow*; Syr /yarq/ *vegetables*; /yrq/ *be bluish(?)*; Akk /(w)arāq/ *be yellowish-green, pale*; Arab /waraq/ *leaves, foliage*; (+/war(i)q/, /wirq/, /wurq/) *(coined) silver*; /riqat/ *ground after rain*; /yaraqān/ *jaundice, blight*; ESA /wrq/ *gold; vegetables; vegetable plot*; G&z /wärq/ *gold, coin, money, silver*; Te /wärq/ *silver*; Har /wårīq/ *green, yellow*; Gur /wärq/ *gold*; Sdd /worq/, Wol /wərq/ =; Bil /wårq/ =; Berb: Rif /ur'γ/, /auraγ/ =; /ur'γ/, /urǟγ/ *be(come) yellow*; Zenaga /ūri/ *gold*;

Eg /y'qt/ *leek, vegetables*; /w'ğ/ *(be) green, fresh*; Cpt /ēɋe/ *leek*; /wåt/ *be/grow green, fresh, pale.*

Also in Cush: Or /warqe/, Sid /wərka/, Konso /warqēta/ *gold*; and cf. Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 360, Cohen no. 511. The Sdd Wol varr. as well as Or Sid entries are my recordings. Baer considers the first Eg entry, if connected, LW; some words for the garden vegetables are certainly *Kulturwörter*, so maybe this one too, as the word for gold (etc., with shift in meaning) no doubt. On the second Syr entry I wonder whether Brockelmann has got the hue quite right.

YRʃ: Phoen /trʃ/ *wine*; Ug /trθ/, /mrθ/ =; /yrθ/ *take possession, inherit; heir*; /rθt/ *net*; Aram /yrt/ *take possession, inherit*; Syr =; Akk /raʃū/, (OAkk, Ass) /raʃā'/ *gain, obtain, acquire*; Arab /wrθ/ *inherit*; /'irθ/, /wirθ/, /turāθ/, /mīrāθ/ *inheritance*; ESA /wrθ/ *tD receive (as) inheritance; H appoint as an heir*; /trθt/ *inheritance*; Mhr /wrθ/+ʃ *inherit*; /warθ/, /wɛrθ/ *inheritance*; Soq /'eret/ *inherit*; G&z /wrs/ =, *occupy, take possession*; Te /wrs/ *inherit*; (+/rs(t)/, /meräs/) *inheritance*; Har /wrs/ *inherit, confiscate*; Sdd /wärräsä/, Wol /-r-/=.

It is not clear whether to *inherit* or the wider concept of taking possession is the primary one; in any case, the latter too is ancient enough to provide etymology for the word for wine: *that which takes possession of you.*

Yʃ: Phoen (Poenulus 946) *ys: there is*; Ug /'iθ/, /iʃi/ =; Aram /'iʸt/ =; Syr =; Akk /iʃū/ *have*; /laʃʃu/, /(NAss) /lāʃu/, /-ʃi/ neg.; Arab /laysa/ *not be.*

All these entries are relevant on the assumption that the primary meaning of the root is *substance* which claims respect (cf. Iob 32:6) and guarantees success. NB. the Ug Arab sibilant. Arab /'aysa/ used by Kindi (Kazi) in contrastive parallel to /laysa/ may be a secondary back formation.

YʃB: Phoen /yʃb/ *sit, dwell; (Y?) settle*; (sf.) *sibitthym: his residence*; Ug /yθb/ *sit, reside*; /mθb/ *dwelling*; Aram /ytb/ *dwell, inhabit*; Syr /ytb/ =, *sit, stay; be quiet, settled, habitable, situated*; Amor /yʃb/ *sit*; Akk /(w)aʃāb/, (OAkk) /wa$āb/, (Ass) /uʃāb/ *sit (down), stay, dwell*; Arab /wθb/ *sit down, stand up, spring, leap; D seat on cushion; L leap (on), assault*; ESA /wθb/ *sit (down), stay, dwell; (L?) assault; H settle*; /mwθb/ *base, seat, (holy) see*; G&z /wsb/ *A cohabit, marry.*

The Eg /ysbt́/ *seat, throne* is loan from Can (Baer) and /wsf/ *be lazy* seems too remote; the root is thus original in Sem only. NB. the OAkk sibilant.

YʃM: Arab /wθm/ *have scanty vegetation (land)* (Guillaume); ESA /wθmt/ *lean pasture.*

YʃN: Ug /yʃn/ *sleep*; /ʃnt/ = (n.); Aram /ʃiʸnt/ =; Syr /ʃent/ =; Akk /ʃitt/ =; Arab /wsn/ *slumber, sleep (deep); be stifled (by well effluvia)*; /wasan/, /wasnat/, /sinat/ *slumber, sleep, sloth*; ESA /snt/ *sleep* (n.); Mhr /ʃənēt/ =; Soq /ʃinoh/ *night-time*; /miʃin/ *sleeping place*;?Ch /məsarä/ *night*; Chad: West & Central */wsn/, */sn/, */sm/ *sleep*; all groups */(m)swn/ *dream.*

In Cush: Saho /sonit/ *dream*; /sonō/ = (n.). By themselves, these could perhaps be derived from Arab despite both semantic and phonological shifts and morphological adjustment, but in the light of the numerous attestations in Chad it is certainly more plausible to assume survival from common Semito-Hamitic times. The Ch entry likewise can be considered originally derived from this root or rather an early root var. with a weak middle rad.; cf. the last Chad entry morphologically and the first Soq and last Hbr ones semantically. The Chad forms cited are H. Jungraithmayr & K. Shimizu's reconstructions on the basis of attestations in several tens of individual languages.

YʃN II: Ug /yθn/ *(grow) old*; Arab /wθn/ *St remain, survive, be strong.*

Probably an early root var. of the preceding one, phonologically differentiated in these languages only.

Yʃ&: Phoen *Y* nag pl. *mysehi: protect*; /yʃ&/ *preservation (? of eyesight)*; Amor /yʃ&/ *help, save*; Arab /ws&/ *be broad, ample, wide, capacious; encompass, hold; be able; be active, sturdy; (+D,A) enrich; Qt be in easy circumstances, increase, spread out; tD be comfortable, profuse*; ESA /wʃ&/ *H assist, bestow, grant generously; St ask for assistance*; /wʃ&n/ *means, assistance*; /ws&/ *supply generously (with water)*; /w$&/ *grant, give; tD(?) do amply*; /ys&/ *H widen(?)*; Eg /wsχ/ *(be/grow) wide* (Vycichl after Calice no. 168); Cpt /wåʃs/ =, *at ease.*

ESA /yθ&/ occurs in proper names only, hence its meaning and even the root is uncertain; it could be derived, e.g., from a root related to /tθ&t/ *fear* (cf. /ʃt&/ below). Even without it, there is a three-way split of the sibilant and a simple one of the semivowel. Devoicing of the pharyngal in Eg, transposition in Cpt.

YʃP: Syr /yaʃp(eh)/ *jasper*; Akk /(y)aʃpū/ =; Arab /yaʃb/, /-ʃf/, /-cb/, /-cf/ =.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

YʃR: Phoen /yʃr/ *proper, legitimate*; /myʃr/ *bringer of prosperity (?)*; (sf.) *mysyrthohom: their righteousness*; Ug /yʃr/ *(legitimate) right*; Aram /yaʃr/ *right, straight, honest, pious*; Amor /y$r/ *be straight*; Akk /eʃēr/, (Ass) /iʃār/ *be (put) in order, prosper; go to(wards)*; Arab /yasar/ *easy, gentle, tractable*; /yus(u)r/ *gentleness, ease (of life), readiness (to act)*; ?/wθr/ *be(come) smooth, soft (bed, carpet), fleshy, fat (woman)*; ESA /ysr/ *D, H send (troops etc.); H erect (?)*; /mysr/ *level ground, plain*;?/wθr/ *flatten, level; fill up (a well); H lay foundations*; /θrt/, /mwθr/ *foundation*; /'wθr/ (pl.) *plains, lowlands.*

The above Aram entry could be loan from Hbr; cf. Eg-Aram /wʃr/ *H send* (J-H p. 112). In Arab ESA, the sibilant too must be assumed to have differentiated for the second set of entries to be relevant; in Arab, this is not strongly supported by semantics either, but combined with ESA, the meaning becomes plausible. Ebl /i-sa-lum/ *staff; penis(?).*

Yʃ/SR: —

Probably imitative of the name of Israel.

YTB: Arab /wtb/ *stay fast (in a place).*

Probably root var. of /yʃb/; in Hbr, borrowed from Aram.

YTD: Arab /wat(a/i)d/ *stake, tent-peg*; /wtd/ *fix (peg etc.) firmly (to the ground etc.)*; Te /wtd/ =; /mtd/ *peg.*

The noun is a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin (NB. the phon. shift in Te), the verb denominative; in Te, loan from Arab.

YTM: Phoen /ytm/ *orphan*; Ug /ytm/, (f.) /-mt/ =; Aram /yto^{w}m/, /yatm/, (f.) /yatmt/, /ytimt/ =; Syr /yatm/ =; Arab /yatīm/ =, *unique*; Mhr /xəytīm/, (f.) /yətəmūt/ *orphan*; Soq /'aytomoh/ =; Te /yätīm/; Har =.

The initial accretion in the masc. Mhr form is again the petrified PTdt (Johnstone); the Eth ones loans from Arab (Leslau).

YTN: Phoen /'tnm/ *name of a month*; Arab /wtn/ *(water) flow continuously; stay long (in a place)*; /wāθin/ *(water) flowing in a stream; steadfast*; ESA /mhtn/ *perpetually flowing (water).*

Phonological split in Arab.

YTR: Phoen (NPu) /n&tr/ *remaining*; Aram /yåtr/ =; /yatr/ *rope; bowstring*; Syr /ytr/ *remain, be left over; be better, go ahead, increase, overhang, profit*; /yatr/ *rope, nerve, chord, beam*; Amor /ytr/, /wtr/ *be more, abundant, excellent*; Akk /(w)atār/, (Ass) /ut-/, (late Bab) /mat-/ *overgrow, be superfluous*; Arab /wtr/ *put string (to); render (number) odd; tD (sinew) be stretched*; G&z /wtr/ *stretch (bowstring etc.)*; /wätr/ *nerve, chord, string; indefinite time*; Te /wtr/ *(+D, A) stretch (bowstring etc.)*; Har /wåtär/ *nerve, sinew, vein, gut*; Ch /wätärä/, Sdd /-tt-/ *stretch out (hide)*; Gur /wätär/ *nerve, sinew, gut, tendon*; ?Eg /ytrw/ *river, the Nile; canal.*

The basic sense appears to be expansibility; Cpt /etre/ does not seem to be connected (Vycichl, Baer). Cf. the root var. /wtr/ above. For Eg, the semantic link would be the regular Nile overflow; but /y-/ for Sem /w-/ is irregular.

כ

K'B: Aram /k'b/ *feel, suffer pain*; Syr =; *regret, repent*; Arab /k'b/ *be distressed*; /ka'b(at)/, /-bā'/ *sorrow, grief.*

K'R: Aram /mka&ar/ *ugly*; /ke^{y}'u^{w}r/ *ugliness*; Syr /k'r/ *D accuse, confuse, put to shame, punish*; ?Arab /k&r/ *be big-bellied (child), fat-humped (camel).*

The Arab entry might be relevant, if the child was considered as having a (frontal) "hump".

KB: Phoen /kkb/ *star*; Ug /kbkb/ (pl. /kbkbm/, /kkbm/) =; Aram /ko^{w}kb/ =; Syr /kawkb/ =; Amor /kabkab/ =; Akk /kakkab/ =; Arab /kawkab/ =, *constellation*; ESA /kwkb/ *star*; /-bt/ *great number*; Mhr /kəbkīb/ *star; lump, swelling*; Soq /kibʃib/ (pl. /kibkub/, /kibekeb/) *star*; G&z /kokäb/ =; Te =; Ch /χ^{w}äχ^{w}äb/, Sdd /kokäb/ =.

Etymology uncertain; Aram etc. /kbb/ seems to mean primarily *roasting* rather than just burning; Arab /kb/ likewise means upsetting rather than just going round, and does not seem to be used of stars; and neither is widespread, nor is /kbV/ below; cf. /kwV/ below? Ebl /kak-kab/.

KBD: Phoen /kbd/ *honour*; Ug /kbd/ *N be precious; D honour; heavy, standard (weight); interior, liver*; Aram /kbd/ *A anger, infuriate*; /kabd/ *liver*; Syr /kabd/ =; *anger, fury*; Amor /kbd/ *be heavy, honourable*; Akk /kabāt/, (NAss) /-d/ *be heavy, weighty*; /kabatt/, (poet.) /kabtat/, (late) /kabitt/ *liver; mood*; Arab /kbd/ *(+ Q ps) have a liver complaint*; /kabd/, /kibd/ *liver*; /kabid/ =; *centre, inside, cavity; (gold or silver) mine*; ESA /kbd/ *burden, tribute*; Mhr /ʃəbdīt/ *liver*; Soq /ʃibdeh/ =; G&z /käbd/ =; /kbd/ *be heavy, heavier, grave, onerous*; Te /kbt/ *A honour*; /kbd/ *be heavy; A make heavy, load; exaggerate, pretend*; /käbd/ *heart, belly, body interior*; /-dät/ *liver*; Har /kūd/ =; Sdd /käbbädä/, Wol /häb-/ *be heavy*; Ch /aχäb-/ *celebrate, honour*; Sdd /käbbad/, /kubd/, Wol /yəhäbdan/, /hubd/ *heavy, pregnant*; Ch /χäpt/, Wol /häbd/ *liver*.

In Cush: Afar /gabad/ *be heavy, mighty*; /gibīd/ *heavy, weighty*. As it does not seem to have cognates elsewhere in Cush nor indeed anywhere outside Sem, it may be a loan from the latter despite both semantic and phonological shifts. NB. /-t/ in Akk Te Ch.

KBD II: Aram /kbd/ *D sweep, cleanse*.

KBV: Aram /kbV/ *D extinguish (fire)*; Arab /kbw/ *(ashes) smoulder; D cover up (fire); perfume (a garment)*.

Could provide etymology for "stars" (see /kb/ above) as fires that are extinguished in the morning or covered for the day; but the attestation is too scanty to assume secondary losses as the reason for it.

KBL: Aram /kbl/ *chain, bind*; /kibl/ *chain, shackle(s)*; Syr /kabl/ =; Akk /kabāl/ *bind*; Arab /kbl/ *(+ Qt, D) chain, imprison; (+ L) postpone (payment); Qt bind (one's purse), keep (property) for o.s.*; /kabl/, /kibl/ *shackles*; G&z /käbälo/ *circular hole/ring (for tying up)*; /känbälo/ *hair clasp*. Ebl /kà-ba-lum/; /ma-kà-ba-al-tum/.

KBS: Phoen /kbs/ *launderer*; Ug /kbs/, /kb$/ =; Arab /kbs/ *press, squeeze*; (syr.) *D shampoo, rub (body in bath)*; Soq /kbs/ *sink, press down (into)*.

May be cognate with /kbʃ/, q.v.

KB&: Aram /ko^{w}b&/, /q-/ *priestly headdress: Adam's apple*; Syr /qubb&/

(skin, leather) cap, head cover; (column) capital; Arab /qb&/ *hide one's head in one's clothes (man), skin (hedgehog)*; (syr.) /qubba&at/ *cap; conical bonnet*; G&z /qob&/ *priestly headdress, mitre, hood*; Te /qob&ät/ *monk's hood*; Wol /qobi/ *hat*; Chad: Lele /kubu/, Ndam (Dik) /'algaba/ = ; ?Sumray /ǧaguwa/ *straw hat*; (etc.).

For Cush attestation see Leslau, Gur III p. 468. A *Kulturwort* of Hittite origin.

KBR: Phoen /kbrt/ *direction, towards*; Aram /kbår/ *long time (ago, since); already*; Syr /kbr/ *be much, many*; /kabbīr/ *great, many, much, rich*; Amor /kbr/ *be great, big*; Akk /kabā̆r/ *be big, thick*; Arab /kbr/ *be/grow old, big, tall, great*; ESA /kbr/ *be (made) great, leader, in charge; D increase, augment; great, noble; leader, dignitary; leadership, dignity*; Mhr /kbr/ *Qt act arrogantly; ʃ consider large*; Soq /keber/ *oldster*; G&z /kbr/ *be honoured, celebrated, glorious, precious*; Te /kbr/ = ; /kabr/ *honoured, noble*; /käbbar/ *proud*; Ch Wol /akäbärä/, Sdd /-bb-/ *honour, celebrate, respect*; Gur /kəbər/ *honour, respect, glory*; Bed /kbr/ *be honoured; S honour*; /kebra/ *honour, dignity*; Tu /takəbbert/ *good omen*; /kubrət/ *reunite en masse*; /ekēbər/ *large tunic (for women) with large sleeves*; ?Eg /čm'/ *strong (-armed); ?tax-register (of fields).*

Also in Cush: Saho /kabar/ *be honoured; S honour*; /kibre/ = (n.). These, as well as Bed entries, are derivable from Sem LWW, but the Tu ones have no evident Sem originals. The Eg entry is shaky both semantically and phonologically (Baer).

KBʃ: Aram /kbʃ/ *press, trample down; subdue; level, smoothen, plaster; rape; overlook, hide; retain*; Syr /kbʃ/ *tread upon*; Akk /kabās/ *tread (upon, down, out), enter; annul, extinguish*; Arab /kbs/ *press, squeeze, besiege; take by surprise; fill up (a well, cavity); intercalate.*

Cf. the root /kbs/ above. On Hbr Q entry (agst. MT) cf. the context in 1QIs^a.

KBʃ/S: Syr /kebʃ/ *wether*; Amor /kab$(ān)/, (f.) /kab$at/, /ki-/ *lamb, young sheep*; Akk /kabs/, (f.) /-sat/ = ; Arab /kab$/ *ram; chief; battering-ram, pillar, buttress*; Mhr /kab$/ *lamb*; Soq /kob$/ *ram.*

The Syr entry is loan from Arab. Cf. the root /kʃb/ below.

KD: Ug /kd/ *(large) jar; measure of volume*; ?/knd/ (pl. /kndwm/ *jar?*; Aram /kadd/ *jar*; /kaddån/ *small jar*; Syr /kaddån/ = ; Akk (late Bab) /kand/ *jar*; Arab /kadd/ *mortar.*

The Akk entry is loan from Aram (v. Soden); the entire word is a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

KD(D): Aram /kadkd(ån)/ *ruby? chalcedony?*; ?Arab /kadkad/ *stark red(?)*; ?Te /kdkd/ *a red insect.*

As the meaning of the Hbr entry is uncertain, any comparisons are only tentative.

KDR: ?Ug /kdr/ *vulture(?)*; Akk /kadār/ *stand up (against, ready to attack)*; ?Arab /kdr/ *N dart (upon); hurry (walking)*.

Interpretation of the Ug entry is uncertain; while the cited Arab meanings could be derived from those of the primary stem which are hardly compatible with the Hbr ones.

KHV: Aram /khV/ *grow dim; be sad; D make dim, blind*; ?Arab /khy/ *be red-faced & foul-breathed; A abstain (from); Qt be ashamed*; G&z /hky/ *be languid, sluggish*; Te /hkV/ *D grow weary*; /hkkuy/ *lazy*.

The basic meaning appears to be infirmity, realized concretely in rather various ways; transposition in Eth.

KHN: Phoen /khn/, (f.) /-nt/ *priest*; Ug /khn/ =; Aram /kåh(a)n/, /-hi^{y}n/ =; /-hant/ *priest's daughter*; /khunnt/ *priesthood*; Syr /kåhn/, (f.) /-hent/ *priest*; Arab /khn/ *foretell; become diviner; (tD) pretend to be diviner*; /kāhin/ *diviner, steward*; (syr.) *priest*; Soq /keheneh/ (coll.) *priests*; G&z /kahn/ *priest*.

The main noun is a wandering word, the other words, verb included, derived from it; etymology uncertain, possibly a root var. to /kwn/ below. Dolgopolsky p. 212f appears too heterogeneous.

KWV: Aram /kwV/ *burn, glow*; Syr /kwV/ *burn*; Akk /kawū/, /kamū/ =; Arab /kwy/ *cauterize; (scorpion) sting*; Tu /əkwəy/ *grill, broil*; Chad: */kw(n)/ *fry*; */-kw/ *fire*.

In ESA, the root occurs in a Npr only. The Chad entries are Jungraithmayr & Shimizu's reconstructions on the basis of several tens of attestations in different languages. The postulated (unspecified) first rad. for the latter entry, however, has so varied and weak basis (mostly absent) in the attestations that it seems to me to be a secondary accretion (usually prothetic vowel) or created through transposition where present; in the first entry, the final /n/ appears to be considered secondary by the authors themselves.

KWL: Aram /kwl/ + *A measure*; Syr /kyl/ *A measure*; /kayl/ *measure, metre*; Akk /kull/, (Ass) /ka''ul/ *hold (in, fast, occupied, ready)*; Arab /kyl/ *measure, weigh, compare*; ESA /klt/ *area, measurement*; Mhr /kiyōl/ *measure*; Soq /kiol/ =; /kiyil/ = (n.); Te /käyälä/, (n.) /kyal/ =; *tumulus*; /kilät/ *a small measure*; ?Chad: Fyer /kul/ *keep/stay together; care for (a woman)*.

The Mhr entry is on Leslau's (Soq p. 217) authority, Johnstone does not have it. Eth /'kl/ (Leslau, Gur III p. 124) seems semantically somewhat off-beam and also phonologically difficult; in the entries above, /kyl/ appears to be the original shape of the root, although this is mostly reinterpreted as H/A-stem and a secondary "primary" stem with /u/ created beside it in Hbr(?) Aram. Ebl /kí-lí/ *measuring*.

KWN: Phoen /kn/, (Poenulus 934f) *chon: be*; Ug /kn/ =, *L create*; /mknt/ *(dwelling) place*; Aram /kwn/ *D direct, aim, observe, compare*; Syr /kwn/ *be, exist; be straight, firm, able*; Amor /kwn/ *be firm*; Akk

/kān/, (OAkk, Ass) /kuān/ *be true, reliable, firm, lasting*; Arab /kwn/ *be, exist, happen*; ESA = ; /kyn/ *be*; /mknt/ *place, (holy) see, temple*; Mhr /kwn/ *be (constantly); be acceptable*; Soq /kan/, /kon/ *be, happen*; /kan/ (pl. /kohon/, /kihon/) *form, kind, sort*; G&z /kwn/ *happen, take place, be, become, exist*; /mäkan/ *place, space*; Te /'äkan/ *place*; Har /χāna/ *be(come); be all right*; Ch /χärä/, Sdd /konä/, (+Wol) /h-/ *be(come)*; Bed /(h)ān/ = ; Bil /kŭn/ =, *exist*.

For further Cush attestations see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 222; Cohen no. 196. Although little used, the fact that the users are old people and women makes any assumption of borrowing hardly probable. Eg /čny/ seems structurally too remote; Berb /awĕn/ is ambiguous.

KWN II: Syr (pl.) /k'wn's/ = Hbr; Akk /kamān/ *kind of cake*.

LW from Akk; the Syr entry is transliteration of the Gr transcription.

KWS: Ug /ks/ *cup*; Aram /kås/ = ; Syr = ; Akk /kās/ = ; Arab =, /ka's/ = ; /kws/ *(snake) coil o.s. up*; Te /kas/ *cup*; Tu /ăkos/ *cup, (drinking) bowl; (any) receptacle*.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin. An owl may resemble a goblet sufficiently to be named after it.

KWR: Aram /kuʷr/ *furnace*; Syr /kūr/ = ; Akk = ; /kīr/, /kēr/ *(asphalt-)oven*; Arab /kūr/ *furnace, bellows; hornets' nest*; /kīr/ *bellows*; ESA /kwr/ *fireplace*; G&z /käwr/ *furnace*; Eg /qu-ra/ = .

Kulturwörter of Sumerian origin; the Eg entry is transcription of the Sem form.

KZB: Aram /kdb/ + *D lie*; /kadb/ = (n.); /kaddåb/, /kazbån/ *mendacious, liar*; Syr /kdb/ *D lie; prove s.o. liar; desert, give up*; Akk /kazāb/ *lie*; Arab /kδb/ =, *cheat, deceive, be wrong, disappoint*; Te /kzb/ *lie*; /käzbät/ = (n.); Har /kiz/ = ; /kizzāb/ *liar*; Ch /kəzəb/, Sdd Wol /kəzb/ *lie* (n.)

Leslau considers the Eth entries borrowings from Arab; phonetically, this is feasible, as Arab /δ/ usually becomes /z/ in LWW, but usually these do not proliferate to the extent this root has done in Eth. However, the emotional accent often attached to it could have helped to further its use. NB. the Aram var. with /z/ also.

KZR: ?Aram /kzr/ *tQ loathe*; ?Arab /ğazzār/ *butcher; tyrant, cruel man* (Guillaume).

Tg var. Iob 10:1, probably originated as a phonetic var. to /'tgzrt/ (itself based on a misunderstanding of the Hbr text) under the influence of /'kzry/; the above translation is based on the context. On the Arab entry cf. /gzr/ above also.

KX: Aram /koʷ(a)x/ *strength*; Arab /kwx/ + *D,L,A overpower*; /kāx/, /kīx/ *foot of a mountain*; ?/kuxx/ *genuine (Arab)*; ?G&z /kʷäkʷx/ *rock, cliff*.

The Arab /wkx/ does not seem close semantically (Irvine; cf. also /ykx/ above), and /’awkax/ *stony ground* is hardly detachable from it; (foot of a) mountain, rock and cliff symbolize strength in an essentially different fashion.

KXD: Aram /kxd/ *tD be deleted, destroyed*; Syr /kxd/ *stand in awe (of); D put to shame*; Arab /ğxd/ *abjure one’s faith; deny (a right), disown (a benefit)*; Mhr /gxd/ *deny, refuse; Qt, ʃL disagree; ʃ be convinced*; Soq /gxd/ *refuse*; G&z /kxd/ *deny (truth), disown, refuse, apostatize; be infidel, rebellious, perfidious*; Te /kxd/ *dispute, oppose; tQ quarrel (tF with e.o.)*; Sdd /kadä/ *deny*; /kadi/ *renegade*; Wol /kadä/ *betray, abjure*.

Major semantic shift in Aram (Syr); a phonetic one in Arab Mhr Soq. Cf. /kxʃ/ below. Amm /kxd/ *hide(?)*.

KXL: Aram /kxl/ *paint one’s eyelids with antimony; blind*; /kuxl/ *antimony (stibium, collyrium)*; Syr = ; (also:) /kexl/ *antimony*; Akk (late Bab) /guχl/ = ; Arab /kuxl/ = ; *great wealth*; /kxl/ *paint (eyelids) with antimony*; Mhr /kxl/ = ; /kēxəl/ *antimony*; Soq /kexel/ = ; /kxl/ = Arab; G&z /kʷxl/ = ; *antimony*; Te /kxl/ = ; (also:) /qxl/ = (vb.); Sdd /täkʷalä/ = ; Wol /kul/ *antimony*.

The noun is a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin, the verb denominative.

KXʃ: Aram /kxʃ/ *contradict, prove (s.o.) liar.*

Semantic closeness (particularly in Hbr) suggests cognation with /kxd/ above; phonological identity with /kxʃ/ *grow/be lean* may thus be secondary. Arab /ğxs/ seems too remote.

KY: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

KYD: —

A *Kulturwort(?)* of unknown origin.

KYM: Aram /kiʸmt/ *Pleiades*; Syr /kīm/ = ; Akk /kimt/, /kint/, /kīm(at)/ *family*; Arab /kūm/ *herd (of camels)*; /kūmat/, /kawmat/ *heap (of earth, corn)*; G&z /kema/ *Pleiades*; Te = ; /kom/ *heap*; Bed /hēma/ *Pleiades*; Bil /kaymät/ = ; Saho /-at/ = .

A *Kulturwort*, based presumably on the Akk entry.

KYS: Aram /kiʸs/ *purse, bag*; Syr = ; Akk /kīs/, /kēs/, /kiss/, /kīʃ/ = ; *money*; Arab /kīs/ *purse, bag; foetal membrane*; Mhr /kəst/ *bag*; Soq /kīs/ = ; *sack*; G&z /kis/ *purse, money pouch*; Te /kis/ *bag, sack*; Bed /kīsa/ *sack*.

In Cush also: Saho Afar /kīs/ *bag, sack*. The word is probably a pre-Sem *Kulturwort*.

KYR: Aram /kiyyoʷr/ *the temple water basin*; Akk /kiūr/ *metal basin.*

A *Kulturwort* of Urartaean origin.

KYR II: Aram /kiyyu^{w}r/, /-o^{w}r/ *panel(ling)*; Arab (syr.) /kuw(w)ārat/ *recess in a wall (for storing food).*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

KL(L): Arab /kl/ + *D, A grow dim (eyesight)*; ?Soq /ʃkel/ *wrap o.s.*

KL(L) II: Phoen /kl/, *chyl, chil: all, every*; Ug =; *L, ʃ complete*; /klt/ *bride(s)*; /klkl/ *everything*; Aram /kll/ *unite; D crown; prepare for wedding*; /koll/, /kull/ *all, every*; /klål/ *generality, principle, rule*; Syr /kll/ *ʃ complete, perfect; D crown*; /kol(l)/ *all, every*; /kallt/ *bride, daughter-in-law, husband's sister; clitoris; foreskin*; /kellt/ *veil, curtain, wrap(ping); a class of angels*; /klīl/ *crown, diadem, scalp*; Amor /kll/ *all, every; total(ity)*; /kullat/ *total(ity)*; /kullul/ *veil, crown*; /ʃuklul/ *complete, perfect*; /kallāt/, (Ass) /-at/, /-ut/ *bride; daughter-in-law*; Arab /kl/ *D crown*; (syr.) *(priest) marry (a couple)*; /kull/ *all, whole*; /killat/ *veil*; /'iklīl/ *crown*; ESA /kll/ *surround (with walls)*; /kl/ *all, every*; /kll/, /klyt/ *sum, total(ity)*; Mhr /kāl/, /kall-/ *all; whoever*; /kəlōn/ *bride; groom*; Soq /kol/, /kal/ *every(one)*; /kelan/ *fiancé*; ?/ʃkel/ *wrap o.s.*; /iʃkel/ *surround, cover, wrap*; G&z /k^{w}l(l-)/ *totality, all (of)*; /kll/ *D surround; crown*; Te /kl/ *surround, go around; ask, examine; R encircle*; /klal/ *circuit*; /kllit/ =, *enclosure*; /'äklil/ *crown*; Har /kull/ *every*; /kulän/ *group (of people, animals)*; Ch /ənnəm/, Sdd /kulləm/, Wol /hu-/ *all, whole, every(thing)*; Bed /kāris/, /kars/, /kass/ *all, whole*; Om: Proto-South-Om */kull/ (Dime =, Hamar, Karo /wull/) *all*; Proto-Om =(?) (Fleming); Berb: Kab /ako/ *all*; Tu /kul/ =; ?/ak(k)/ =, *each*; /tuklət/ *be reunited (en masse)*; ?Chad: Ngamo /kirkir/; Ron (Sha) /hwaləng/; Boot (Boto) /kum/; Sokoro /kuldi(ng)/; Dangla /kalany/, /kuliye/, /kulla/; Bata (Garua) /hū/; Hsa /kōwā/ *all, every (one), whoever*; ?Eg /čnw/ *number, totality* (Vycichl after Sethe).

The root appears common to the whole phylum, although Eg is uncertain, as major both semantic and phonetic shifts must be assumed; Eg "totality" has enumerative character, whereas elsewhere it is comprehensive; /č/ for Sem /k/ might be possible before a front vowel, but hardly before /u/ or even /a/. Tu (pro)nominal forms also show some Arab influence. Amm /kl/ *all*. Ebl (sf.) /kul-ʃi-nu/ *all of them*; /kál-(la-)tum/, /-la-tù/ *bride/daughter-in-law*.

KL': ?Ug /kl'/ *close, shut (?)*; Aram /klV/ *hold back; ward off*; Syr /klV/ *impede, defend, shut, retain, deny*; Akk /kalū/, (OAss) /kalā'/ *hold back*; Arab /kl'/ *guard, keep safe*; Soq /kile/ *defense, opposition, prohibition*; G&z /kl'/ *retain, impede, ward off; deny, withhold*; Te /kl'/ *hinder, refuse, keep aloof; take away*; /klkl/ *encircle, keep back*; Ch /χäna/, Sdd /källa/ *prohibit, refuse, prevent.*

At least the above Soq entry belongs here rather than to the next root; but the roots could be cognate, cf. below. Cohen's (no. 190) second Akk and all non-Sem entries seem to belong to other roots.

KL' II: Ug /kl'at/ *both*; Akk /kilallān/, /-llū(n)/, (f.) /-ttān/, (OAss) /-ltān/ = ; Arab /kilā/, (f.) /kiltā/ = ; ESA /kl'/ *2*; Mhr /kəlō/, (f.) /kəlayt/ *both*; Soq /ke'ala/, /kiala/, (f.) /kili/, /ke'eliti/, /ke'ete/ = ; *the two*; G&z /kl'e/ (f.) /-etu/ =, *2*; Te /kl'ot/, (f.) /kl'e/ *2*; Har /ko'ot/, /kōt/ =, *both, pair*; Ch /χʷet/, Sdd /kitt/, /hitt/, Wol /hoyt/ *2*, Ch /χʷetʃəm/, Sdd /kittəm/ *both*.

Leslau connects Soq /kole/ *react, respond (etc.)* with this root, as duplicating the primary action. If this is correct, then also opposition, defence, and ultimately withholding and shutting in are derivable from the same root and hence, the preceding root is cognate with this one.

KLB: Phoen /klb/ *dog*; Ug = ; /klbt/ *bitch*; Aram /kalb/, (f.) /-bt/ = ; Syr /kalb/ = ; Amor /kalb/, (f.) /-bat/ = ; Akk = ; Arab /kalb/ = ; *beast of prey*; Mhr /kawb/ (pl. /kəlōb/) *wolf; dog; monkey*; Soq /kalb/ *dog, wolf*; G&z /kälb/ *dog*; Te = ; ?Eg /knmt/ *an animal (which fights baboons)*.

In some Cush and many Om Chad languages, the word for dog has the radicals /k-r-/, /k-l-/, /k-n-/, phonetically combinable with our root except for the final /-b/ which is regularly lacking (except perhaps for a couple of instances of /-w/, /-o/ in Chad). As there is no positive evidence for the Sem /-b/ being secondary, possible cognation is problematic.

KLB II: ?Syr (pl.) /kolbåʃe/ *small basket*; ?Arab (eg.) /kalab$/ *handcuffs*; ?G&z /käräbo/ *basket*; Te /krb/ *tie up*.

I am not convinced of the relevance of the root /krb/ *plait, twist* for our noun which rather looks like a *Kulturwort*, if the Syr G&z entries are really cognate.

KLV: Phoen (Pu) /kl/ *complete (?)*; /klt/ *completion (?)*; Ug /kly/ *be spent; D destroy*; Aram /klV/ *come to an end, perish*; ?Syr /klV/ *fail, desert*; Arab /kl'/ *A end (one's life)*.

Arab (and with it, Te) /kl/ appears semantically deviant (Irvine); the above Syr Arab entries could also be related to /kl'/ above.

KLV II: Ug /klyt/ (pl.) *kidney*; Aram /koʷliʸt/ = ; *testicle*; Syr /kōlīt/ *kidney*; Akk /kalīt/ = ; Arab /kulyat/, /kulwat/ = ; *loin*; Mhr /kəlyīt/ *kidney*; Soq /keloih/ *intestines*; G&z /kʷlit/ *kidney*; Te (pl.) /kälaw'/, /-wi/ = ; Har /kulāy/ = ; Sdd /kulalit/, Wol /kəlayo/ = ; Bed /ånkwel'a/ = ; Bil /kil'ot/ = ; *(region of) loins, side*; Som /kel(l)ī/ = ; ?Eg /grgyt/ *a part of body*; /grt/ = *(kidney?)*; /k'y/ *kind of boat*; Cpt /ꝗlåt/, (pl.?; f.?) /ꝗloote/ *kidney*.

Also in Cush: Or /kale/ *kidney*; and cf. Dolgopolsky p. 195f. The root appears common to Sem Cush Eg-Cpt, although the Eg entries above are not certain (but not impossible either, cf. Aram-Syr Akk to /grt/ and Sdd (Amh =) to /grgyt/; variation in voicing of stops is not uncommon in ancient words); in any case, the Cpt entry must have had an antecedent in Eg, as this kind of word is not borrowed. The word for *vessel*, if connected, may have been named after outward shape; the dialectal Arab Te words quoted in K-B^3 are hardly directly connected with it. The Bil entry may have been influenced by Eth, but hardly borrowed altogether.

KLY: Aram /ki$^{(y)}$lyyå'/ = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

KLK: Aram /kalk/, /kulk/ = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

KLM: Aram /klm/ *A put to shame*; ?Akk /kullum/, (Ass) /kallum/ *show, reveal*; Arab /klm/ *(+D) wound; ?D speak*; ESA /klm/ *D injure*; ?Soq /klm/ *Qt want, intend*; /kilham/ *word.*

The entries are semantically rather varying, but not incompatible; assuming the primary sense to be injury in a general sense, Hbr Aram have shifted towards the abstract, Akk also neutralized the connotation of injury, and likewise Soq and partly Arab, although differently in detail. Of course, some developments could have proceeded in opposite directions.

KLNS: Aram + Hbr; Syr /klwnn/ *footstool.*

LW from Gr.

KMH: Syr /kmh/ *be blind*; Arab =.

The connecting fact is a "blinding" desire, making oblivious of things normally realized.

KMZ: Arab /kmz/ *round s.th. in the hand*; /kumzat/ (pl. /kumaz/) *a round heap (of dates); sand-mound.*

KMN: Phoen /kmn/ χαμαν *cumin*; Ug /kmn/ =; Aram /kammo^{w}n/ =; Syr /kammūn/ =; Akk /kam(m)ūn/, (NAss) /kamu'/ =; Arab /kammūn/ =; G&z /k(ä/a)min/, /kmun/, /kmen/ =; Te /kmun/ =; Har /kammōn/, /ku-/ =; Som /kammūn/ =.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

KMS: Aram /kmås/ *concealment*; Syr /kms/ *be silent; dry up, cease, vanish; hide?*; Amor /kms/ *hide*; Akk /kamās/, (MAss) /-c/ *gather in.*

Shift towards figurative usage in Syr.

KMR: Phoen /kmr/ *priest*; Aram /kmr/ *warm up; shrink; excite*; /kumr/ *priest of idols*; Syr /kumr/ *priest*; ?/kmr/ *be/grow sad*; Amor /kumr/ *priest*; Akk =; ?Arab (syr.) /kmr/ *cover, wrap*; Eg /ku-m-ru/ *(Canaanite) priest.*

The Syr Arab entries above could be connected with the behaviour of an ecstatic priest; but connection with a root /kmr/ *heap up* seems too tenuous, as this seems to have been done so as to let the fruit etc. ripen and/or dry rather than grow hot and ferment; Te /kmr/ *ferment* seems to be denominative from /kämr/ which is a loan from Arab /χamr/ *wine.*

KMR II: Eg /mkmrt/ ?

A *Kulturwort?*

KN: Aram /kinnt/ *louse, vermin*; Mhr /kənəmūt/ *louse*; Soq /konem/ (coll.) =.

Kind of *Kulturwort*; Arab /qaml/ etc. might be ultimately cognate (cf. Cohen no. 194).

KN II: Phoen (NPu; pl.) /'khnym/ *base*; Aram /kannt/ =, *stand; ileum, rectum*; Syr /kann/ *stock, stem, trunk*; Akk /kann/ *stand, support; (large) vessel*; Arab /kn/ *R be sedentary*; ESA /wkn/ *H stabilize*; ?Te /kanät/ *rowing-pole.*

Root var. of /kwn/ above?

KNV: Phoen /(l)knt/, (NPu) /kn'/ *name, designate*; Aram /knV/ *D nickname; paraphrase*; Syr /knV/ *D call, name, signify*; Akk /kanū/ *D foster, take care (of), treat respectfully*; Arab /knw/ *allude*; /kny/ + *D, A sur-, nickname*; /kunyat/, /kunwat/ = (n.); ?G&z /mknyat/ *false cause, pretext, simulation, excuse.*

The G&z entry, if relevant, is generalized and shifted into the negative connotation; while elsewhere, positive evaluation is prevalent. Dolgopolsky p. 212f too heterogeneous again.

KNS: Aram /knʃ/ + *D gather, assemble*; /kns/ = ; *take home; enter*; Syr /knʃ/ *gather, assemble; add up (to), total*; Akk /kanāʃ/ *gather in*; Arab /kns/ + *Qt, tD (gazelle) enter (a covert); tD retire (in tent)*; G&z /kns/ *tQ take part in a (religious) assembly, congress, convocation*; /känisa/ *(religious) assembly, synod*; Te /känisät/ *assembly; synagogue.*

The Akk entry is a loan from Aram, the Eth ones, as religious terminology and hence wandering words, may derive from Aram and (late) Hbr.

KN&: Aram /kn&/ *bend; tQ humble o.s.*; Arab /kn&/ *shrivel; submit (to); A humble o.s.*

Arab /qn&/ appears to me less close to Hbr.

KNP: Ug /knp/ *wing*; Aram /kanp/ = ; *arm; tip, tassel; lap*; /knp/ *gather, assemble*; Syr /kenp/ *wing, side, edge; bay*; Akk /kapp/ *wing*; Arab /kanaf/ =, *shelter*; /knf/ *keep, preserve; (+D) fence*; ESA /knf/ *border, side, edge (of the earth)*; G&z /knf/ *wing, fin, hem; edge (of the earth)*; Te /knf/ *wing*; Sdd /kənf/, /kamfa/; Wol /kəf/ = ; Bil /kanfe/ =.

The Sdd var. is my recording. For further Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 345, Dolgopolsky p. 65 and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 224. As words for major parts of the body belong to the basic stock of any language that is normally not borrowed, I think that the root is original to Cush too; it is true that a wing is not part of *human* body, but as the most distinctive characteristic of birds probably just as conspicuous. The verbs may be denominative everywhere. Cohen's (no. 193) Berb Hsa entries are phonetically and structurally remote.

KNR: Phoen κινυρας *lyre*; Ug /knr/ = ; Aram /kinnår/ *a string instrument*; Syr /kennår/ *guitar*; Akk /kinnār/ *(Indian) guitar*; Arab /kannārat/, /ki-/ *kind of guitar*; ?Har /kirār/ *a string instrument*; ?Sdd ?Wol /kərar/ = ; Eg /kn-nu-ru/ *lyre(?)*.

The Eg entry is transcription of the Canaanite word. The word is a *Kulturwort* of uncertain origin (cf. K-B^3), in any case very widespread; perhaps even the name of the Finnish national (string) instrument *kannel* is ultimately connected with it? (However, in that case its history is more complicated, as it derives from /kantel-/; cf. the Hittite /kinirtalla/?). Ebl /gi-na-ru$_x$-um/, /-rúm/, /-lum/ (= balag).

KS(S/V): Aram /kss/ *chew (with front teeth); count*; Syr /ks/ *be digested*; Akk /kasās/, /kacāc/ *chew, nibble*; Arab /ks/ *have small teeth; grind; bray.*

The SamH forms could derive from a purely biradical root.

KS': Phoen /ks'/ *throne*; Ug =, *seat*; Aram /kurs(a)y/, /-se^y/ = ; *privy*; Syr /kors(a)y/ *throne, seat, pier*; Akk /kussū/, (OAkk, OAss) /kussī/ *throne, seat, pack-saddle*; Arab /kursiyy/ *chair, throne*; Mhr /kərsay/ *chair; rifle-butt*; Soq /korsiy/ *throne, seat*; Te /kursi/ *small bed, stool*; Har /kursi/ *chair, bookstand*; Bed /kursi/ *chair, bench*; Som /kursi/ *chair*; Caf /kōrō/ *saddle*; Hsa /kujēra/ *chair.*

A *Kulturwort* of Sumerian origin. ?Ebl /gú-za-u$_9$/ *throne?*

KS'/V: Phoen /ks'/ *full moon*; Ug /ks'/ *full (moon)*; Syr /ke(')s/ *full moon*; ?Akk /kusī/ *a head-band (of moon god?)*; ?Arab /kas'/ *part (of night)*; /kus'/ *latter part (of month etc.).*

The connection of the Akk entry with this root is so feeble that it can hardly be source of borrowing; as for Arab, its relevance depends on whether /kus'/ originally meant the entire second half, starting with the full moon, if not a shorter full moon period. Cf. also S.B. Freehof in JQR 64 p. 225ff; however, parallelism need not be tautological.

KSBR: Aram /kusbar(t)/ *coriander*; Syr /kusbart/ = ; Amor /kisibir(r)at/ = ; Akk /kisibirrīt/, /kus-/; /kis(s)ibirr/, (M/late Bab) /kus(s)-/, (Ass) /kisibarr/ = ; Arab /kusburat/, /kuzb-/, /kazb-/; /kuzbarat/ =.

A *Kulturwort* or unknown origin.

KSDY: Aram = Hbr; Syr /skīdiyå'/ =.

LW from Gr (with metathesis in Hbr Aram).

KSV: Phoen (c.sf.) /ks(y)/ *cover, clothe*; Ug = ; /kst/ *raiment*; /mks/ *covering, clothing*; Aram /ksV/ *conceal: D = ; cover, clothe*; Syr /ksV/ *conceal; cover, hide o.s.*; ?Amor /ksV/(?) *cover*; Akk /kaʃū/ = *(with earth, splendor etc.); treat unjustly*; Arab /ksw/ + *A clothe*; /ksy/ + *Q ps, tD clothe o.s.*; /kiswat/, /ku-/ *set of clothes*; ESA /k$w/, pl. /'kswt/ *garment(s), clothing*; (pl.) /k$wy/ *raiment*; Mhr /ksw/ *clothe*; /kassi/, /kəswēt/ *(set of) clothes*; Soq /kes/ *hide o.s.*; /mekes/ *hiding place.*

The sibilant in Bil /kus/ seems to be secondary, cf. /kut/, Saho /gamad/ etc. Despite the irregularity in ESA, it is therefore better to consider the root limited to Asian Sem. ?Cf. Ebl /gu-zi-tum-TÚG/ *kind of dress.*

KSX: Aram /ksx/ *cut (off, into pieces)*; Syr /ksx/ *prune (vine); reduce*; Arab /ksx/ *sweep (away), cut (off); be crippled (in legs, arms), lame*; ESA /k$x/ *H despoil, destroy.*

Perhaps in Eth too: Tigrinya /ksx/ *break into pieces* (Leslau), although semantically somewhat off-beam. Gur /kəsäk(k)äsä/, however, is definitely too remote.

KSL: Ug /ksl/ *(lower?) back*; Aram /kisl/ *loins: Orion*; /ksi^{y}l/ *foolish: Orion*; Akk /kisl/, kasl/ *loin (muscle)*; /sakl/ *simple(ton), fool(ish), awkward, clumsy*; Arab /ksl/ *be lazy, sluggish*; ?/kisl/ *string of a bow for carding wool.*

As fatness is often equated with foolishness, and here, sluggishness and awkwardness provide connecting links, it seems to me unnecessary to divide the root in two; in Akk, the adj. has been metathesized, cf. the root /skl/ below. The second Arab entry seems semantically remote, but I am not familiar with the shape of the instrument.

KSLW: Aram = Hbr; Akk /kis(i)līm/ *the 9th Babylonian month.*

LW from Akk.

KSM: Ug /ksm/, /k$m/ *spelt; a ceremonial meal (?)*; ?Akk /kasām/ *cut to pieces*; ?Arab /k$m/ *cut off*; ?G&z /s(ä)gäm/ *barley.*

The relevance of the Akk Arab entries is very questionable, as neither refers specifically to grain, nor do they describe the character of the split-awned husks of spelt very well. NB. the sibilant var. The relevance of G&z is vaguer still.

KSP: Phoen /ksp/ *silver*; Ug =; Aram /kasp/ =; *money* ?/ksp/ + *tQ be ashamed; D, A put to shame*; Syr /kesp/ *silver, money; (poll) tax*; Akk /kasp/ *silver*; ?/kasāp/ *cut off, in pieces*; ?Arab /ksf/ *(face) be frowned*; (eg.) *D disappoint.*

The noun could plausibly derive from either verbal root, or also vice versa; but as neither of the latter seems to be denominative, the issue remains undecided.

KST: ?Akk /kasīt/, /kasūt/ *constraint; (magic) spell?*

The underlying verbal root /kasū/ *bind* is used of casting spells, but for the nouns such a meaning does not seem to be attested (so far anyway). However, there is no other plausible source for the Hbr entry. ?Cf. Ebl /gu-zi-tum-TÚG/ *kind of dress.*

K&S: Aram /k&s/ *be angry; A make angry*; ?Arab /k$&/ *be anxious.*

KP(P): Phoen /kp/ *offer, present*; Ug /kp/ *hand, palm: scale(s)*; Aram /kpp/ *bend; upset*; /kapp/ *handful; palm, scale*; Syr /kp/ *bend, curve, bow*; /kapp/ *palm, sole; manacle; handful; scale; platter, bowl*; Akk /kapāp/ *bend*; /kapp/ *hand, palm, paw*; Arab /kf/ *wrap; hem (a* *raiment); St (snake) coil up*; /kaff/ *hand, palm; scale*; Mhr /kff/ *withhold; keep s.o. quiet*; /kaf/ *palm of hand, paw, claw*; G&z /kaf/ *palm, sole*; ?Te /käf belä/ *sit (down)*; Eg /kp/ *hand*; (Dem.) /gp/ *sole (of foot)*; Cpt /ϥop/ = ; /ϥope/ *small receptable/quantity.*

Vycichl terms the Eg-Cpt entry a "word of Semitic origin"; does this mean something more than an ordinary LW, but still not original Eg word? With somewhat specialized meanings and without verbal base in Eg, it may indeed have been borrowed. The Chad words for *wing, feather* seem too remote both semantically and (also for /knp/ above) phonologically. Eg /kbw/ > /čbw/ seems to have a different background.

KPV: Aram /kpV/ *(+A) bend, twist, upset, overturn; coerce*; Syr = ; Akk /kepū/, /kapū/ *bend*; Arab /kfy/ *protect (agst.)*; /kf’/ *pursue, repel, overturn; A (be) incline(d).*

Phonological differentiation parallelling the semantic one in Arab.

K/QPX: —

Etymology obscure; sense "ogre" perhaps connectable with /qpx/ below; the small stove perhaps compared to humpback, unless little known *Kulturwort.*

KPL: Ug /kpl/ *double*; Aram = ; Arab /kfl/ *guarantee*; /kifl/ *double requital*; Mhr /kfl/ *guarantee, sponsor*; G&z /kfl/ *divide, separate, distinguish, distribute, assign*; Te /kfl/ *divide, allot; pay; L distribute, deal out*; Sdd /käffälä/, Wol /-f-/ *pay, divide*; ?Eg /kf’/ *rear* (Vycichl after Ember).

The rear might be conceived as duplicating the front; the same idea also in guarantee.

KPS: ?Phoen /kps/ *carpenter?*; ?Aram /kåpi^{y}s/ *girder, bond-lath*; ?Arab /kifās/ *swaddling-clothes.*

As the meaning of the Hbr entry is not certain, comparisons are tentative; in any case, it appears to be a structurally binding or joining element.

KPR: Aram /kpr/ *wipe off; deny, abjure; D wipe off; atone (for)*; Syr /kpr/ *wipe off, delete, deny, abjure, renounce*; Akk /kapār/ *peel, wipe off; D remove; cleanse (ritually)*; Arab /kfr/ *cover, conceal; deny (one's faith, a benefit); D forgive*; /kafr/ *village; grave*; ESA /kfr/ *cover; atone (for); place, village*; Mhr /kfr/ *disobey God's will; L take a false oath*; Soq /kufare/ *mortuary (meal).*

Again, it appears unnecessary to split the root, as the basic meaning is everywhere to *cover* (incl. young lion, with mane).

KPʃ: Arab /kfs/ *be crook-footed.*

K-B^{3} comparisons seem more remote to our attestations.

KPT: ?Phoen /kpt/ *limit(?)*; Aram /kpt/+*D bind, chain*; Syr /kpt/ = ; Akk /kapāt/ *bring together, comprise*; Arab /kft/ *tuck up, draw to o.s.*; Mhr /kft/ *lock s.o.'s arms behind his back.*

KPTR: Akk /kaptar/ *'Cretan juniper'.*

LW from Akk.

KR: Phoen /kr/ *unit of weight*; Aram /koʷr/ *a measure for grain*; Syr /kor/ *a measure of volume (30 modii)*; Akk /kurr/ = *(300 qa)*; Arab /kurr/ *a unit of weight (6 ass-loads)*; Te /qor/ *a measure of volume (ca. 300 l)*; Cpt /kår/, /kuri/ *a measure for wine.*

A *Kulturwort* of Sumerian origin.

KR II: Phoen /kr/ *pasturage*; ?Akk /kirū/, (OAkk) /kiri/ *tree plantation, orchard*; Bed /kār/ *valley.*

The Akk entry being loan from Sumerian, for it to be relevant, all the others must have been borrowed from it; this seems hardly possible.

KR(R): Aram /kår/ *mattress, bolster*; Arab /karr/ *carpet, mat*; /kūr/ *camel-saddle*; Te /krr/ *lie down, repose*; /mkrar/ *resting place.*

KR(R) II: Phoen /kkr/ *talent*; Ug =; /kr/ *male lamb*; /kr(r)/ *R twist, twiddle (fingers)*; Aram /krk/ *roll together; roll/tie around*; /kakkr/ *talent*; Akk /kerr/, (Mari) /karr/ *ram*; /kakkar/ *a round plate; talent*; Arab /kr/ + *D, R return, go round (by turns)*; ESA /krkr/ *a unit of measure (talent?)*; Mhr /krr/ *jump (on to)*; G&z /'nkʷrkʷr/ *roll (on, forward)*; /mänkʷärakʷr/ *wheel*; Te /kr/ *R roll; grind rough(ly); 'NR roll (on)*; /mänkärkr/ *carriage*; (pl.) /-rakr/ (also:) *wheels*; Sdd /mänkorakura/ *wheel*; Berb: Rif /ik'(a)rri/, /iχerri/, /iʃārī/ *sheep*; Sus /ikru/ *kid*; Kab /ikərri/ *sheep*; ?Eg /č'/ *young (bird etc.)*; (late) /grgr/ *roll (on)*; (Dem.) /krkr/ *talent*; Cpt /ꝗinꝗår/ =; /skorkr/ *turn (over), roll.*

In Cush: Saho /kurkur/ *circle, circuit*; /-rīn/ *round, circular*. As the word for talent may be considered a *Kulturwort* and those for domestic animals may also be wandering ones, originality of the root outside Sem must be deemed doubtful.

KRB: ?Phoen (pl.) /krbm/ *cherubs(?)*; Aram /kruʷb/ =; Syr /krōb/ =; Amor /krb/ *bless, pray*; Akk /karāb/ =; *consecrate; greet*; /kurīb/ *a genius*; Arab /karūb/, /kā-/ *a class of (arch)angels*; ESA /krb/ + *H/S, tD, Qt offer, consecrate; offering; blessing*; /mkrb/ *priestly ruler*; G&z /kerub/, /kirub/ *cherub.*

The Phoen entry is on the authority of K-B³. Whatever the prototype of the Hbr entry, it is semantically comparable to the second Akk entry and hence connected with the (Amor) ESA entries too; the Aram Syr Arab G&z ones derive from Hbr. The G&z /mkʷrab/ *temple, synagogue* looks more probably borrowed from Arab /mixrāb/ (or its cognate). Cf. the root /brk/ above.

KRB II: Aram /krabb/, /krubb/ *cabbage*; Syr /kråb/ =; Arab /karanb/, /kurunb/ =, *beet; a dish of dates with milk*; Te /krmba/ *cabbage*; Har /krumba/ *kind of cabbage.*

A late *Kulturwort* of Greek (or Persian?) origin.

KRV: ?Phoen (NPu) /kr'/ *digger(?)*; Aram /krV/ *dig*/; ?Syr /krV/ *be (cut) short; be sad, mourn*; Arab /krw/ *dig; line (a well) with wood*; /kry/ *dig (a canal)*; /rkw/ *dig (earth)*; /rakiyyat/ *well*; ESA /krw/ *pit (for trapping game) (?)*; ?Soq /kereh/ *spring*; G&z /kry/ *dig (in, out, through), incise, perforate*; Har /χara/ *dig a hole*; /mäχra/ *pick*; Ch /χänä/, Sdd /kirrä/, Wol /käre/, /χ-/ *dig a hole.*

As mourning may be characterized as feeling hollow, the Syr entry could be amalgamation of this root with Akk /karū/ *be (cut) short.* In Arab, vocalic modification and transposition have resulted in multiplication of root varr. In Hbr, the seemingly contradictory meanings result from the fact that when digging a hole, you usually heap up what you take out of it. On Soq cf. /qwr/ below.

KRZ: Aram /krz/ + *A make official proclamation*; Syr /kårōz/ *herald, orator, preacher*; Arab /krz/ *preach (the gospel)*; G&z /täkriz/ *proclamation.*

Probably based on Gr κηρυσσω.

KRK: Aram /krk/ *roll together; roll/bind around*; Syr = ; *surround, go/wander around*; Akk /karāk/ *roll together, collect, round up.*

Apparently apocopated /kr(r)/ *R*, cf. /kr(r)/ II above.

KRKD: Aram = Hbr; Syr /karkīd/ = ; *upper arm or thigh bone.*

LW from Gr.

KRKM: Aram /kurkm/ *saffron*; Syr /korkm/ = ; Akk /kurkanū/ = ; Arab /kurkum/ = ; Soq /kerkham/ = .

A *Kulturwort* of Sanscrit (?) origin; Arab (ESA) /kamkām/ appears to be also etymologically distinct.

KRM: Ug /krm/ *vineyard; orchard?*; Aram /karm/ *vineyard*; Syr /karm/ = ; *vine, abacus*; Akk ?/karm/ *(hill in) wasteland*; /karān/ *wine; vine, grapes*; (Ug) *vineyard*; Arab /karm(at)/ *vine*; /krm/ *be productive, generous, precious*; G&z /krm/, /kärm/ *vine*; Eg /k'nw/, (NK & later) /k'mw/ *garden*; /k'ny/, /k'ry/, /k'my/ *gardener*; Cpt /ꝗåm/ *garden, property*; /ꝗme/ *gardener.*

An old *Kulturwort*, of Sem origin, sometimes apparently borrowed more than once (e.g., Eg); the first Akk entry may be relevant, if it originally meant a cultivable part of wasteland. Amm /(h)krm/ *(the) vineyard.*

KRS: ?Ug /krs/ *belly(?)*; Aram /kars/, /kreʸs/ *belly, body*; Syr /kars/ *belly, stomach, womb*; Akk /kar(a)ʃ/ *belly, stomach, (body) interior*; Arab /kr$/ *D, St grow big-bellied*; /kir$/, /kari$/ *the (major part of the) stomach of ruminants*; Mhr /kīrə$/ *belly*; /kər$ɛnūt/ = ; *calf muscle, biceps*; /kr$/ *Qt agree reluctantly; (snake) be coiled to strike*; Soq /ʃere$/ *stomach*; G&z /kär$/ *belly, stomach, womb; interior, midst*; Te /kärs/ *inside*; /kräʃ/ =, *stomach, belly*; /karʃ/ *fat, stout*; Har /kärsi/ *belly, abdomen*; Sdd /kärs/, /kərs/ =, *stomach*; Som /kirʃi/ *intestines.*

The Sdd var. is my recording. NB. the sibilization of the velar stop in Soq. Appleyard did not recognize the Som entry; however, cf. Cohen no. 183 for more Cush examples.

KRSM: Aram /qrsm/ *bite, nibble.*

In Eth too (Leslau, *Contributions* p. 27), but if the root derives from /ksm/ by augmentation, the variation in the initial radical is problematic, as it does not have semantic parallel either.

KR&: Ug /kr&/ *kneel, bow*; Aram = ; *sink down*; /krå&/ *(lower) leg, foot*; Syr /krå&/ = ; *twig*; Akk /kurīt/ *calf(-bone) of leg*; Arab /kurā&/ *shank*; /kr&/ *be thin (in shanks); be bent*; /rk&/ *bow down (in prayer)*; (syr.) *kneel*; ESA /kr&/ *(camel's) knee*; G&z /kʷrna&/ *forearm, elbow; leg (of locust, lion)*; Te /kurä/ *foot (of a large chair)*; /krä&/ *(meadow in) mountain(s)*; ?/kr&/ *hinder, separate, restrain*; Har /kuru'/ *forearm, cubit*; /kōra&a/ *measure by cubit*; Ch /χənä/, Sdd /kərrä/, Wol /həri/ *(fore)arm, cubit*; ?Eg (Dem.) /grt/ *foot*; ?Cpt /tra/, /ꝗra/ =, *leg, joint.*

KRʃ: Aram /kåråt/ *leek*; Syr /karråt/ = ; Akk /kar(a)ʃ/ = ; Arab /karraθ(at)/, /ku-/ = .

A *Kulturwort* of unknown (hardly Akk) origin.

KRT: Phoen /krt/, /krrt/ *make (covenant)*; /krt/ *woodcutter (?)*; (NPu) /hykrt/ *establish (foundations) (?)*; Aram /krt/ *separate, divorce*; Akk /karāt/ *cut off*; ?Te /krtut/ *twisted, broken.*

Cf. the root /krV/ above? Arab /krd/ seems tangential only.

KʃB: —

Created through transposition from /kbʃ/s/ above.

KʃV: ?Syr /kʃV/ *heap up*; ?Akk /kaʃū/, (OAkk) /ka$ā'/ *increase greatly.*

Both are semantically one-sided and less specific than the Hbr entry.

KʃL: Aram /kʃl/ *A make stumble*; Syr = ; *cause offence*; Arab /ksl/ *be sluggish, slothful.*

A sluggish person is prone to stumble. Te /ʃnklkl/ *totter, slip* is off-beam phonologically, structurally and semantically.

KʃP: ?Syr /kʃp/ *tD beg, pray*; Akk /kaʃāp/ + *D bewitch*; Arab /kāsif/ *eclipsed (sun, moon); unlucky (day)*; ?Te /kʃf/ *see; D reveal; L lay bare.*

Eclipses are often considered ominous; Te, if relevant, has generalized.

KʃR: ?Ug /kθr/ *fit?*; Aram /kʃr/ *be fit (for use)*; Syr = ; *be useful, advantageous*; Amor /kʃr/ *be proper*; Akk /kaʃār/, /-$-/, /keʃēr/ *restore, repair; succeed (in doing)*; ?Arab /kθr/ *be numerous, frequent; exceed*; ?Mhr /kθr/ *be abundant.*

Arab Mhr, if relevant, have generalized somewhat one-sidedly. NB. the sibilant variation.

KT(T): Aram /ktt/ *pound, crush*; Syr /kett/ *fine dust*; ?Akk /katāt/ *vibrate (?)*; ?Te /ktt/ *D make small incisions (in skin)*.

Akk, if relevant, describes the effects of pounding, whereas Te has shifted to a different method of breaking things up. Eg /ktkt/ *move* seems semantically too vague.

KTB: Phoen /ktb/ *write, inscribe*; Ug /ktb/ *write*; Aram =, *document*; Syr =, *sketch, illustrate*; Arab /ktb/ *write, prescribe, decree*; /kitāb/ *writing, letter, book; predestination*; Mhr /ktb/ *write; Q ps be written, fated*; Soq /kteb/, /ktob/ *write, stigmatize, decide*; G&z /ktab/ *book, document, writing*; Te /ktb/ *write*; /ktab/ *book*; /kätäb/ *track*; Har /ktb/ *write*; Sdd /kətab/ *necklace, charm, amulet*; Wol /kätäbä/ *write*; Bed /ketib/ =; Tu /əktəb/ =; Chad: Kwang (Ngam, Mobu) /ketepe/, Migama /kitipiyo/ =.

In Cush also: Saho Afar /katab/ *write*. The root as a whole must be considered a family of *Kulturwörter*, apparently of NWSem origin, perhaps contracted from /kt(t)/ plus PTpr /b-/. Ebl (pref) /ik-túb/.

KTL: Aram /kutl/ *wall; side*; Syr /kotl/ *stern (of a ship)*; Akk /kutl/ *sidewall*; ?/kutall/ *backside; occiput*; ?Te /ktl/ *D protect*.

The second Akk entry agrees better with the Syr one and also provides the root with an etymology; however, as it is loan from Sumerian, the Te entry can hardly be relevant in such a case, as there is no indication of it being denominative.

KTM: Aram /ktm/ *stain, contaminate*; Syr =; *be dirty*; ?Akk /katām/ *cover*; Arab /ktn/ *be blackened, dirty, filthy*; ?/ktm/+*L conceal (a secret etc.)*; /katam/, /kutmān/ *plant for black hair-dye* (Guillaume).

The Akk-Arab verb seems semantically distinct from the rest; the final nasal of the other Arab verb may have differentiated in parallel with the semantic difference. ?Ebl /ma-ga-da-mu(-um)/, /-ma-tum/ *spoon, spatula*; /ma-kà-tá-mu/ *gate(?)*.

KTM II: Akk /kutīm/, /kuttimm/ *goldsmith*; Eg /ktmt/ *gold(?)*.

A *Kulturwort* of Sum origin. Ebl /ku$_8$-tim/ *gold*.

KTN: Phoen /ktn/ *linen*; Ug /ktn/ *kind of raiment*; Aram /kittån/ *flax, linen*; /-ni^{y}t/ *raiment*; (imp.) /kt(w)n/ =; Syr /kettån/ *flax, linen*; /kottīn/ *raiment, sail, net*; Akk /kitū/ *flax, linen*; /kitīt/, /-itt/, /-int/ *linen raiment*; ?/qutān/, /ku-/ *a fine material*; Arab /kattān/ *flax, linen*; G&z /ktan/ *linen (cloth)*; (+/kdan/) *raiment*; ?Eg (Dem.) /gtn/ *garment*; ?Cpt /ʃtēn/ =.

A *Kulturwort*, as it seems, of Sumerian origin; v. Soden thinks the last Akk entry (attested OAkk, OAss, Mari) irrelevant, but the universal occurrence of the final /-n/ in WSem (and beyond, including Gr; Lat?) is certainly easier to explain on the assumption that it has at least influenced the form of the word, as suggested by its presence in Mari too. ?Ebl /qù-tá-nu-um/; /gu-da-nu-um/, /-num/ *fine cloth*.

KTP: Ug /ktp/ *shoulder*; Aram /katp/ =; Syr =; ?Akk (late Bab; pl.) /katappāt/ *part of an animal's breast (?)*; Arab /ktf/ *be broad-shouldered*; /kat(i)f/, /kitf/ *shoulder(-blade)*; Mhr /katf/ *back of shoulders*; G&z /mätkäf(t)/ *shoulder(-blade)*; Te /mäktäf/ *shoulder*.

Transposition in G&z; semantic shift in Akk, if relevant.

KTR: Phoen (NPu) /kt&rt/ *column capital (?)*; Aram /kitr/ *crown*; Arab /katr/ *rank, dignity*; (+/kitr/, /katar/) *high hump (of a camel)*; G&z /k(ä)t(a)r/ etc. *column capital*; Te /kutur/ *(hair) strung around large hairpin*.

The Eth /ktr/ *forbid, prevent* seems too vague semantically, even if not impossible of being ultimately cognate. The G&z entry is a LW, although the immediate source is not clear.

KTʃ: Aram /ktʃ/ *beat, crush; D quarrel*; Syr /ktʃ/ *beat, whip, stir (up), riot, fight, toil, study*;?Arab /kds/ *urge (a beast); (+D) heap up (spikes)*.

The Arab entry looks somewhat remote semantically, hence less than convincing, as it is not perfect phonologically either.

ל

L'V: Ug /l'a/ *fail? stop?*; Arab /l'V/ *toil, grow tired*; Syr =; *be unable*; Akk /la'ū/ *weak; suckling*; Arab /'lw/+*D, Qt be unable (to), late; neglect*; /l'y/+*Qt be slow, distressed, poor*.

Semantic split parallelled by transposition in Arab; Gur /lalla/ seems better connected with G&z /lχlχ/.

L'K: Phoen /ml'k/ *envoy*; /-kt/ *work, service*; Ug /l'k/ *send*; /ml'ak/ *messenger*; /-kt/ *mission, embassy*; Aram /mal'(a)k/ *angel*; Syr /malla(')k/ =, *messenger, devil*; Akk (late Bab) /malāχ/ *god*; Arab /l'k/ *A send*; /'lk/ =; /mal'ak/ *message, mission; messenger, angel*; Mhr /məlēk/ *angel*; Soq /mlak/, /mel-/ =; G&z /l'k/ *send (a messenger)*; /mäl'äk/ *messenger, angel; envoy, leader, ruler, vice-regent*; Te /l'k/ *send*; /mäl'äk/ /-ak/ *messenger, angel*; Har /la'aχa/ *send*; Ch /naχä/, Sdd /lakä/, Wol =, /lahä/ *send*; Ch /mälayka/, /märeka/; Sdd /mälakk/; Wol /mälaykä/ *angel*.

The Wol (=Sdd) var. is my recording. The word for angel (etc., with religious connotation) no doubt derives ultimately from Hbr everywhere. Loss of radical /'/ after the preformative one in the Arab vb. var. Cf. the root /hlk/ above?

L'M: Ug /l'im/ *people, crowd*; Akk /lim/, /līm/, (NAss) /li'm/ *1000*; Arab /l'm/ *be low-born; L make peace (between); Qt coalesce, unite, stick together*.

The bulk of the people used to be considered low-born, cf. Lat *vulgus* (= Finnish *rahvas*) etc.

LB(B): Phoen /lb/ *heart, mind*; Ug /lb/ = ; *seat of emotions*; Aram /libb/, /läb/, /lbab/ *heart*; Syr /lebb/ =, *mind, inside, middle*; Amor /libb/ *heart*; Akk = ; *body, interior; mind, emotions*; Arab /lubb/ *heart, middle, core; mind, intelligence*; ESA /lb/ (pl. /’lbb/) *heart*; Mhr /xəwbēb/ = ; ? /məlabb/ *side*; Soq /’ilbib/ *heart*; /lbib/ *conscience; be courageous*; G&z /lb/ (pl.)/’älbab/) *heart; seat of will & emotions; mind, intellect, conscience*; Te /lb/ *heart, reason, insight, intelligence; be intelligent; clever*; Sdd /ləbb/ *heart*; /ləbbam/ *careful, conscientious*; Wol /lubam/ = ; Bed /lēb/ *heart*; Bil /läb(b)akā/ = ; *intellect, insight*; Som /lāb/ *heart, breast, voice*; Konso /luppōta/ *heart, soul*; Om: Caf /nibbō/, Anfillo /yimba/, Boro /nimba/, Amuru /libbo/, Janjero /niba/ *heart (, intellect*; Caf); Ari /lip’a/, /liBa/, Galila /liBa/, Basketo /lippe/, Central Om /ulwa/, /ullo/ *belly* (Fleming); Berb: Zenaga /uği/ (pl. /ellūn/) (Zyhlarz); Rif /ul/, /ur/; Tu /ul/ *heart*; Chad: Mokulu /’ulbe/, Matakam II /luv/, Musgoy /nəv/, Daba =, /niv/, Kotoko /(ə)rfu/, /(ə)rrvi / ərfə/ = ; Eg /yb/ =, *desire.*

In Cush also: Or /labbe/ *heart*; Quara /läbäkā/ = ; *intellect, intelligence*; and cf. Dolgopolsky p. 163f, 229. Bil-Quara and Konso entries have been augmented at the end, the Berb ones have had transposition and subsequent transformation of the labial into vowel; the initial accretion of the first Mhr entry is again the petrified PTdt (Johnstone).

LB(V): Aram /lablabb/ *sprout, twig*; /lo^{w}labb/ =, *young palm-branch*; Syr /lablebt/ *small bunch*; Arab /lablāb/ *convolvulus, bindweed.*

LB’: Ug /lb’u/, (f.) /lb’it/ *lion*; Amor /labw/, /-bū/ = ; Akk /lāb/, (OAkk, OAss) /lab’/, (late Bab) /labb/ = ; Arab /ri’bāl/ = ; *wolf*; /lab’at/, /-bä-/, /-bū’-/, /-bw-/ *lioness*; ESA /lb’/ *lion*; Som /libāx/ = ; ?/lab/ *courageous*; Eg /rw’bw/ *lion (?)*; (late) /rby/, /lb/, (Dem.) /lby/ *lion, bear*; Cpt /laboi/ =.

In Cush also: Saho Afar /lubāk/ *lion* (Reinisch); Afar /lūbāk/, (coll.) /lubuk/ = (Fleming). The second Som entry may derive from /läb/ *heart* as well (see /lb(b)/ above). This word designates the Asiatic lion, but it may have spread to Egypt and the horn of Africa too. Hardly borrowed from Mycenaean Gr /re-wo/ (agst. J.J. Glück, ZAW 81 p. 232ff); a more ancient wandering word.

LBD: Aram /libd/ *felt-cloth, -cloak; woolly side of the material*; Syr /lbīd/ *dense, thick; frozen*; Arab /labad/ *wool*; /libd/, /lubd/ = ; *(compressed) hair, felt.*

LB7: Syr /lb7/ *D excite, incite*; Akk /lubā7/ *constipation(?)*; Arab /lb7/ *throw down; (camel) gallop*; (syr.) *kick; Qt, tD be confounded.*

LBL: —

Based on a place name.

LBLR: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat.

LBN: Phoen /lbn/ *white*; /lbnt/ *frankincense*; Ug /lbn/ *white*; *make bricks*; /lbnt/ *brick(s)*; Aram /labn/ *white; bare, treeless; (fig) green*; /libn/ *(white) poplar*; Syr /lbu(n)tt/, /lbo-/ *frankincense*; /lbett/ (pl. /lebne/) *brick, tile*; Amor /lbn/ *be white*; /lab(a)n/ *white*; Akk /libitt/, (late Bab) /libnat/ *(sun-dried) brick*; /labān/, /-ēn/, /lebēn/, (Nuzi) /labāt/ *make bricks*; Arab /labin/, /lib(i)n/ *unburnt (mud-)bricks* (coll.); /laban/ *milk, curd*; ESA /lbn/ (pl?) *(sun-dried) brick; frankincense plantation(?)*; /lbt/ *structure of bricks (?)*; Mhr /lbnn/ *go white*; /(ə)wbōn/, /wə-/, (pl.) /lēbən/ *white*; Soq /libehon/ =; /lbn/ *grow white, pale*; G&z /lbn/ *styrax(?)*; /lbne/ *poplar(?)*; Te /lban(ät)/ *incense*; Som /laben/ *cream*; /leven/ *unbaked brick.*

The Som entries may have been borrowed from Arab (Appleyard), and so the root is limited to Sem; the words for (unburnt) bricks and frankincense may also be regarded as *Kulturwörter*. That the former are light-coloured enough to have been associated with this root seems probable to me, even if the origin of the term (presumably in Akk) was different which does not seem to me conclusively proved either; although the adjective is lacking in Akk, the well-established /pecū/ could conceivably have edged it out of use at a prehistoric date already, and derivation from /labān/ *hurl (off, down)* is by no means obvious either.

LBʃ: Ug /lbʃ/ *dress, clothe (o.s.)*; (+/lpʃ/, /mlbʃ/) *garment(s), clothing*; Aram /lbʃ/ *dress, clothe (o.s.)*; /lbåʃ/ *garment*; Syr /lbʃ/ *clothe; provide, be affected (with); undertake, undergo; enter, have sexual intercourse*; /lbåʃ/, /lbūʃ/, /'al-/ *garment(s), clothing*; Akk /labāʃ/ *dress o.s.*; /libʃ/, /lubʃ/ *garment*; /lubuʃt/, /-ult/, (NAss) /-uss/, /labuss/ *clothing, attire*; Arab /lbs/ *(+D, A) clothe, dress (o.s.); cover, conceal, confuse*; /libs/ *garment, attire*; Mhr /lbs/ *put on, wear (clothes)*; /labs/ *dress, attire*; G&z /lbs/ *put on, wear (clothes); clothing, raiment*; Te /lbs/ *dress o.s.*; /läbis/ *clothing, raiment*; /lbbas/ (pl. /läbäbbs/) *garment*; Har /lbs/ *dress (o.s.)*; /ləbāʃa/ *clothing*; Sdd /läbbäsä/, Wol /-b-/ *put on, wear (clothes)*; Sdd /ləbs/, /ləbbaʃ/, Wol /əbas/ *clothing, garment(s)*; Berb: Sus /ls/ *dress (o.s.)*; Tu /ălsu/ *put on, wear (clothes)*; ?Eg /nms/ *linen bandage (for idols); king's headdress*; (Dem.) /lbʃ/ *arm, clothe.*

In Berb, the labial has been transposed after the sibilant and in Sus, lost altogether. In Eg, the earlier attested form seems distinct from the Demotic one and so its phonetic equivalent in Sem is not clear; the Dem. one seems semantically closer to Cpt /låbʃ/ which has hardly anything in common with the Sem-Berb root.

LG: Ug /lg/ *a measure of liquids (by volume?)*; Aram /lugg/, /loʷg/ = *(ca.* $\frac{1}{2}$ l); Syr /laggt/ *bowl, plate*; Eg (Dem.) /lq/ *a measure of liquids*; Cpt /lok/ =.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

LGZ: —

Created by transposition from /zlg/.

LGʃ: Aram /lugʃ/ *cedar 'wool'.*

LV: Aram /luʷl/ *small hole, narrow space*; Arab /lūl/ *screw, spiral staircase*; ?/lawlab/ = (syr.); *pipe, conduit, sinkhole*; /lawlabiyy/ *spiral*; ?Te /lolab/ *winch, screw.*

The first Arab entry is on the authority of K-B^3. The Te entry may be loan from Arab.

LV II: Phoen /ll/ *night*; Ug =; Aram /leʸl(y)/ =; Syr /lely/, /lily/ =; /lelīt/ *nymph, female daemon*; Akk /līl(y)āt/ *evening*; /lilīt/ *female daemon of storm*; Arab /layl(at)/ *night*; ESA /ll(y)/, /lyl/ =; Mhr /laylət/ =; /(be-)xallay'/ *(at) night*; Soq /līlhe/, /lilehe/ *night*; G&z /lelit/ =; Te /lali/, /lel/ =; Har /läyli/ =.

The Eg /nn/ stands probably for the earlier /nwnw/ (Baer). The word for the female daemon appears to be of Sumerian origin, but has been connected with this root in WSem.

LHB: Phoen (NPu) /lhb&t/ *flame*; Aram /lah(a)b/, /-buʷt/, /lhoʷb/ =; Akk /la'b/, /la'īb/ *infectious fever*; Arab /lhb/ *burn with thirst; (fire) blaze*; /lahab/, /lahīb/ *fury (of fire), blaze*; Mhr /ləhēb/ *hot wind*; G&z /lhb/ *burn, blaze*; /lahb/ *flame, (intense) heat*; Te /lhb/ *sweat; A induce sweating*; /lb/ *R singe, kindle, roast*; /läbba/, /läblib/ *flame*; Har /läbläb/ =; *wick-lamp*; Sdd /ləbälläbä/, Wol /-l-/ *singe*;?Bed /luw/ *burn*; Eg /rhbw/ *glow (of fire)*; (Dem.) /lhb/ *smoke*; Cpt /lhåb/ *steam, vapour.*

The Eg-Cpt entry may be ultimately loan from Sem (Vycichl), although it involves some semantic shifting. NB. the forms without /h/ in Eth Bed. On Mhr, Johnstone's ms. has *not wind* which obviously must be emended as above. Cf. the root /ʃlhb/ below.

LH7: Aram /lh7/ *burn (up)*; Syr /lh7/ *tD* =; ?Arab /lh7/ *slap (with flat hand); hit (with arrow).*

In Eth too: OAmh /lāc/ *(fire) consume (mountain)* (Littmann). The Arab entry parallels the Hbr meaning, *blade (of sword).*

LH/W7: ?Aram /lw7/ *curse*; ?Syr =, *detest*; ?Akk /lā7/ *encompass*; Arab /lw7/ *plaster (a tank) with clay; hide; smite (with the evil eye)*; /law7/ *cloak*; ?Eth /lb7/ *cover, besmear, gild*; ?Te /lb7/ *D* =.

All but Arab, as far as relevant, have developed semantically rather onesidedly into different directions; G&z Te less so, but they deviate phonologically also.

LWV: ?Ug /ltn/ *a sea monster*; Aram /lwV/ *join, accompany*; Syr = ; Amor /lwy/ =, *surround*; Akk /lawū/, /lamū/, (OAkk, OAss) /lawā'/, (M/NAss) /labā'/, /labū/ *surround, besiege, wrap up*; Arab /lwy/ *twist, bend, lean (towards), stick (to); be curved, distorted; coil up*; ?Soq /le/ *seize, take possession; Qt reunite, reach agreement*; G&z /läwaw/ *perverse, malevolent, depraved*; Te /lwV/ *move about, go walkabout; embrace; R wind, move around*; Tu /əlwəy/ *conduct, lead (by hand etc., in file)*; /alăwăy/, /il-/ *caravan*; Chad: Dera (Kanakuru) /ləwi/; Bata (Bacama) /ra/; Daba /lāh/ *accompany*.

The Soq meanings may seem remote, but they are not far from the Te one, to *embrace*. If the Ug entry is indeed etymologically identical with the last Hbr one, the latter has undergone rather tortuous phonetic development too. ?Ebl /la-ù-um/ (=ku-li).

LWV II: Arab /lwy/ *(+Qt) give up (s.th.); delay payment, deny (debt)*; ESA /lw'/ *'hostage', person as a security (for a loan)*.

LWZ: Arab /lwδ/ *(+A) encompass; L circumvent, thwart, elude, shun*; /lawδ/ *winding (of a valley), mountain circuit*; ESA /lyz/ *dislocate* (Beeston).

NB. Arab /δ/ vs. ESA /z/.

LWZ II: Arab /luʷz/ *almond (tree, fruit)*; Syr /lūz/ = ; Arab /lawz/ = ; G&z /läwz/ = ; Te = .

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

LWX: Phoen /lx/ *tablet*; Ug /lx/, (pl.?) /lxt/ = ; Aram /luʷx/ (pl. /-xiʸn/, /lwåxiʸn/) = ; Syr /lūx/ = ; Akk /lē'/, /lēy/ = ; Arab /lawx/ =, *board, plank, plate; flat bone*; Mhr /lawx/ *board*; Soq /lōx/ =, *plank*; G&z /läwx/ =, *stake, pole; (writing) tablet*; Te /lux/ *board, tablet*.

A *Kulturwort*, although somewhat varying in meaning.

LWN: Phoen /ln/ *tL growl*; Arab /lwm/ + *D , A blame, criticize; L, tL rebuke o.a.*; ?/lwn/ *tD change one's mind*.

In the latter Arab entry, the more concrete meaning, *be painted, coloured, variegated* could be the primary one at least as well.

LWQ: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

LWʃ: ?Ug /lʃ/ *knead*; Aram /lwʃ/ = ; Syr =, *mix*; Akk /lāʃ/ = ; Arab /lwθ/ *twist (a turban) round; mix; soak*; G&z /lw$/, /lws/ *work upon (a mass, dough), knead*; Te /loʃä/ *put in, on*; /läwäʃä/ *take a piece of bread*; Wol /lawäsä/ *knead (dough)*; Berb /ăllăs/ *knead*; ?Eg /ywʃʃ/ *brew, dough (etc.)* (Vycichl).

Baer says that /l/ = /y/ and /θ/ = /ʃ/ are poorly documented. However, as there is irregularity about the sibilant within Sem also and the root as a whole akin to *Kulturwörter*, perhaps the irregularities in Eg can be attributed to an unusual source or channel of borrowing.

LX: Aram /lx/ *R moisten, make flow*; /lixlu^{w}x(t)/ *juice*; Akk /lāχ/ *young sprout*; Arab /lx/ *A give steady rain*; G&z /lx(x)/ *A, AR moisten, refresh*; Te /llx/ *AD soften*; ?Tu /elăhe/ *humid air resulting from rain.*

The Akk entry is loan from WSem. The Tu one appears to be isolated in that language and may have originated as a loan from Arab.

LXV: ?Ug (pl.?) /lxm/ *cheeks?*; Aram /lixy/ *chin, jawbone; post*; Akk /laχū/ *chin, jaw(bone)*; Arab /laxy/ =; /lixyat/ *beard*; Mhr /ləxyēt/ =, *chin*; /məlxāw/ *jaw, molar tooth; toothache*; Soq /laxyeh/ *beard*; /malaxi/,/malexi/ *jaw*; Te /lxe/ *jaw, molar tooth*; ?/lähawi/ *underside of chin.*

LXK: Ug /lxk/ *lick*; Aram =; *consume*; Syr /lxk/ *lick*; Arab =; *stick, cleave (to)*; ?Chad: cf. /lq(q)/ below; Eg (Dem.) /lkx/ *lick*; ?Cpt /låğh/ =.

Transposition in Eg-Cpt; the Cpt entry is phonetically difficult.

LXM: Mo /lχm/ *Qt fight*; Phoen /lxm/ *bread, food*; Ug =; *eat*; /mlxmt/ *battle, war*; Aram /laxm/, /lxe^{y}m/ *bread, food*; Syr /laxm/ =; /lxm/ *be fit, appropriate; apply o.s. (to); threaten*; ?Amor /laxm(atān)/ ?(Ns); Akk /lēm/, (OAkk) /la'ām/, (NAss) /le'ām/, (M/late Bab) /laχām/, /leχēm/ *eat, consume*; Arab /lxm/ *close up, consolidate; smite (with sword), slay; stick (to); be fleshy*; /lax(a)m/ *flesh, meat; pulp*; /malxam/ *fight, slaughter*; ESA /lxm/ *fight, brawl*; Mhr /lxm/ *touch; H weld*; /əwχaym/ *shark*; Soq /lxm/ *Qt get used to*; /lexem/ *big fish, shark*; ?G&z /lahm/ *bull, cow, cattle*; Te /lxm/ *close, stop up, glue together; keep to*; /mälxämi/ *glue*; ?Har /lām/ *cow*; ?Ch /äram/ =; Sdd /älam/, /əlam/ =; Wol /lam/ =, *cattle*; Tu /əlχəm/ *take hold (of) with teeth; solder, weld*; Chad: Sumray /lāma/ *taste*; Musgum /lāma/ *eat (dry food)* (Müller after Lukas).

The Sdd var. is my recording. As to the relevance of the word for cow, cattle generally, the word is akin to *Kulturwörter* and the glottal instead of pharyngal fricative could be connected with this; being an important source of dry food, it must be rated a possibility.

LXC: Aram (Sfire) /lxc/ *oppression*; Arab /laxīc/ *straitened, narrow*; /lχc/ *have fleshy eyelids; D extract the pith (of); abridge, sum up (a question)*; Soq /laxac/ *narrow valley*;?Cpt /låğh/ *rub, crush.*

According to Baer, the Cpt entry is a LW, and although verbs are normally not borrowed (Gelb), the fact that it is not attested in earlier Eg supports this. Phonetic split parallelling semantic difference in Arab; fundamentally, the meanings are similar, fleshy eyelids producing narrow eyes, and D-stem describing results of concrete or abstract squeeze. Cf. the root /nxc/ below.

LXʃ: Phoen /lxʃt/ *incantation, charm*; Ug /lχʃt/ *whisper* (n.); /mlχʃ/ *conjuror*; Aram /lxʃ/ +*D whisper; cast a spell, charm*; Syr =; Akk /laχāʃ/ *Qt, D whisper, urge*; Arab /lāxūs/ *ominous*; G&z /'älxosäsä/ *whisper, mutter.*

Cf. the root /nxʃ/ below.

L7: Aram /l7o^{w}m/, /lo^{w}dån/ *ladanum*; Syr /ladn/ = ; /lå7me/ (pl.) *pistachio nuts*; Akk /ladinn/, /lad(u)n/ *ladanum*; Arab /lādan/, /lādin/ = ;?/la7īm(at)/ *perfume, scent-box; beasts loaded with perfumes.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; the final nasal may have its origin in mimation.

L7’: Aram /xal7t/(!) *gecko*;?Arab /l7’/ *cleave (to the ground)*;?Te /l7’/, /l7&/ *adhere.*

Whether the Aram entry is based on a misreading of Hbr or on an independent tradition is not clear; for the Samaritan scribes the word appears to have been unfamiliar anyway, cf. the spelling and pronunciation varr. Should the Aram entry be based on a misreading, the Arab (?Te) entry may provide a valid etymology.

L7ʃ: Ug /l7ʃ/ *burnish (a sword)*; Aram =, *sharpen*; Syr =, *incite*; Arab /l7s/ *knock; trample heavily (upon)*; /mil7ās/ *pickaxe*; ?/lds/ *slap (with hand); throw (a stone at); D shoe (a camel)*; /mildas/ *stone for breaking fruit-stones.*

Generalized and also phonologically differentiated (?) in Arab.

LYN: Phoen /lyn/ *innkeeper (?)*; Ug /ln/,?/nl/ *spend the night*; Akk /n(i)āl/ *stretch o.s.; go to bed, to sleep*; Arab /lyl/ *L hire for a night; A be overtaken by night.*

Denominative from the word for *night* (see the root /lV/ II above); the final rad. dissimilated in Hbr Phoen Ug, the initial one in Akk and possibly once in Ug; but the Ug var., if relevant, might be a scribal error (Pardee).

LYC: Aram /le^{y}cån/ *frivolous, mocker*;?Akk (Am) /lāc/ *Qtn mock (?).*

The Akk entry, if relevant, is evidently loan from Canaanite. The Arab /lwc/ seems to express frustration and shyness rather than mockery.

LYʃ: Aram /le^{y}t/ *lion*; Akk /nēʃ/, f. /-ʃt/, /-lt/ = ; Arab /layθ/ =, *kind of spider; strength; eloquent*; /lyθ/ *D, D ps, tD, St be brave (like lion)*; /lys/ *brave.*

The sibilant in Akk may have been lateral (cf. f.), the initial /n-/ may then have dissimilatory origin. NB. the Arab var. too.

LKD: Phoen /lkd/ *catch*; Aram =, *take hold (of)*;?Akk /lakād/ *run, go (like wolf etc.)*; Arab /lkd/ *strike (with hand); (+tD) (dirt) stick, adhere*; /lakid/ *avaricious*;?Har /lxd/ *catch, seize, hold.*

The Akk entry may be relevant, as the proverbial wolf runs to catch his quarry; Arab has shifted in different directions, but still recognizably cognate; in Har, the pharyngal is irregular. Soq /lekod/ seems unrelated.

LMD: Ug /lmd/ *learn; D teach; pupil, apprentice*; Aram /talmu^{w}d/ *teaching, instruction, study (of the Law)*; /talmi^{y}d/ *student, pupil*; Syr /lmd/ *join, adhere*; /lmīd/ *used to, friend*; Akk /lamād/ *learn (to know), experience*; G&z /lmd/ *be familiar (with), used (to)*; Te /lmd/ *learn, get used to, be tamed*; /lämåd/ *custom; friendship*; Har /lmd/ *study,* *learn, get used to*; /limdi/ *custom*; Ch /nämädä/ *love*; Sdd /ləmad/ *custom; tradition.*

The entries related to study and learning may all derive ultimately from Hbr.

LN7: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

LS7: Aram = Hbr; Syr /les7(åy)/, /lus7/ *thief, brigand*; Arab /licc/, /lucc/ = ; /lc/ *practise thievery, robbery; do stealthily.*

(Based on a) LW from Gr.

L&(&): ?Aram /lo^{w}&/ *chin, jaw (?)*; Syr /lō&/ = ; /l&/ *lick*; Akk /lu'/ *throat*; /lēt/, /līt/ *cheek; side*; Arab /wlγ/ *lap (dog); taste*; /walūγ/ *lick, draught, morsel.*

The Aram entry translates Hbr /lxyym/ in Dt 18:3. The Aram /l&(&)/ seems to refer primarily to herbs. Eg /r'/ = Cpt /ro/ phonetically difficult and semantically deviant.

L&G: Aram /l&g/ *D, A mock*; /lg/ *R = ; stammer*; Syr /l&g/ *stammer*; /lg/ *R = ; speak*; Arab /lğ/ *R repeat same words; stammer*; /lγ/ *R = ; mock* (Guillaume); /l&ğ/ *hurt, grieve, distress*; G&z /l&/ *tR stammer*; ?Te /l&/ *R speak vivaciously, profusely.*

Of onomatopoeic origin.

L&Z: Aram /lå&o^{w}z/ *speaking a foreign language*; Syr /l&z/ *speak, slander; (bird) sing*; Arab /lγz/ *distort; (+L, A) speak enigmatically*; /luγ(u/a)z/, /laγaz/ *enigma, riddle*; /laγγāz/ *slanderer*; ?Mhr /lγθ/ *speak badly*; Soq /ro&oz/ *lie, slander, blaspheme.*

Probably of semi-onomatopoeic origin.

L&7: Syr /lu&å7/ *jaw*; Akk /la'āt/ *gulp down*; Soq /la&7a7/, f. /-7i7/; /ʃel&a7/, f. /-&i7/ *with outstretched tongue.*

L&N: Aram /l&ant/ *wormwood; bitterness*; Arab /l&n/ + *L curse*; /la&n(at)/ = (n.).

Bitterness being verbally associated with curse in many languages, it is unnecessary to split the root.

LP'/V: ?ESA /lfy/ *bring back*; ?Soq /lafi/ *health, strength; strong.*

Assuming that the Hbr entry means defensive fortifications, the above comparisons may be relevant; however, even the root is uncertain, cf. /tlp/ below.

LPD: Aram /lappi^{y}d/, /lampåd(os)/ *torch*; Syr /lampēd/, /-pīd/ = .

A *Kulturwort*, twice borrowed, the second time certainly from Gr, the first time perhaps from Hitt (cf. Rabin, Or 32 p. 128f.)

LPS: Aram /låps/ *pan, crucible.*

LW from Gr.

LPSN: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

LPT: Aram /lipt/ *rape*; Syr /lapt/ = ; Akk /lapt/, /labt/ = ; Arab /lift/ (syr.) = ; *turnip*; /lafītat/ *gruel of colocynth and flour.*

LQ(Q): Arab /lq/ *strike with flat hand*; (syr.) *lap; R clap, agitate*; ?Soq /liqeleq/ *confound, gossip*; ?Te /lq/ *R rinse, smear over, plaster*; ?Har /alqāläqa/ *rinse, gargle; white-wash.* Bed /lak/ *lick, lap*; Bil /lanqī/ *tongue*; /lanꝗ/ *lick, flatter*; Som /raq/ = ; /luqluq/ *gargle, swallow*; Berb: Sus /llĕγ/, Tu /əlləγ/ *lick*; Chad: Ron (Daffo) /loq/, (Bokkos) /lok/, (Sha) /lig/, /lik/; Warji, Kariya /nəkə/, Pa'a /likən/, Tumak /lag/ = .

The root is of onomatopoeic origin; cf. also /lxk/ above. The Soq entry could derive from another homonymous root, meaning in Eth *mix (solids) (etc.)* (cf. Leslau, Gur III, p. 382), possibly also some elements in Arab etc.

LQV: Aram /lqV/ *be beaten, suffer*; Arab /lqy/ *meet, find out; L encounter; A throw to ground, cast away*; ?Eg /rq/ *ward off*; /rqw/, /rqy/ *adversary, enemy* (Calice no. 243).

LQX: Phoen /lqx/ *take, fetch; purchase*; Ug = ; Aram /lqx/ *tQ get married*; ?Syr /laqx/ *plain surrounding the city*; Akk /leqū/, /laqū/, (OAkk, Ass) /laqā'/ *take, obtain, receive*; Arab /lqx/ *conceive*; ESA /lqx/ *capture, arrest*; /mqx/ *profit, advantage*; Mhr /lqx/ *conceive*; G&z /lqx/ *give & take*; Te /lqx/ *(camel) be pregnant*; /lqqäx/ *borrowing*; Har /lēqäxa/, /lēxaqa/ *A lend, tD borrow*; /ləqəx/ *loan*; Wol /leqä/ *lend*; /täl-/ *borrow*; ?Eg /x'q/ *take booty, prisoners* (Cohen no. 442).

LQ7: Ug /lq¢/ *gather*; Aram /lq7/ *gather, fold together; glean*; Syr /lq7/ *gather, glean, attract; contract*; Akk /laqāt/ *gather in*; Arab /lq7/ *pick up, glean*; ESA /lq7/ *make incursions; St be abducted (?)*; Mhr /lq7/ *pick up (small objects); H collect (small things)*; Soq /leqo7/ *gather*; Te /lq7/ *pick up (grain, stones)*; /lqqa7ät/ *grain harvest*; Bed /lekit/ *pick up.*

The Bed entry may be loan from Te. NB. the final /-t/ in Akk.

LQʃ: Aram /lqʃ/ *D bear (offspring) late; A cause to be late*; Syr /lqʃ/ *D bear fruit late; tD become late, old*; /leqʃ/ *after-growth (in meadow, hayfield)*; Arab (syr.) /lqs/ *D detain, delay*; /laqqīs/ *late, tardy.*

Lʃ: Phoen αλσουν(!) *tongue*; Ug /lʃn/ = ; *(D?) slander*; Aram /liʃʃån/ *tongue; language, expression*; /lʃn/ *A gossip, slander*; Syr /leʃʃån/ *tongue; language, speech, pronunciation, sentence; promontory, bay*; /lʃn/ *speak, pronounce, describe*; Akk /liʃān/ *tongue; speech, language*; Arab /ls/ *eat, lick; (cattle) graze*; /lisān/ *tongue; language, letter*; /lsn/ *be eloquent*; ESA /lsn/ *tongue; calumny (?)*; Mhr /'əwʃēn/ (pl.

/ləʃōn/) *tongue*; Soq /leʃīn/, /liʃhen/ *language*; G&z /lsan/ *tongue; speech, language; flame*; Te /lsan/, (usually) /nssal/ *tongue*; /lsn/ *D praise, incite*; Sdd /məlas/ *tongue*; Ch /nasä/, Sdd Wol /lasä/ *lick*; Om: Dime /lits'/, Chara /hals/ = (Fleming); Berb: Zenaga /itʃi/ *tongue* (Zyhlarz); Rif /ilɛs/, /ir's/ =; Sus /ils/ =; Fass /iles/ =; Tu /iləs/ =; *language, idiom; informant, speaker; sharp point*; Chad */ls$_3$-/, */s$_3$l/ *tongue*; Eg /ns/, (Dem.) /ls/ =; Cpt /las/ =.

The root is probably common to the whole phylum, although in Cush, there are no attestations; and in Eth, the root /lxs/ being actually better in agreement with the recorded Gur verb forms. The Chad entries above are reconstructions of Jungraithmayr and Shimizu on the basis of the majority of Chad recordings. The final /-n/ being attested in Sem only and the verbal forms containing it being evidently denominative, it is best considered nominal stem afformative and the root basically biradical in Sem too. Prothetic vowels in Berb (and Chad); transpositions in Te Chad. The Sdd noun is my recording; it has a similar counterpart in AmhS. Ebl /li-sa-nu/. ?Amm (pref) /ylʃn/ *be sharp(?)*.

LʃD: Akk /lild/ *cream(?)* Arab /lsd/ *milk (the udder) empty; lick (vessel) clean (of honey)*; ?G&z /läsd/ *butter*.

As the Hbr entry, according to Nm 11:8, is made with fat, the Akk G&z entries too could be relevant, except that v. Soden indicates uncertainty about Akk meaning and that the Eth entry (which Dillmann spells as above) is derived from the proper name of the Ethiopian province of Lästa by Coulbeaux-Schreiber, *Dictionnaire* p. 86f (as quoted by Leslau, *Contributions* p. 29). We may assume, however, that the Akk meaning is sufficiently close to *cream* for it to be relevant to the Hbr entry; and as for G&z, it is not normal for an originally voiceless stop to be voiced secondarily when in contact with a voiceless sibilant; so I wonder whether the explanation given is based on actual facts and not on the folk-etymological ingenuity of some informant. De Vito, *Vocabolario* p. 20, knows only the form /läsda (7asmi)/ which he translates *(burro) crudo*.

LʃK: Phoen (NPu) /lyʃkt/ *chamber*; Aram /liʃkt/ *cubicle; (temple) treasure chamber*; ?Arab /nsk/ *be godly, worship (God)* (Guillaume).

NB. the Hbr var. with /n-/.

LʃM: Eg /nʃmt/ *pale blue feldspar*.

LW from Eg (with semantic shift)?

LTX: ?Akk /maʃtak/, *chamber, cell*; ?G&z /'ltaχ/ *kind of raiment*.

As the Hbr entry can hardly be the primary one, those above are mutually exclusive.

LTK: ?Ug /ltx/(, /ltχ/) *a measure (of volume)*; Syr /ltek/ =; Akk /litikt/ =.

Probably LW from Akk, although the Ug form is irregular; the Ug var. may be scribal (or dialectal?).

מ

M: Ug /my/, (sf.) /m-/, /mm-/; (pl.) /mym/ *water; (vital fluid=) blood*; Aram /mayy/, /mayi^{y}n/; (sf.) /ma-/, /me^{y}-/, /mo^{w}-/; /me^{y}me^{y}-/ *water*; Syr /may(y)/ =; *(body) fluid; juice*; Akk /mū/, (OAkk, OAss) /mā’ū/, (poet.) /māmū/ (/māwū/?) =; Arab /mā’/ =; ESA /mw/, (min.) /mh/; (pl.) /mwy/ *water*; Mhr /xəmōh/ =; G&z /may/ =, *vital fluid*; Te /may/ *water*; Har /mī/, /miy/ =; Wol /mäy/, /me(y)/ =, *sea*; Bed /yam/ *water*; Som /biyo/ =; Om: Caf /amiyō/ *rain*; Berb: Rif (pl.) /aman/ *water*; Sus Shilxa =; Tu =; Chad: Sura (etc.) /am/, Tal (etc.) /ham/, Yiwom (Gerka) /γam/, Gera (etc.) /amma/, Deno (etc.) /ama/, Gis (etc.) /yam/, /’iyam/, Musgum (etc.) /yem/ (var. /ğem/), Barein (etc.) /ami/, Migama /ammi/, Mokulu /’a’u/, Mubi /āme/, Chibak /yīmi/, Margi (Dzergy) /’imi/, Kotoko /ame/, Baram /mayi/, /māl/, Guruntum (etc.) /ma/, /mā(l)/, Gude (etc.) /main/ (var. /mā’īn/), Nzangi /bī/ (var. /mbī/), Bata (Malabu) /mbəije/, Zime (Batna/Lame) /mbi/ =; Eg /my/ (rare) =; /mw/, /myw/ =, *fluid, semen; son*; /myt/ *urine*; Cpt /mow/ *water*; /mūme/ *spring, fountain*; /mē/ *urine*.

Further in Cush: Or /biye/ *water*; Iraqw /mā’y/ =; Quara /au/, /ahū/, /aχū/ =; Sid /wā/ =. As is evident at the first glance, the labial nasal /m/ is the only firm element present throughout the material, only occasionally (in central Cush and sporadically in Chad) wholly or partly denasalized or liquidized into a (semi-)vowel. The vowel necessary for its pronunciation under most circumstances has been placed after it in Sem Eg, mostly Cush, often also Chad; before it Berb, mostly Chad and occasionally in Cush; on both sides in Om (as far as attested) and occasionally in Chad. Other (semi-) consonantal elements are mostly recognizable as glides created in connection with the attachment of inflectional elements or in sandhi, occasionally (in Cush Chad) reinforced to become fricatives or (in the final position) nasal or lateral approximants; in Berb, the final /-an/ is the pl. afformative itself, as /-ay(m)/ in Hbr Aram (etc.); the Mhr initial accretion is again the petrified PTdt (Johnstone). How Jungraithmayr and Shimizu could reconstruct prenasalized /b/ as the basic element for Chad is beyond my comprehension, as it occurs in only one Chadic language and as a variant in a couple of others, as against /m/ in the overwhelming majority both in Chad and in the other branches of the phylum; nor can I understand how the name of such a basic commodity as water could have been created independently in the different branches (and sub-branches?) of the phylum (apart from Sem-Eg) so that the only firm consonant in each case was /m/; or if there were more consonants to begin with, the others were shed one by one — again so that practically everywhere only /m/ remains. Odds against such a development are simply astronomical. Accordingly, we conclude that the root is monoradical and common to the entire phylum.

M’: Phoen /m’t/ *100*; /m’tm/ *200*; Ug /m’it/, (du.) /m’itm/ =; (pl.) /m’at/; Aram /m’å^{h}/, (du.) /må(’)tan/, (pl.) /måwåt/, /må(’)wån/ =; Syr /må’/, /ma(’)t/, (du.) /ma(’)ten/, /-tīn/, (pl.) /ma(’)wåt/ =; Akk

/me'at/, /māt/, /mē/, (O/MAss) /mēt/; (pl.) /me'at/, /māt/, (Mari) /mēt/ =; Arab /mi'at/, (pl.) /-āt/, /-ūn/, /-a^{yn}/, /mu'ūn/ =; ESA /m't/; (du.) /m't(y)n/, /m'nhn/; (pl.) /m'n/, /m'nm/, /m'tn/, /m'tm/ =; Mhr /əmyīt/ =; Soq (dim.) /mu'ienoh/, (du.) /mau'inoti/, (pl.) /maunhiten/ =; G&z /m't/, (pl.) /'äm'at/ (var. /'ä'mat/) =; Te /m't/, (pl.) /'äm'at/ =; Sdd /mäto/ =; Wol /(hoyt) mato/ (etc. higher up) *(two etc.) hundred.*

Ebl /mi-at/ *100*, (pl.) /ma-i-at/, /ma-i-hu/ *100,000.*

M'D: Ug /m'd/ *(D?) accumulate(?)*; /m'id/ *much, large, great; very*; /m'ud/ *multitude, herd(?)*;?Amor /m'd/(?) *be plentiful(?)*; Akk /m(a')ād/ *be/grow plentiful, numerous*; /mu'(ud)d/ *crowd, large number*; /mād/, /ma'd/, /mand/, (NAss) /madd/ *many, numerous*; Arab /m'd/ *Qt acquire (wealth)*; ESA /m'd/ *add (greatly?).*

M'N: Syr /m'n/ *be disgusted (with), revolt.*

Eth /mnn/ seems closer to Arab /mn/ and also to /mn&/ below.

M'S: Aram /m's/ *despise*; Akk /mēʃ/ =; Arab /m's/ *be cross (with), sow discord (between), slander.*

The Aram entry could be loan from Hbr.

M'R: Arab /m'r/ *reopen (wound); (+L) sow discord (between).*

MGD: Aram /migd/ (pl. /migdåni^{y}n/) *good fruit; precious things*; Syr /magd/ (pl. /magdone/) *fruit*; Arab /mğd/ *be great, noble; (cattle) pasture in fat land; D make (present) great.*

MGN: Phoen /mgn/ *offer, present*; Ug /mgn/ *beseech (with gifts)*; Aram /maggån/ *gratis*; Syr =; *in vain*; Amor /mgn/ *present, donate*; Akk /magann/, /-k-/ *(as a) gift; without reason*; Arab /mağğān/ *gratuitous*; /-na^{n}/ *gratis.*

Based on a LW, as it seems, ultimately from Sanscrit.

MGN II: —

Denominative from the word for *shield*, see the root /gn(n)/ above; the South Eth & Cush /mägän/ (etc.) has a different origin, see Leslau, Gur III p. 394.

MGR: Aram /mgr/ *D overthrow, annihilate*; Syr /mgr/ *totter, fall*; Arab /mağr/ *(sale or purchase of a) foetus; game of chance; usury*; /mğr/ *be emaciated (pregnant ewe).*

In the Arab entry too, a "fall" (miscarriage) seems to be the more common outcome.

MD(D): Phoen /mdt/ *scale, proportion*; /mdd/ *surveyor(?)*; Ug (pl.) /mdm/ = (?); /md/ *(lady's) garment*; Aram /midd(a)t/ *way, manner; property, characteristic*; Syr /md/ *flee, escape; A =; dare, venture, pursue, comprehend, comprise*; Akk /madād/ *measure (out); escape*; Arab /md/ *advance, lengthen; (+D, L) spread, stretch*; /mudd/ *mea-*

sure of volume (bushel; 2 pints); /muddat/ *length, while*; ESA /mdd/ *measure(ment)*; /mmd/ *prolonged(?)*; /mdt/ *part (=latter half?) of a month*; Mhr /mdd/ *(+Qt) stretch (o.s.; out); H give*; /məddēt/ *period, generosity*; Soq /med/ *extend*; /'imdid/ *maintain, sustain*; /medde/ *period*; Te /md/+*L spread, stretch; attack*; /mäd/ *side-board (of a bed)*; /mädäd/ *time, duration*; /mddät/ *period*; ?Tu /muda/ *a measure of volume (ca. 1 l)*; /ămudhu/ = *(ca. 30 l)*.

The Tu entries, if indeed derived from this root, are technical terms and no doubt entered the language as *Kulturwörter*, the root is thus confined to Sem. The primary meaning appears to be to *stretch, expand.*

MDR: Syr /medr/ *(lump of) clay, soil, garden bed; dust*; Akk /midr/ *countryside(?)*; /midirt/ *garden bed*; Arab /madar(at)/ *clay, dry mud; village, borough*; ESA /mdr/ *earth, (piece of) ground*; (pl.) /'mdr/ *region, district*; G&z /mdr/ *earth, continent, province, region; soil, floor, pavement*; Te /mdr/ (pl. /'ämdar(at)/) *land, earth, ground*; Ch /mädär/ *place, (a particular) area*; Sdd =; /mədər/ *earth, ground, soil, region*; ?(+Wol) /mändär/ *village*; ?Tu /amăΛal/ *earth, soil, country*.

For an alternative derivation of the last Sdd (Wol) entry cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 408 (the Gur word could perhaps still derive from the SAr one despite its Persian origin).

MH(H): Arab /mh/ *treat (cattle) gently; R prevent; tR abstain (from)*; /mahah/ *gentle walk, easy thing.*

MHL: Aram /mhl/ *circumcise; dilute (wine).*

Cf. the root /mwl/ below.

MHR: Ug /mhr/ *serviceman, soldier*; Syr /mhīr/ *fit, skilful, expert; quick(?)*; ?Amor /mahir(ān)/(?); Arab /mhr/ *be(come) skilled, experienced*; ESA /tmhrt/ *elite troops*; Mhr /mhr/ *Qt try*; /məhayr/ *skilled, clever; knowledge*; Soq /di maxleh/ (!) *quickly, soon*; G&z /mhr/ +*D teach, educate*; Te /mhr/+*A teach; select (grain)*; /mhur/ *experienced, learned*; /mhrät/ *knowledge*; Ch Sdd Wol /tämarä/ *study, learn*; Ch /atmärä/, Sdd /-ma-/ *teach*; ?Tu /mərumər/ *go quickly*; ?Eg /mhr/ *be wild, intractable.*

If the Tu entry is relevant, the root was originally biradical, expanded in Sem by the insertion of /h/ (presumably originated as a glide, cf. root varr. like /mhl/ = /mwl/), in Tu reduplicated; in Soq, the glottal fricative has shifted to pharyngal and the tremulant been lateralized.

MHR II: Ug /mhr/ *bride-price*; Aram /muh(a)r/ =; Syr /mahr/ =; Arab =, *dowry*; ESA /mhrt/ *means, wealth (specified for marriage?)*; Mhr /mēhər/ *bride-price*; Soq /mhar/=; Som /meher/ *pre-wedding gift to bride.*

In Cush also: Saho /nāhre/ *dowry* (with phonetic shift). The word is a kind of *Kulturwort* of unknown origin (does not seem connected with Akk /maχīr/).

MWG: Aram /mwg/ *L, tL dissolve, flow apart*; ?Syr /maggīg/ *insipid*; Arab /mwǧ/ *decline, swerve (from); (+tD) (sea) rage; (crowd) be disorderly*; Mhr /mawgət/ *wave; rough seas*; ?G&z /mogäd/, /-ät/ =.

The G&z entry could have been borrowed from something similar to the Mhr one, with voicing of the fem. afformative not recognized as such; the Syr one deviates morphologically and is rather remote semantically.

MW7: Aram /mw7/ *swerve, totter*; Syr = ; Arab /my7/ *act wrongfully; (+A) deviate, remove (from); tL disperse in confusion*; G&z /my7/ *avert, revert, convert.*

MWK: Ug /mk/ *grow weak(er), be vanquished*; Aram /mwk/ *sink, decline; lay down*; /m'k/ *sink, become low(ly).*

Cf. the root /mk(k)/ below.

MWL: Aram /mwl/ *tL be cut off.*

Cf. the root /mhl/ above.

MWM: Aram /muʷm/ *blemish*; Syr = ; Arab /mūm/ *pleurisy, smallpox.*

MWN: Aram /måmoʷn/ *money, property, wealth*; Syr =; ?Akk /mān/ *provide (with nourishment)*; ?Arab /mwn/ *provide with victuals*; /mūnat/ *victuals, provisions.*

Cf. the root /mnV/ below?

MWQ: Aram /mwq/ *D, A mock, ridicule*; Syr /mwq/ *D* = ; ?Akk /muqq/ *tire (out), exhaust*; Arab /mwq/ *be foolish; tL feign madness; St act foolishly.*

MWR: Aram /mwr/ *A exchange*; Syr /mwr/ *purchase, transport (grain, provisions); A sell, provide nourishment*; ?Akk (late Bab) /mār/ *buy(?)*; Arab /mwr/ *move to & fro*; /myr/ +*L, A, Qt supply with provisions.*

The Akk entry, if relevant, is loan from WSem.

MWʃ: Aram /mwʃ/ *touch, feel*; Syr =; *explore, scrutinize*; Akk (NAss) /muāʃ/ *touch, feel.*

The Akk entry is loan from Aram (vS). Cf. the root /mʃ(ʃ)/ below.

MWT: Phoen /mt/ *die; dead; myth: death*; Ug /mt/ = ; *(the god of) death*; Aram /mwt/, /myt/ *die*; /miʸt/ *dead, corpse*; /moʷt/, /miʸtuʷt/ *death*; Amor /mwt/ *die*; Akk /māt/, (OAkk, Ass) /muāt/ *die*; /mīt/, (Ass) /mēt/ *dead*; /mūt/ *death*; /mītūt/ *state of being dead*; Arab /mwt/ *die; burn out, wear out; be forlorn; grow quiet*; /may(yi)t/ (f. /may(ta)t/) *dead*; /mawt(at)/ *death*; ESA /myt/ *die*; /mwt/ =, *dead, death*; Mhr /mwt/ *die; be eclipsed*; /mōyət/ *dead, dying*; /mawt/ *death*; /maywət/ =, *(process of) dying*; Soq /mī(t)/ *death*; G&z /mwt/ *die*; (+/mwut/) *dead*; /mot/ *death, lethal disease*; Te /mwt/ *suffer, be gravely ill, endanger one's life, die, be dead*; /mot/, /mayt/ *death*: Har /mōta/ *die*; /mut/ *dead, death*; Ch /mʷätä/, Sdd Wol /motä/ *die*; Ch Sdd Wol

/mot/ *death*; Som /måūd/, /mōd/ *death*; /miy(y)id/ *dead, corpse*; Berb: Lib /mt/, Rif /é'mme'θ/, Shilxa /mta/; Zenaga /emmi/, Sus /mmĕt/, Fass /emmet/, Tu /ămmăt/ *die*; Chad: */mwt/ =; Eg /mwt/ =, *dead, death*; Cpt /mū/ *die, death.*

There are no examples from Om and even those from Som, the only ones from Cush, look rather like borrowed from Arab; however, with ample attestation in all the other branches of the phylum and the concept being easily susceptible to taboo, we may tentatively assume that the absence of the root in (Cush) Om could be secondary. The Chad entry is Jungraithmayr & Shimizu's reconstruction on the basis of attestations in nearly all Chadic languages. Ebl /mwt/ *die*; ?/ma-wa-tim/ *deceased?.*

MZ(Z): Akk /mazā'/, /mazū/ *press, squeeze out*; Arab /mz/ *(tD) suck*; /muzz(ā')/ *palatable wine.*

MZG: Aram /mzg/ *mix (wine)*; Syr =; Arab /mzğ/ *mix, mingle (liquid, with).*

Cf. the root /msk/ below.

MZX: ?Akk /mēzeχ/, /-zaχ/, /māzaχ/ *sash (of cult image)*; ?Arab /xzm/ *bundle up (goods); (+A) strap (a beast); tD gird o.s.*; /xizām(at)/ *strap, girth, girdle*; ?Eg /mğx/ *headband*; ?(Dem.) /mğẖ/ *girdle*; ?Cpt /moğh/ =.

The three alternatives are mutually exclusive; as the Akk entry comes from /ezēχ/ and Eg /ğ/ = Sem /z/ is found in LWW only, the Hbr entry could only have been borrowed from either one; whereas, if it is related to the Arab root, a transposition must have taken place. According to Baer, the Dem-Cpt entry is distinct from the old Eg one and borrowed from Sem; the Hbr one cannot then be borrowed from it; nor can the entire Arab root have been based on a LW, it has proliferated far too much for that.

MZR: ?Aram /midr/ *outflow*; Syr /mmaddar/ *putrid, rotten (egg)*; /mdr/ *A decay, rot*; Arab /mδr/+*tD feel qualmish; (egg) be rotten.*

MX(X): Phoen /mx/ *fatty, rich*; Ug /mχ/ *brain, marrow*; Aram /mo^{w}x/ =; Syr /mūx/ =; Akk /muχχ/ *skull; upper part (of liver etc.)*; Arab /muχχ/ *marrow, brain, pith*; /muxx/ *pith, choice part*; (+muxxat/) *egg-yolk.*

Phonetic split in Arab.

MX'/V: —

LW from Aram, cf. the root /mxc/ below.

MXV: Phoen /mx/ *efface, delete*;?Ug /mx/ *N flow out(?)*; Aram /mxV/ *wipe off*;?Akk /ma'ū/ *push, (D) throw away, reject (?)*; Arab /mxy/+*D erase, cancel, (God) forgive (sins)*; /mχy/ *D remove; A, tD apologize; Qt, tD abstain.*

Phonetic split in Arab again. ?Ebl /ma-um/, /ma-wu/ (/i-da(-a)/) (=a-ʃu-luχ).

MXL: Aram /mxl/ *permit, forgive*; Syr /mxl/ *grow weak, feeble*; ESA /mxr/ *mercy, grant?*; ?G&z /mxr/ *pity, be merciful*; ?Te =; /bxl/ *forgive, pardon*; ?Ch ?Sdd ?Wol /marä/ *forgive, pardon*; ?Bil /bihil/ *mercy, pardon.*

The Bil entry, if relevant, is likely to be loan from Te, and so the root is original in Sem only. Moreover, the Eth /mxr/ could well have been created through transposition from Asiatic /rxm/, as transpositions are not all that unusual and in Arab, a phonetic split appears to have taken place in that root too (cf. the root, /rxm/, below). Te /bxl/ could, then, be the original representative of this root in Eth, with denasalization of the 1st rad. The interpretation of the ESA entry appears uncertain; the Syr one represents rather a pejorative interpretation of the concept of pardon.

MXL II: —

So in the facsimile, not with /h/; but could be root var. of /mhl/, cf. Jastrow under /mhl/ II, /mo^{w}hal/ and /mo^{w}xal/.

MXC: Ug /mχc/, /mχʃ/ *smite, slay; Qt fight? massacre?*; Aram /mxV/ *smite, wound*; Syr =; *break, smash; whip, kill*; Akk /maχāc/ *hit, beat, smite, slay; weave*; Arab /mχΛ/ *shake; churn (milk); have birth pangs*; ESA /mχΛ/ *(+St) shake, jerk violently; dig (channels); (+H, Qt, St) subdue*; /mχΛn/ *exaction of tribute*; G&z /mxc/ *strike, smite, pierce, slay*; Te /mxc/ *shake; churn (milk); (+tQ) have birth pangs*; Har /mx7/ *hit, beat, knock, shoot; tL fight*; Ch Sdd /amä7ä-čč/, Wol /ama7-ti/ *have labour pains*;?Bil /mād/, /mad/ *hit (s.o.'s head) to bleed.*

The Bil entry is semantically rather specialized and phonological correspondence not normal; Te has been influenced semantically by Arab. The root /mx'/V/ above has been borrowed from the Aram entry. Ebl (nact) /ma-χa-cí(-i-da)/.

MXQ: ?Phoen /mxq/ *scraper?*; Aram /mxq/+*D wipe off, delete*; Arab /mxq/ *efface, erase, annihilate*; ?Mhr /mχq/ *draw, pull out (a dagger).*

The Mhr entry, if relevant, is semantically highly specialized; the Phoen one may also derive from the root /xq(q)/.

MXR: Ug /mχr/ *price*; Akk /maχār/ *oppose, obtain, receive*; /maχīr/ *value, equivalent, rate; market*; ?ESA /mxr/ *(deed of) sale(?)*; ?Soq /mexor/ *offer, sacrifice.*

Sacrifice might have been regarded as a commercial transaction (*do ut des*), but the meaning is rather specialized; in ESA, the interpretation too is uncertain. The Hbr Ug noun is loan from Akk. The Eg /mχr/, (later) /mẖr/ *silo* seems to be m-derivative from a root /χr/ *fall, under* (Baer). Ebl /ma-χa-lum/, /-lu-um/ *receipt.*

M7R: Ug /m7r/ *rain* (n. & vb.); Aram /m7r/ *A*, (n.) /mi7r/ =; Syr /m7r/, (n.) /me7r/ =; Amor /m7r/, (n.) /ma7ar/ =; Akk /mi7r/, /mi7irt/, μιτερθ *watercourse*; Arab /m7r/ *rain*; /ma7r/ *shower, (heavy) rain*;

ESA /m7r/ *(rain-)irrigated field*; Soq /me7reh/ *dawn*; Chad: Birgit /mataro/ *rain.*

The Chad entry is obviously loan from Arab (Jungraithmayr). The connecting link for the Soq one is no doubt dew found on the ground and vegetation at dawn.

M7R II:Aram /ma7ro^{w}n(i^{y}t)/ *noblewoman*; Syr =.

LW from Lat.

MYN: Aram /mi^{y}n/ *kind, species; heretic*; Syr /mīn/ *family, house*; Arab /myn/ *lie*; Te /mnV/ *create; invent, lie; L create; tL take shape*; /minät/ *nature, figure, shape; lie, falsehood*; Eg /mnt/ *manner, fashion*; Cpt /mine/ =.

Ug /mn/ is unlikely to be connected (Pardee); and so Akk /mīn/ (cf. v. Soden; moreover, pronouns are hardly borrowed as nouns); in Arab, the meaning has developed one-sidedly; in Syr, it has been concluded from the context (Is 48:lvar.). The Eg entry is attested since the Middle Kingdom, but apparently not frequently; the connection is suggested by Vycichl after Ember, Calice (no. 625) and Vergote.

MYʃ: Syr /mayʃ/ *celtis tree*; Arab /mays/ = ; *erect vine*; ?/mys/ *(+tD) sweep, swagger; (+A; God) spread (disease); D fringe (a garment)*; ?Soq /mys/ *grow thin, lose weight.*

Connections between verbal entries are somewhat vague.

MK(K): ?Ug (cf. /mwk/ above); Aram /mkk/ *be/make low, level; humiliate; D press down*; Syr /mk/ *spread down, extend; prostrate o.s., be lowly, humble*; Arab /mk/ *(+tD, Qt) suck up (marrow), press (a debtor)*; Har /muχuχ/ *smothered embryo; crooked (person)*; Wol /mäkäkä/ *be curved, bent, crooked*; /mukk/ *bent, crooked.*

Cognate with the root /mwk/ above.

MKS: Aram /miks/ *(road) toll, tax*; Syr /maks/ =; *auction*; Akk /miks/ *rent (for leased field); harvest tax*; /makās/ *collect rent/tax*; Arab /maks/ *market-tax, customs duty*; /mks/ *defraud, cheat; (+D) collect taxes*; Te /mägäs/ *rent for leased fields.*

A *Kulturwort* of Akk origin, with denominative verb in Arab.

MKR: Phoen /mkr/ *sell; seller, dealer, merchant*; Ug /mkr/ *merchant*; Aram /mkr/ *buy; promise (one's daughter) in marriage*; /taggår/ *merchant, dealer*; Syr /mkr/ *buy; (be) betroth(ed)*; /taggår/ *merchant*; Akk /mäkir/, /makkār/ *dealer*; /tamkār/, /da-/, /damgār/ =, *merchant, financier*; /makār/ (late Bab) *do business*; Arab /mkr/ *(+A) beguile; D store up (grain)*; /tāğir/ *merchant*; ESA /mkr/ =; Mhr /tgr/ *be(come) rich*; Soq /tegor/ *buy*; /tegir/ *merchant, rich man*; /teggeher/ *customer.*

Against earlier general opinion, v. Soden considers the Sumerian /damgar/ to be loan from Akk, not vice versa. It is certainly easier to understand the considerable proliferation of the root in NWSem and Arab, if it was originally Semitic rather than based on a non-Sem loan, however common *Kulturwort* this may have been. In modern SAr, however, the latter is evidently the case, and the fact that verbal use of the root in Akk is late and sporadic does not support its originality there either; /magār/ is only slightly tangential. Could the root be of *WSem* origin? ?Ebl (cs.) /ma-gal-lu/ *merchant(?).*

MKR II: (Aram cf. /måke^{y}ri^{y}n/ *knives, daggers.*).

If our interpretation is correct, cf. Gr μαχαιρα; see also O. Margalith in V.T. 34 p. 101 f.

ML(L): Arab /ml/ *put (bread, meat) into embers*; /mulla^{y}/ *well baked bread*; /malīl/ *baked or cooked in embers.*

ML(L) II: Phoen /ml/ *word, promise*; Aram /mll/ *D speak*; /mill/, /mlal/ *word*; /millt/ = *; thing*; Syr /mll/ *D speak, sound*; /mellt/ *word, thing, cause, promise, utterance, proverb, consensus; ability to speak*; Arab /ml/ *A dictate; tD, Qt embrace (a religion)*; /millat/ *religion, belief, rite.*

LW from Aram in Hbr; cf. the root /'mr/ above?

ML': Phoen /ml'/ *fill*; Ug /ml'/ *be full, (D) fill*; (f.) /ml'it/ *full, entire*; /ml'at/ *full moon*; Aram /mlV/ *(+D) fill*; /maly/, /mle^{y}/ *full*; Syr /mlV/ *fill, put in; draw (water); provide, satisfy, suffice; be full, filled, completed, come to an end*; /mle/ *full*; Amor /ml'/ *be full*; Akk /malū/, (OAkk, O/MAss) /malā'/ *be(come) full; D fill*; /malū/, (OAss) /mal'/ *full*; Arab /ml'/ + *tD, Qt be full; (+D) fill, satisfy, help*; ESA /ml'/ *fill, complete; H fill in, fulfil; fullness, capacity*; Mhr /ml'/ *be full; L, H fill; Qt have swollen belly*; /mēl/ *fullness, capacity*; Soq /ml'/ *be full; L fill*; G&z /ml'/ *be full, abundant; fill, satisfy, make overflow*; Te /ml'/ + *L fill*; Har /ml'/ = *, fulfil*; Ch /mäna/, Sdd /molla/, Wol /melä/ *fill, be full, have plenty*; Ch /mura/, Sdd /mulä/, Wol /mulli/, /mēlä/ *full.*

The Wol var. is my recording (perhaps confused with the verb by the informant). Ebl ma-li-um/ (=ab-si).

MLX: Phoen (Pu; with PTdt) /'mmlx/ *salt-worker*; Ug /mlxt/ *salt; good*; Aram /milx/ *salt*; Syr /melx/ =; Akk /mil'/ *saltpetre*; /mallaχt/, /mu-/ *a salty grass*; Arab /milx/ =; *brackish water*; /malīx/ *salt-(fish, water); good, handsome*; Mhr /məlxāt/ *salt; brackish (water); saltpetre (& sulphur)*; Soq /milxo/ *salt*; G&z /malx/ *salty*; /mlx/ *D salt, make salty*; Te /mälx/ *leaven, sourness; salty food*; /malx/ *salty*; /mlx/ *salt, ferment, turn sour*; Bed /milāk/, /-ak/ *salt*; Cpt /m(e)lh/ =; /mulh/ *be/make salty.*

In Cush also: Saho /milhō/, /mulehō/ *salt*; Afar /mulehū/, /muluhū/ =. The main noun is an old *Kulturwort*, probably of WSem (or pre-Sem?) origin, although somewhat varying in form and content; the verb is denominative everywhere.

MLX II: ?Aram /mlg/ *pluck (fowl)*; ?Syr = ; *shave; grow bald*; Akk /malāχ/ *tear out/off, separate; D dismember; analyse(?)*; Arab /mlχ/ *go away; busy o.s. with trifles; (+Qt) pull, draw (out); (meat) be corrupted*; G&z /mlχ/ *extract, uproot, unsheathe, expel*; Te /mlx/ *unsheathe (sword)*; ?Wol /mälä/ *castrate (an animal).*

The Aram Syr Wol entries, if relevant, have developed rather specialized meanings; Aram-Syr differs phonologically also.

MLX III: Phoen /mlx/ *sailor, mariner*; Aram /mallåx/ = ; Syr = ; Akk /malāχ/ = ; Arab /mallāx/ = ; /milāxat/ *navigation.*

A *Kulturwort* of Sumerian origin. Ebl /ma-la-χu-um/.

ML7: Aram /ml7/ *tQ be rescued*; Akk /bl7/ *live, stay alive, be healed; D keep alive, heal, revive*; Arab /ml7/ *A (she-camel) miscarry*; /mala7a^{y}/ *kind of swift run*; /mlc/ + *tD, N escape; A (woman) miscarry*; Te /ml¢/ *slide off, vanish; tL be lost*; Har /ml7/ *strip off; tQ be stripped; A escape*; Ch /män7ä/, Sdd /mällä7ä/ *strip off, peel; tQ/tD lose (hair), grow bald; A slip/slide off, escape*; Sdd /mul7a/, Wol /mul7/ *bare.*

Cf. the root /pl7/ below.

MLK: Mo /mlk/ *be(come) king, rule; king*; Phoen /mlk/ *rule; king(dom/ship); kind of sacrifice*; Ug = ; /ma-al-ku/ *king*; /mlkt/ *queen*; Aram /mlk/ *advise, decide, rule*; /malk/ *king*; /mallåk/ *adviser*; /milk(t)/ *counsel, advice*; Syr /mlk/ *advise, persuade, promise, threaten*; /malk/ *king, emperor, governor; king(!) bee; leaven (in the host)*; /melk/ *counsel, advice*; Amor /mlk/ *advise, rule*; /mal(i)k/ *king*; /milk/ *rule, advice*; Akk /malāk/ *counsel, advise*; (Ug) *rule (over)*; /malk/, /milk/, /milikt/ *counsel, advice*; Arab /mlk/ *conquer, possess, rule (over); take (a wife)*; /mal(i)k/ *king*; /mulk/ *sovereignty, possession*; ESA /mlk/ *king, kingship; property, domain*; /mlyk/ *royal*; Mhr /mlk/ *possess; (+Qt) keep for o.s.*; /məlēk/ *king*; Soq /melik/ *be firm*; /mlekoh/ *possession*; G&z /mlk/ *possess, dominate, rule over*; /mlkät/ *greatness, majesty*; /’ämlak/ *God*; Te /mlk/ *be master, dominate; L =, command*; /’ämlak/ *God*; Tu /măllăk/ *rule over.*

In Cush: Saho /malak/ *rule (over)*; /milkī/ *ruler*. However, these may be of Sem origin, and as the Tu entry too seems to be loan from Arab (Prasse), the root is original in Sem only. The basic meaning seems to be influential advice which is elsewhere too connected with rulership, cf. the roots /xkm/ above and /mʃl/ below. Amm /mlk/ *king*. Ebl /ma-lik/, /-li-ku-um/ = ; f. /ma-lik-tum/ *queen*; /ma-li-gù-um/ (=nam-en).

MLPP: Aram /me^{y}lppo^{w}n/ *musk melon*; Syr /malpōn/ = ; G&z /mälpäpon/, /-pop-/ = .

LW from Gr.

MLQ: Aram /mlq/ *nip off (a bird’s neck).*

On Akk /mulluqt/, material is too scanty (Salonen); Arab /mlq/ seems semantically remote (Irvine), and so does /mlğ/ and Te /mlqq/.

MN: Aram /mann/ *manna*; Syr = ; Arab = ; *gift, favour*; /mn/ + *Qt bestow (favour); remind (of benefits), reproach (for a gift)*; G&z /männa/ *manna*; Te = .

Kind of *Kulturwort*, apparently of Arab origin.

MNV: Phoen (NPu) /mn'/ *count*; Ug /mnt/ *count(ing)*; ?/mn/ *mina?*; Aram /mnV/ *count, reckon; D determine, appoint*; /many/, /mne^{y}/ *mina*; /minyån/ *count, prescribed number*; /mnåt/ *part, portion, lot; tribute; condition, presupposition*; Syr /mnV/ *count, include; consider*; /many/ *mina*; /menyån/ *number, sum, muster(ing), extent*; /mnåt/ *part, portion*; Amor /mnw/ *count*; Akk /manū/, (OAkk, OAss) /manā'/ *count, reckon, include, deliver; mina*; Arab /mana^{n}/ *mina (=2 ra7l)*; /mana^{yn}/ *lot, fate, death*; ESA /mnw/ *allot*; /mnyt/ *fortune*; G&z /mnan/ *mina*; /bnät/ *tribute, fee, tax*; Te /mna/ *mina*; Ch /m^{w}ar/, Sdd /mannat/ *part, share*; ?Bil /bän/ *allot, apportion; pay (tax)*.

The word for the unit of weight, mina, is a *Kulturwort*, and taxation etc. terms may belong to the same category; this may then mean that this root too is original in Sem only and also account for the denasalized first rad. in G&z Bil. Root /mwn/ above could also be an offshoot of this one. Ebl /mana/ *mina*.

MNX: Phoen /mnxt/ *offering*; Ug /mnx/ =, *tribute*; Aram /minxåt/ *meal offering; afternoon (offering)*; Arab /mnx/ *grant, give*; /minxat/ *gift, (cash) loan*; Soq /mnx/ *give, offer*; Te /mnx/ *D give (cows) in usufruct or as a present*; /mnnxt/ *cow (so given); gift, present*.

The Aram entry is loan from Hbr.

MN&: Aram /mn&/ *refuse, withhold*; Syr /mn&/ *arrive, reach the boundary*; /men&/ *goal, terminal*; Arab /mn&/ *hinder, withhold, defend; be unapproachable*; ESA /mn&/ *prohibit, ward off, hold back; noble, exalted*; Mhr /mn&/ *catch, obtain; H hold, keep; Qt refrain*; Te /mn&/ *withhold, refuse*.

The Syr entry may seem semantically remote, but is still connectable, cf. Mhr.

MS: Aram /miss/ *tribute, tax*; /missat/ *sufficiency, enough*; Syr /messt/ = ; *portion*; Akk (Alalakh, Am) /mass/ *forced labourer*.

The Akk entry is evidently loan from WSem. The Syr one may provide connecting link between the two Hbr (and Aram) entries, cf. the root /mnV/ above.

MS(S/V): Aram /msV/ *dissolve, melt, vanish*; Syr /msV/ *coagulate, condense, decay, rot*; Arab /m$/ *dilute*; /masūs/ *salt water*; (syr.) /maswat/ *runnet*; G&z /msw/ *melt, dissolve*.

The relevance of all the Arab entries is not clear, although each one is semantically connectable.

MSK: Ug /msk/ *mix, blend (wine etc.); mixture, mixed drink*; /mmskn/ *mixing bowl*; Arab /m$ğ/ *mix, confuse*; /misk/ *musk*; /msk/ *D perfume (with musk)*; ?ESA /msk/ *kind of incense?*; Eg (Dem.) /mğg/ *mixing bowl(?)*; Cpt /muğq/ (varr. /muğ(k)/, /muğt/, /muʃq/, etc.) *mix, be mixed.*

Cognate with the root /mzg/ above (q.v.). The complex is akin to *Kulturwörter*, sometimes (Arab, Eg-Cpt) apparently borrowed more than once. As mixing of wine usually means spicing it, and incense often consists of mixed spices, the Arab ESA entries are semantically plausible; however, the interpretation of the ESA one is uncertain.

MSQ: -

Seems not to be attested elsewhere. Derivation from /nsq/ is semantically vague and phonologically difficult.

MSR: Aram /msr/ *transmit (tradition); deliver, hand over*; /måso^{w}rt/ *transmission (of the text of the Bible; etc.), tradition*; Syr /msr/ *transmit (tradition), teach; denounce, despise, slander, ridicule.*

The meaning of the biblical attestation being uncertain, comparisons are tentative; but the ESA /m$r/ *remove* seems unlikely to be a cognate anyway.

M&: Aram /m&/ (pl. /m&i^{y}n/, /m&ayin/) *intestines, womb, body*; ?/må&(a)t/, /m(å)&/ *a small coin; money*; Syr /m&ay/, /ma&y/ *intestine(s)*; ?/må&/ *small weight, coin*; (pl.) *money*; ?Akk /amūt/ *(sheep's) liver; liver omen*; (late Bab) /māχāt/, /-χī/ *one-twelfth of a shekel* (vS); Arab /ma&t/, /mi&ā'/, /-a^{yn}/ *intestines*; Mhr /mə'wəyēn/ =; Soq /mi(&)xo/ =; ?/mo&o/ *ancestor*; G&z /'äma&ut/ *intestines*; /mä&ät/, /-at/ *anger, fury*; Te /m&o/ (pl. /'äm&it/, /&ä-/) *intestines*; Ch /mat/ *anger, rage.*

The intestines being commonly considered the seat of emotions in Sem, connection of the word for 'anger, fury' with this root is semantically well established. On the second Soq entry cf. Gn 15:4 etc.; however, derivation from /&m(m)/ through metathesis cannot be excluded either. The possibility of connection with the second Hbr entry is admittedly rather tenuous: combination of Gn 15:4 with 22:17 in the opposite sense, i.e., transferring the meaning, *grain (of sand)*, to the present root; from this, the usage as a small weight and monetary unit would have developed and spread as a *Kulturwort*. Cohen's (no. 467) non-Sem entries are all phonetically and some semantically dubious.

M&D: Syr /m&d/ *reel, totter*; Arab /m&d/ *snatch (s.th.) unawares; draw (sword); travel (in a country); injure (stomach); Q ps have a stomach complaint.*

M&7: Aram /m&7/ *D exclude; tQ decrease*; ?Syr /m&7/ *overhang(?); stink*; Akk ma7ū/, (OAkk, Ass) /ma7ā'/ *decrease, be little/few*; Arab /m&7/ *(wolf) have scanty hair; tD =; (hair) fall off*; Te /m&e7a/ *thin, slender*; ?Berb: Fass /ama7ū7/ *a little*; /amā7o amā7o/ *little by little.*

The Berb entry is both semantically and phonologically feasible, but being geographically rather remote and isolated and no positive evidence for an equivalent to /&/ possible, it cannot be considered certain.

M&K: Aram /m&k/ + *D press, squeeze, crush*; Syr /m&k/ *disturb, confuse*; Arab /m&k/ *rub; overcome (in wrestling); be insane.*

M&L: Aram /m&l/ = Hbr; /m&i^{y}l/ *(High Priest's) mantle*; Arab /mγl/ *calumniate*; /maγālat/ *treachery, perfidy.*

The Aram entries are evidently loans from Hbr, but the Arab ones can hardly be that; thus, the root cannot be denominative from the word for mantle. The opposite relationship, however, is still possible and indeed easier to accept on the fact that the alternative derivations from roots /&lV/ and /&l(l)/ do not tally well with the long stem vowel of the noun. Semantically, the idea of deception by means of changing clothing or masking oneself is so common that it should not need positive proof; but cf. the root /bgd/ above.

M&R: see /&r(r)/ II below.

MP: Aram = Hbr.

A *Kulturwort*, as it seems, of Phoenician-Punic origin, although inscriptionally unattested; the Hbr-Aram entry comes apparently from Gr or Lat. The basic root may be /npV/, although semantic similarity is not great in Hbr.

MC(C): Ug /mcc/ *suck*; Aram /mcc/ =; *squeeze out*; Syr /mc/ =; *drink*; Arab /mc/ *suck, sip in*; Mhr /mcc/ *suck*; Soq /mc(c)/ =; Har /m77/ *suck up, absorb fluid*; Sdd /mä77ä7ä/ =.

Cf. the root /mcV/'/ below.

MC': Ug /mc'/, /mγy/, /m¢'/ *come, arrive, reach*; Aram /mcV/ + *tQ be able (to); reach, overtake; A be reachable*; Syr /mcV/ *find, come across; be able (to), adequate*; Amor /mc'/ *find, reach*; Akk /macū/, (OAkk, Ass) /macā'/ *be adequate, satisfy; reach*; Arab /mΛy/ *pass (away), elapse; go on, advance, penetrate (into); (+A) execute, conclude*; ESA /m¢'/ (var. /mΛ'/) *reach, arrive (at)*; Soq /m7y/ =; G&z /mc'/ *come, reach; happen*; Te /mc'/ *come, arrive*; Sdd /mä77a/, Wol /mä7ä/ =; *A bring*; Som /mid/ *arrive*; Tu /awəΛ/ *reach, attain; suffice*; Chad: Ron (Fyer) /mōt/ *arrive.*

NB. the variation in the sibilant. In Cush also: Afar /ma(t)/ *come.*

MCV/': Aram /mcV/ *suck, squeeze out*; Syr =.

Cognate with root /mc(c)/ above. I do not find Arab /mcw/ nor Te /mcy/ confirmed, and Te /myc/ seems rather remote.

MC&: Aram /mc&/ *be in the middle; D put in the middle; halve*; Syr /mc&/ *reach, pass, be in the middle; D act in the middle; mediate, conciliate*; Soq /&amžahi/ *middle, mean.*

MQ(Q): Aram /mq/ *tR rot; pine away.*

MQL: ?

Akk Arab (etc.) /baql/ deviates phonologically, morphologically and semantically. ?Ebl /ma-ga-lu-um/, /-ru$_x$-um/ (= giʃ-kak-ʃubur).

MR: Ug /mr/ *depart? expel?*; Akk (Am) /marār/ *go ahead*; Arab /mr/ *(+Qt) pass (by, along, across); elapse*; Te /mr/ *run, walk.*

The Hbr entry has a specialized meaning.

MR(R): Phoen /mr/ *myrrh*; Ug =; /mrr/ *bless, strengthen; ʃ poison*; Aram /mo^{w}r/ *myrrh*; /mrr/ *be bitter, gloomy*; Syr /mūr/ *myrrh*; /mr/ *be bitter; mourn*; Akk /marār/ *be/grow bitter*; /murr/ *bitterness; myrrh*; Aram /mr/ *be bitter; Q ps be bilious*; /murr/ *myrrh; bitter; high-spirited*; /marīr/ *strong, steady*; ESA /mrt/, /mrrt/ *myrrh*; Mhr /mrr/ *A embolden*; /mər/ *bitter*; /mərrāt/ *gall(-bladder); courage*; Soq /'imrir/ *make bitter*; /mer/ *stomach*; G&z /mrr/ *be/grow bitter, sad, mournful*; Te /mr/ *be bitter, bad, sulky*; /mr/, /märrät/ *bitterness*; /märir/ (f. /märrar/) *bitter, hard, powerful*; Har /mrr/ *be bitter*; /murur/ *bitter*; /mərār/ *bile*; Ch /mänärä/, Sdd /märrärä/, Wol /mär-/ *be bitter, angry*; Bil /märär/ *be bitter.*

The Bil entry seems to be isolated in Cush and may therefore be loan from Sem; Eg /mr/ *be ill; painful (etc.)* does not seem to contain a connotation of bitterness. The root is thus confined to Sem. Ebl /m]ar-ru$_x$-um/ *bitter (? oil).*

MR': Ug /mr'i/ *fat*; Akk /marū/, (OAkk, OAss) /marā'/ *fatten; make slow*; Arab /mr'/ *(+A) (food, climate) be wholesome, beneficial; eat*; /marī'/ *wholesome (food)*; ?Sdd /mora/, ?Wol /morä/ *non-eatable animal fat.*

Cognates of the Gur entries occur in Cush too, see Leslau, Gur III p. 418, but the Gur entries themselves are doubtful because of their isolated position and highly specialized meaning which deviates from the general trend of the other entries. There could, however, be a more remote connection linking also roots /br'/ and /'mr/ II above with this one. Cf. /mrx/ below.

MR' II: ?

Possibly related to Ug /mr'/ *command*; cf. Aram-Syr /mår/ *lord, master*; ?Akk /amēl/; Arab /mar'/, ESA /mr'/; Tu /əmaləy/ *intact male.*

MRG: Aram /mo^{w}r(a)g/ *threshing sledge*; Arab /mawrağ/ *harrow*; /naw-/, /nay-/ *threshing-maschine, drag, ploughshare*; ?Soq /mrg/ *lose one's teeth.*

The Soq verb could be denominative in a privative sense, cf. /ʃrʃ/ *D*, then metaphorically applied to a living being. The noun is a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin. (Sum? cf. Reider, V.T. 2 p. 116).

MRD: Aram /mrd/ *be fed up, obstinate, rebellious*; Syr /mrd/ *be too difficult, rebel, escape, resist, prevail*; Arab /mrd/ *be audacious, rebellious*; ESA /mrd/ *(warlike) incursion*; G&z /mrd/ *D run swiftly, assail, attack, make an incursion*; /m(ä)rad/ *attack, incursion.*

MRD&: Aram /marda&t/ *pack-saddle or cushion (made of patches)*; Syr /barda&t/ *cloth, rag*; Arab /barda&at/, /-rδa-/ *(cloth put under an ass's) pack-saddle.*

Kind of *Kulturwort*, as it seems (on Hava's and Jastrow's authority), of Persian origin.

MRV: Aram /mrV/ *tQ be/grow angry, obstinate*; Syr /mrV/ *D imitate, emulate; tD = ; contend;* Arab /mry/ *(horse) stamp the ground;L oppose stubbornly; tL quarrel*; /miryat/, /mu-/ *quarrel, doubt.*

MRX: ?Ug /mrχ/(?) *f coat, plate (with gold)*; Aram /mrx/ *D polish, smoothen*; ?Akk /mirχ/, /merχ/ *sty (in the eye)*; /marāχ/ *rub?*; Arab /mrx/ *plaster with clay; D anoint with oil*; /mrχ/ *(+ D) anoint (a body; tD o.s.); soften (dough) with water*; /marūχ/ *ointment*; /mrγ/ *tD anoint o.s.*; Mhr /mrx/ + *Qt (camel) have rope-burns on the back*; /marx/ *rope-burn*; G&z /mrg/ *bedaub, plaster, whitewash*; Te /mrg/ *D smear (watering-troughs) with clay*; /märg/ *clay (mortar)*; Har /mrg/ *plaster*; Ch /mänägä/, Sdd /märrägä/, Wol /-r-/ = ; ?Sdd /mora/, ?Wol /morä/ *non-eatable fat*; Bil /marg/ *plaster with clay*; /margā/ *clay (mortar)*; Chad: Tera Gudu /mar/, Ngamo(?) Sura /mor/ *oil* (Müller after Newman-Ma).

The Bil entries may derive from Sem (Appleyard); but the word for non-eatable fat (which tallies better with this root) is found in Cush, cf. the ref. at /mr'/ above. On the other hand, Eg /mrxt/ *oil (for anointing)* has the verbal root /wrx/ beside it and all the other attestations can hardly derive from it. NB. the variation in the 3rd rad.

MRXʃWN: Aram = Hbr; Syr /marxeʃwån/ *November*; Akk /(w)araχsamn/ *the 8th Babylonian month.*

LW from Akk.

MR7: Aram /mr7/ *pluck (out; hair etc.)*; Syr =, *despoil*; Akk /marā7/ *scrape, rub off*; Arab /mr7/ *be hairless; (+ D, L) pluck (hair) out*; Har /mr7/ *strip off, lay bare, penalize, fine*; Ch /mur7/ *bald, stripped off.*

In Te /mrc/, brightness seems to be the central meaning.

MRKL: Aram /'ammark(å)l/ *temple officer, trustee*; Akk /ammār akal/ *overseer of provisions (?)* or /ammarkarra/, /χammarākāra/ *accountant.*

LW from Akk (and ultimately from old Persian?).

MRS: Aram /mrs/ *stir, crush*; Syr /mrs/ *press, crush*; Akk /marās/ *stir up (liquid); crush*; Arab /mrs/ *wipe (hands); L, Qt exert o.s.; tD rub o.s.; struggle (against)*; /mrθ/ *moisten, soften; D crumble.*

Phonological split in Arab parallelling a semantic one.

MRC: Ya /mrg/ *f fall sick*; Ug /mrc/ *be ill; disease*; Aram /mr&/ *be(come) ill*; (Fkh) /mrq/ *illness*; Syr /mr&/ = , *grow feeble*; Amor /mrc/ *be ill, angry*; Akk /marāc/ *be(come) ill, troublesome; worry*; Arab /mrc/

press (a teat); /mrΛ/ *be ill, diseased; D tend, nurse (sick)*; /mar(a)Λ/ *disease; hypocrisy*; ESA /mrΛ/ *suffer, be ill*; (pl. /’mrΛ/) *disease*; Mhr /mrź/ *be ill; H nurse*; /mərayź/ *ill, sick*; /mərēź/ *illness*; Soq /mrΛ/ *cure; ʃ recover*; ?Tu /mălad/ *(physical, material, moral) fault*; ?Eg /mr/ *(be) ill.*

NB. the phonetic variation in the 3rd rad. The Tu Eg entries are phonetically hazardous (Tu borrowed from or influenced by French?).

MRQ: Aram /mrq/ *rub, polish, delete*; Syr /mrq/ *polish, wipe off*; Akk /marāq/ *rub, polish, grind, devastate*; Arab /mrq/ *pluck hair (off a hide); tD lose hair*; (pal.) /mrğ/ *rub* (Blau); Te /mrq/ *shave; tan (hides)*; /mruq/ *baldhead*; Ch Wol /məräqäqä/, Sdd /-qqäqä/ *scratch, tear apart, peel, prune.*

Akk can hardly be the source of the entire root (agst. Blau, V.T. 5 p. 342).

Mʃ(ʃ): Aram /mʃʃ/ *D, R touch, feel, grope*; Syr /mʃ/ + *R stroke, touch gently*; Akk /maʃāʃ/ *wipe off*; Arab /ms/ *touch (with hand), strike; (misfortune) smite; (necessity, drink, insanity) affect*; ESA /ms/ *touch, handle*; G&z /mrss/ *touch (gently), grope*; Te /ms/ + *L rub, wipe off, delete*; Har /māʃa/ = ; Ch /m^{w}aʃä/, /m^{w}əʃaʃä/; Sdd /maʃʃä/, /məʃaʃʃä/, Wol /m^{w}aʃe/, /muʃaʃe/ *rub, massage, wipe (off), stroke, caress*; Tu /əməs/ *wipe (water, sweat etc.) off gently; efface.*

In Arab, the meaning has developed rather one-sidedly into a negative direction. The root /mwʃ/ above (and /ymʃ/MT) is cognate.

MʃV: Aram /mʃV/ *wash (hands, feet); A draw (through water), rinse*; ?Syr /mʃV/ *sweep, stroke, remove, delete*; ?Arab /msy/ *extract; (heat: dehydrate =) emaciate (cattle); Qt be thirsty.*

Meaning in each entry, as far as indeed relevant, has developed rather apart from the others; Syr has lost even the contact with water common to others.

MʃV II: ?Arab /wa$y/ *silk brocade adorned with figures* (Guillaume); ?Eg /msy/ *kind of shirt (gallabiya).*

The Arab entry is semantically derivable from the verbal root /w$y/ which as a whole cannot possibly be denominative; but a LW could have been folk-etymologically adapted to that root. The Eg entry, attested since the 18th dynasty, may itself be a LW (Baer); of the alternative etymologies so far suggested, the Hittite one by Rabin thus remains as the only plausible one.

MʃX: Ug /mʃx/ *anoint*; Aram = ; Syr = ; Amor /m$x/ = ; Arab /msx/ *(+ D, tD) = ; wipe; wash (tD o.s.)*; Mhr /msx/ *rub, stroke, wipe*; G&z /msx/ *anoint; ?have dinner, banquet, feast*; ?Te /msx/ *have breakfast.*

The phonetic value of the Amor sibilant is uncertain. In G&z, the meaning, to *anoint*, probably derives from Hbr; the other meaning (and Te) is so different that its connection with this root must be considered uncertain.

MʃX II: Aram /mʃx/ *measure*; Syr =; Akk /maʃāχ/ =; Arab /msx/ *survey (land)*; /massāx/ *surveyor*.

Arab /msχ/ looks rather far-fetched.

MʃK: Ug /mθk/ *extend (hand)*; Aram /mʃk/ *draw, attract; extend (o.s.)*; /maʃk/, /muʃk/ *skin, hide*; Syr /meʃk/ =; /mʃk/ *dry up, be exhausted*; Akk /maʃk/ *skin, hide*; Arab /msk/ *be tenaceous; (+D, A, tD, tL, Qt, St) take hold (of), grasp*; /mask/ *freshly flayed skin*; ESA /msk/ *take, grasp*; G&z /msk/ *draw, extend (a bow)*; Te /msk/ *harness, saddle*; /mämsäki/ *girth*; Wol /mäsäkä/ *lead (a horse, mule)*; Bil /wåʃaq̇ā/ *tanned skin (for bed)*; Som /masag/ *skin bottle*; Eg /msk'/, /msq/ *skin, hide, leather*.

The Eg entry with its phonological var. looks like borrowed and perhaps the word for "skin, hide" may be regarded as a *Kulturwort*; in Akk too, the word is used, apart from the flayed skins of enemy leaders, almost exclusively of materials for industrial purposes; however, the absence of the verb in Akk could naturally be due to obsolescence as well. That the noun is connected with the verb is best illustrated in Syr where the verb also reflects the qualities of a hide, cf. also the Arab noun. NB. the Ug representation of the sibilant.

MʃL: Phoen /mʃl/ *rule*; Aram /mtl/ *speak metaphorically, compare*; Syr =; Akk /maʃāl/, (MBab) /meʃēl/ *be like, equal*; Arab /mθl/ *resemble, imitate, compare; be eminent* (Guillaume); /miθl/ *like(ness), equivalent*; /maθal/ *argument, proverb, parable*; ESA /mθl/ *Qt imitate; H duplicate; like(ness), image*; Mhr /mθl/ *be like; L represent, tell, relate, approximate*; Soq /'imtil/ *tell, narrate; Qt recite; ʃ talk, speak*; /methal/ *saying, parable, talk*; G&z /msl/ *be/seem like; D make like; speak metaphorically, in parables; compare; similitude, parable, proverb; image, effigy*; Te /msl/ *be similar; say a proverb, parable; AtL compare*; /mäsäl/ *proverb, parable, model; affair*; Har /msl/ *be like, resemble, seem; AtD pretend; tF look similar*; /misli/ *likeness*; /məsāl/ *example*; Ch /mäsärä/, Sdd /mässälä/, Wol /-s-/ *be like, resemble, seem*.

In Cush: Quara /mäsäl/ *compare*; however, this isolated example is likely to be loan from Sem to which the root is then confined. The basic meaning appears to have been the use of an influential saying, cf. the principle of the sympathetic magic that like produces like; there is then no reason to separate the usage with the connotation, to *rule* under a different root; cf. also roots /xkm/ and /mlk/ above.

MʃQ: ?Arab /m$q/ *Qt snatch, pull off*.

Assuming that irregular right of inheritance could be compared to usurpation; Dahood's interpretation assumes either semantic or (also) morphological irregularities in every word of the key phrase; Arab /wsq/ is at best only vaguely relevant too.

MT: Ug /mt/ *man, husband; mortal*; Amor /mut/ *man, mate*; Akk /mut/ *man, husband; warrior*; Arab /matāt *relationship, affinity, kindred*; G&z /mt/ *man, husband*; Om: Caf /maččē/ *woman, wife*; Chad: Hsa /mutum/ *man, male*; (f.) /mačē/ *woman, female*; Sura (etc.) /miss/, Sokoro /mati/, Migama /mīΛi/, Bata (etc.) /mure/ *man, male*; (etc.); Eg /mt/ *nerve, sinew, vein; phallus*; /mtwt/ *semen.*

Despite sporadic attestation, the root must have been very widespread in earlier times; phonetic similarity with the root /mwt/ may be partly responsible for the frequent obsolescence. The feminine forms may be secondary creations.

MTG: Aram /mitg/ *bridle.*

Te /mätäg/ *thin neck* appears semantically at best only vaguely related.

MTX: Ug /mtx/ *distance (as a measuring unit?)*; Aram /mtx/ + *D, A stretch out, extend*; Syr /mtx/ =, *draw (a bow), aim (a missile), excite, prolong; last, persevere*; Akk /matāχ/ *raise (tribute; goods for transportation etc.)*; Arab /mtx/ *pull (out); draw (water)*; /mattāx/ *prolonged (day, night)*; /mtχ/ *persist (in)*; /mittīχ/ *long and supple (wood)*; /mittīχat/ *rod.*

Phonological split in Arab, cf. Akk. Cf. the root /mʃx/ II above?

MTN: Ug /mtnm/ (pl.) *loins, hips (?)*; /mtntm/ = ?; /mdn/ *draw (a bow) (?)*; Aram /mtn/ *await; be cautious*; /måtnayy/ *hips, loins*; Syr /matnåt/ = ; *mountain ridges*; /mattīn/ *slow, sluggish, idle*; Akk /matn/ *sinew, bowstring, bow*; Arab /mtn/ *be strong, steadfast; remain; spread, extend; D strengthen (skin, tent)*; /matn/ *side, muscle of the back*; /tamtīn/, /timtān/ *tent ropes*; Mhr /mōtən/ *flesh of the back*; Soq /moten/ (pl. motni/) *loin(s)*; G&z /mätn/ *nerve, sinew*; ?Tu /səmmutən/ *(make) limp; walk haltingly.*

As the only non-Sem attestation and rather remote semantically, the Tu entry must be considered uncertain. NB. the Ug var. (if indeed connected).

MTQ: Ug /mtq/ *sweet*; Aram /mtq/ *suck; tQ grow sweet*; Syr /mtq/ *suck, absorb, inhale*; Amor /mat(a/i)q/ *sweet*; Akk /matāq/ *be/grow sweet*; /matq/ (f. /matuqt/) *sweet*; Arab /m7q/ *taste & smack one's lips*; /ma7qat/ *sweetness*; Mhr /m7q/ *taste (s.th.)*; /ma7q/ *sweet*; Soq /me7oq/ *sweet*; G&z /m7uq/ = ; Te /m7q/ *D (milk) be sweet.*

Partial assimilation in South Sem (?or loss of dorsal articulation in NSem?).

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N'V: ?Ug /n'at/ *kind of offering.*

Root var. of /nwV/ below; cf. also /'wV/ above.

N’M: Arab /n’m/ *sigh, moan, snarl*; /na’mat/ *noise, sound.*

The original reference was apparently to the noises made by an ecstatic prophet in a trance. Cf. also /nhm/ below.

N’P: Aram /n’p/ *D commit adultery*; Arab /n’f/ *apply o.s. (to); quench one’s thirst; loathe*; Eg /nhp/ *leap, jump; rise early; copulate*; Cpt /nuhb/ *copulate.*

The Eg entry is used mostly of animals, but also of humans; this tallies well with the Hbr usage of an illicit, hence inferior human relationship but the meaning, to *copulate*, is not found before the 18. dynasty. The Arab entry also refers to satisfying vital needs common to animals and humans and to intense emotional involvement; whereas in Arab /nχb/, the primary reference appears to be to cowardice, the notion of begetting serving only its transfer to the next generation (or turning to the contrary) and being thus incidental. Tu /ənbəy/ seems to mean primarily to *taste.*

N’C: Ug /n’c/ *despise, slander (?)*; Aram /niʸ’uʷc/, /neʸ’-/ *insult, invective*; Akk /nāc/, /na’āc/ *belittle, be/deem poor, worthless.*

Though not clear in detail, the Ug entry implies a negative attitude and its expression anyway; on the other hand, Arab /nwc/ refers primarily to physical distance.

N’Q: Ug /nhqt/ *braying*; Aram /n’q/, /nhq/+*D bray, cry, groan*; Syr /nhg/ *roar, cry, groan*; Akk /nāq/ *cry out*; Arab /nhq/ *bray*; Mhr /nhq/ =; *(dragon) roar; f (woman) shriek*; Soq /nhg/ *cry*; G&z /n’k/, /nhk/ *sigh, moan*; /nqw/ *make noise*; Te /nhq/ *murmur*; /nxq/ *bray*; /näxaq/ *shout*; /nqV/ *roar, shout*; Ch /näqʷä/, Sdd /noqqä/, Wol /noqe/, /no’e/ *shout, roar, howl, bark, (bel)low.*

Of onomatopoeic origin; cf. /’nq/ above (and /nhg/ II, /nhq/ MT).

N’R: ?Arab /nwr/ *L abuse.*

The connection is rather feeble both semantically and formationally. Cf. the root /m’r/ (and /’r(r)/?) above.

NB(B): ?Ug /yb/ (pref) *empty out (of) (?)*; Aram /’abbuʷb/ *flute*; Syr /’abbūb(t)/ *tube, pipe; reed*; /būb/, /bīb/ *aqueduct*; Akk /nabāb/ *play flute (?)*; /ebbūb/, /enb-/, /emb-/ *flute, pipe, whistle*; Arab /nb/ *(plant) have knotted stem*; /’unbūb/ *knot (of stem); tube, pipe*; /’unbūbat/ *reed stem*; G&z /nbb/ *speak, murmur, meditate, read, sing*; Te /nb/ *read, spell out; R sprinkle (water)*; Ch /aräbäbä/, Sdd /anäbb-/, Wol /anäb-/ *read.*

The primary reference seems to be to a hollow tube, pipe or stem in which water or other liquid may flow, often producing a sound; then of producing (speech) sounds by means of the windpipe or music with hollowed-out instruments. ?Ebl /a-na-bù-bù-tum/, /ù-nu-bù-NE-tum/ *tube, pipe.*

NB’: Aram /nbV/ *tD prophesy*; Syr /nbV/ *D =; tD =; rise as a prophet; rave, be insane*; Amor /nb’/ *call, name*; /nabī’/ *prophet*; Akk /nabū/, (OAkk OAss) /nabā’/ *name, create; call*; /nabī/, /nabū/ *called*; Arab /nb’/ *(dog) bark faintly; D, L, A announce (news); tD prophesy;*

pretend to prophesy; /naba'/ *news, information*; /nubū'at/, /-uwwat/ *prophecy*; /nabī/, /-iyy/ *prophet*; ESA /nb'/ *tD announce (in advance), promise*; Mhr /nbV/ *inform; f call one another*; /nəbī/, /mbī/ *prophet*; Soq /'imbe/, /embe'/ *name, appoint*; /ʃenebi/ *suppose, reflect, compare*; /nebe'/ *ruse, stratagem*; G&z /nby/ *tD rise as a prophet, prophesy*; /näbiy/ *prophet*; /tnbit/ *prophecy*; Te /nby/ *tD prophesy*; /nbbuy/ *announcer, herald*; /näbi/ *prophet*; /tnbit/, /tmbit/ *prophecy*; Sdd /tənbit/ *future*.

Cf. the root /bw'/ above. The primary meaning may be the reflexive to *call (to o.s.)*, reinforced in the tD-stem to mean, to *enter into o.s.*, referring to the trance of the ecstatic prophet. The word for prophet has become a *Kulturwort*. Ebl /na-ba-um/, /na-ù-um/ *call*.

NBX: Aram /nbx/ *bark*; Syr = ; Akk /nabāχ/ = ; Arab /nbx/ = ; *hiss; coo*; Mhr /nbx/ *bark*; G&z = ; Te = ; ?Eg /bxn/ = ; *kind of dog* (Vycichl after Calice).

Semi-onomatopoeic (/bx/ with /n/-augment); should the Eg entry be really related, we should assume the augment to have been placed after the original base in it — or formation from the original base with /-n/-afformative which would be quite a coincidence. NB. the Akk velar fricative.

NB7; ?Ug (pref f.) /tb7/ *(Q/H ps?) be seen?*; Aram /nb7/ *sprout; (re)appear*; Amor /nb7/ *appear, shine; look*; Akk /nabā7/ *shine, beam*; Arab /nb7/ *gush forth*, (eg.) *result; A, St bring to light, deduce; A ps, St ps appear*; ESA /nb7/ *H/S dig (well) down to groundwater.*

Be(come) visible seems to be the primary meaning; in Hbr, only the opposite aspect has survived, even that somewhat exceptionally construed.

NBL: Aram /nbl/ *be(come) despicable*; /nbilt/ *ugly, obscene; fallen fig*; /nbe^{y}lt/ *corpse, carcass*; Syr /nbl/ *D blame, reproach*; Amor /nbl/ *wither*; Arab /nbl/ *A (palm-tree) have ripe dates; tD (camel), Qt die, be killed*; /nabīlat/ *corpse, carcass*; /tinbāl(at)/ *lazy, slothful*; Soq /niblhol/ *ruined, destroyed*; Te /nabl/ *a bird of prey*; /näbällay/ *callosity of feet*.

Cf. the root /blV/ above; this is a reflexive /n/-formation from it. As withering leads to ugly and useless results, there is no cogent reason to divide the root in two. On the other hand, the Arab connotation of skilfulness could be an analogous reflexive formation from the biradical base found also in /ybl/ above, meaning literally one who produces good results for himself.

NBL II: Phoen (NPu) /nbl/ *goblet*; Ug /nbl/ *flagon*; Aram /nibl/ *harp*; Syr /na(')bl/ = ; /n(')bl/ *skin bottle; a measure of volume*; G&z /nebal/, /nebel/ *skin bottle, understood as a measure of volume*; Cpt /nehbel/, /-ēl/, /-al/ = .

The second Syr entry is transliteration of the Gr transcription ναβλα; the G&z ones transcriptions of the Gr νεβελ. The word is a *Kulturwort*, ultimately deriving from the preceding root; a filled skin bottle resembles a carcass rather more than a harp resembles a skin bottle.

NB&: Aram /nb&/ *burst forth, gush, flow; utter, speak*; Syr /nb&/ *gush out, appear, come across; germinate*; Akk /nabā'/ *rise, gush forth*; /namba'/ *(big) spring*; Arab /nb&/ *(water) issue forth; emerge (from)*; /nbγ/ *(water) gush forth, appear; become good poet; (evil) spread; (bag) leak flour; lead easy life*; ESA /nb&n/ *water-producer (divine epithet)*; Te /nb&/ *(+A, /&-/) shed tears, weep*; /'nb&/, /&n-/, /&m-/ (coll.) *tears*; Har /əmba/, Sdd /-bä/, Wol /-b/ =.

NGB: ?Ug /ngb/ *supply (with provisions) (?)*; Aram /ngb/ *dry up*; Syr =; *remain dry*; ?Arab /nğb/ *bark (a tree)*; /nağab/ *bark (of a root or tree)*; Soq /ngb/ *Q ps dry up.*

Arab /ğanūb/ is hardly connected (Irvine); its reference to south is simply a one-sided development from the main meaning of that root, *side* in general which is quite alien to the present root. On the other hand, barking a tree inevitably leads to its drying up, and bark in itself is relatively dry even when still attached to a growing tree. The Ug entry could be relevant, if the provisions supplied consisted of dry foodstuffs, as is usual for an army going to an expedition.

NGD: Aram /ngd/ *go (away), wander, flow, take away, stretch, spread out; (+D) scourge, whip; rule, judge*; Syr =; Arab /nğd/ *be manifested; A respond (to a call)*; /nağd/ *highland*; Soq /'egod/ *watch, keep an eye (on), consider*; /'egidoh/ *opposite*; G&z /ngd/ *go (away), travel, migrate, journey for trade, on business*; Te /ngd/ *trade, traffic; go on pilgrimage.*

The connotation common to all entries is communication, whether visually, orally, or by physical movement; or also between leader and his followers, ruler and his subjects. NB. the absence of /n-/ in Soq.

NGH: Ug /ngh/ *shine*; Aram /någh/, /nugh/ *shine, dawn; planet Venus*; Syr /nugh/ =; /ngh/ *shine, give light*; Amor /ngh/ *shine*; Soq /nigohoh/ *(in the) morning, (at) dawn*; G&z /ngh/ *shine, give light*; /nägh/ *(light of the) dawn, morning*; Te /ngV/ *be clear, bright, pure, free, God-fearing*; Ch Sdd Wol /nägä/ *tomorrow.*

The Akk /negū/, /nagū/ is semantically clearly distinct from the entries above.

NGX: Ug /ngx/ *gore*; Aram =; ?Arab /nğx/ *succeed, attain (a wish); A overcome (a.o.)*; Sdd /tänagga/, ?Wol /-gä/ *(cattle, objects) clash, collide.*

The Arab entry, if connected, has undergone rather far-reaching generalization and abstraction and shifted to emphasize attainment of the goal rather than the action itself. The Gur entries tally better semantically, but are rather isolated and could derive from /ng&/ attested elsewhere in Eth too. As to the Eg /nğxt/, it appears to have been created through transposition from /nxğt/ and usually means a human tooth; besides, Eg /ğ/ normally corresponds to /c/, not /g/ (in Hbr).

NGL: Aram /maggl/ *sickle*; Syr = ; /maggalt/ = ; Akk /niggall/, /ning-/ = ; Arab /minğal/ = ; *opening wide wound (spear), luxuriant (crops)*; ?/nğl/ *rip up, skin (a beast) from the hocks; till (the ground).*

The Syr verbal root /ngl/ does not seem to have anything to do with a sickle, and even for Arab, the connection seems more potential, by vague association, than actual and real. According to v. Soden, the Akk entry is of unknown origin, and as a *Kulturwort* it is combinable with the WSem noun, although probably not as a direct loan either way. Akk /akkull/ *pickaxe (or the like)* appears to be of Sumerian origin, hence distinct; and Cpt /manq̸ale/ *pick, hoe* is no doubt borrowed from Gr μακελλα (so Vycichl too).

NGN: Aram /ngn/ *D play a string instrument*; ?Akk /nagū/, /negū/ *sing joyfully (?).*

The root is basically biradical; in Hbr-Aram we have truncated reduplication; in Akk (if connected) expansion by a final vowel.

NG&: Aram /ng&/ *touch (with implied danger); D ps be afflicted with leprosy*; ?G&z /ngʷ&/ *A, StL split, crush (bones)*; /’ängʷ&/, /-gu&/ *bone marrow*; ?Te /’ng&o/ = ; ?Sdd?Wol (cf. /ngx/ above); ?Om: Caf /nag/ *injure, offend.*

Dillmann considers the G&z verb denominative; Te would seem to support this, but not the Gur entries (if related); if correct, the G&z-Te entries can hardly be connected with the Hbr-Aram ones. Cf. the root /gw&/ above.

NGP: Aram /ngp/ + *D strike, push, injure*; Akk /nakāp/ *push, gore, hit, mutilate; bore, deflower*; Arab /nğf/ *cut (a tree) at the root; (+ Qt) milk out (a ewe); D (wind) drift sand-hills; Qt, St (wind) shake (clouds), cause rain*; /nkf/ *stop, refuse, reject; abstain; A remove, get rid (of)*; ?/wğf/ *backbite, abuse*; Mhr /ngf/ *throw away; (flies) alight (on): Qt drop, brush off*; Soq /negif/, (Vt) /negof/ *disperse*; /ntegif/ *hit, fell*; /notigef/ *shake off*; G&z /ngf/ *shake off, let fall*; Te /ngf/ *escape; shed, shake off, beat clean; L shake; tD fall off, precipitate o.s., be poured out.*

NB. the voiceless velar in Akk and partly Arab, as well as different augment with metaphorical use in Arab.

NGR: Aram /ngr/ *be long; flow*; /nagr/ *bolt*; /nigr/ *canal, channel; step, movement (onwards)*; Syr /ngr/ *be, last long*; Arab /nağrān/ *door-hook*; /ğry/ *flow, run* (Guillaume).

The first Arab entry is rather specialized, but still clearly connected, cf. Aram /nagr/, itself based on the central connotation of stretching across.

NGʃ: Ug /ngʃ/ *press, drive*; Arab /nğ$/ *rouse, track (game); search, hurry*; ESA /ngʃ/ *exact tribute; Qt agree to pay tribute; tribute*; Soq /’egoʃ/ *be shocked*; /’eqoʃ/ *crush*; G&z /ng$/ *be(come) king, reign, rule*; /ngu$/ *king, emperor, prince, duke, governor, commander*; Te /ngs/ *become king*; /ngus/ *king*; /mängäs/ *kingdom*; /mngs/ *luck*; Har /ngs/ *reign, rule*; /nägaʃi/ *king*; Ch Wol /nägäsä/, Sdd /-gg-/ *reign, rule*; Ch

/nəgʷs/, Sdd Wol /nəgus/ *king, provincial governor*; ?Tu /əngəs/ *push, hit with head; (serpent, scorpion) bite, sting, harm, injure.*

The Tu meaning is not far remote from the Hbr one, but being geographically isolated and the only non-Sem entry it cannot be considered certain. NB. the absence of /n-/ in Soq again and the uvular var. of the velar stop in the transitive verb.

NGʃ II: Phoen /mgʃt/ *oracle(?)*; Ug /ngʃ/ *meet*; /ngθ/ *approach (with affection)*; ?Aram /nagʃån/ *(habitually) goring*; Akk /nagāʃ/ *go (to); Qtn, Dt go, wander around.*

The Aram entry is a hapax var. of /nagxån/; Jastrow lists some verbal forms also, manuscript varr. for /ngx/, /ngs/, /&nʃ/; indication of phonetic similarity? (cf. Eg; does the Tu entry in the preceding root also belong here?). The Ug phonetic split is parallelled by semantic differentiation.

ND: ?Arab /nadd/ *hill, mound*; /nidd/, /nadīd/ *opponent.*

A dam is a kind of mound opposing the free flow of water; discharging urine (or saliva, mucus) would hardly require construction of a dam. The Akk /nīd/, again, appears to derive from /nadū/ *throw away*, and v. Soden does not list anything like a dam among its nuances of meaning.

ND(D): Ug /ndd/ *move abruptly*; Aram /ndd/ *withdraw, go away*; Syr /nd/ *wake up, rouse o.s.; shrink back (from)*; Akk /nadād/ *withdraw; D pack together (?)*; Arab /nd/ *(camel) run away.*

The first Akk usage may be loan from Aram (vS).

ND': Aram /ndV/ *be banned, withdraw; D ban, ward off*; Akk (Am) /nadū/ *withdraw; D expel*; ?Arab /nd'/ *frighten*; G&z /nd'/ *drive (away); urge, agitate, lead (into captivity)*; Te /nd'/ *send, expel; let escape; have miscarriage.*

The Arab root centres around hot ashes; but the entry may be relevant, if it originally meant frightening wild beasts away with firebrands. Cf. /ndV/ below.

NDB: Aram /ndb/ *D act spontaneously*; Amor /ndb/ *give generously*; Arab /ndb/ *be ready, active; (+Qt) invite, urge; Qt respond (to summons)*; /nadb/ *alert, ready, sharp-witted*; ESA /ndb/ *improve (on)? do more?.*

NDV: Ug /ndV/ *expel*; Aram /ndV/ *D banish, excommunicate*; Syr /nd/ *A expel, excite*; Akk /nadū/, (OAkk, Ass) /nadā'/ *throw (away, at, down); pour (down, out); put (down, on)*; Arab /ndy/ *be wet, dewy; D, A wet, moisten*; /nada^{yn}/ *moisture*; /nδ/ *discharge urine.*

Cognate with /nd'/ above; cf. also /nd(d)/ above and /nzV/ II below.

NDX: Aram /ndx/ *push away, expel*; Arab /ndx/ *enlarge (a place); tD, Qt be distended; disperse*; ?Soq /ndx/ *peck.*

The Soq entry, if relevant, has shifted to mean picking up scattered objects.

NDN: Aram /ndu^{w}ny/ *bride's outfit, wedding equipment*; Amor /ndn/ *give*; Akk /nadān/ = ; /nudunnū/ *dowry*.

LW from Akk.

NDN II: Aram /nidn/, /ndån/ *sheath*.

A *Kulturwort* of Sanscrit origin.

NDP: Ug /ndp/ *scatter(?)*; Aram /ndp/ *spread (odour)*; Arab /ndf/ *card (cotton); play (lute); rain*; /nudfat/ *drop of milk*; ESA /ndf/ *scatter*; G&z /ndf/ *throw, keep throwing (missiles); hit, transfix (with a missile); (insect, scorpion) sting*; Te /ndf/ *tD (cattle) catch a deadly disease*; Har /ndf/ *card (wool); sting*; Ch Wol /nädäfä/, Sdd /-dd-/ *card (cotton); sting*; Ch Sdd /nədət/, Wol /nədf/, /nədəft/ *disease caused by an insect sting.*

Meaning developed one-sidedly in Eth.

NDR: Phoen /ndr/, ναδωρ *vow* (n. & vb.): Ug /ndr/ = ; Aram /ndr/, (n.) /nidr/ = ; Syr /ndr/, (n.) /nedr/, /ndar/ = ; Amor /ndr/ = (vb.); Arab /nδr/, (n.) /naδr/ = ; ESA /nδr/ *vow/ do penance*; Mhr /nδr/ *ʃ, H vow*; /nēδər/ = (n.); Soq /nider/ +ʃ *be consecrated*; Te /ndr/ *D vow*; /nädr/ = (n.); /nädur/ *sacrifice.*

The entries are largely of the nature of technical terms, hence rather easily borrowed together with the practices. The root is cognate with /nzr/ below.

NHG: Aram /nhg/ *lead; practise as a custom*; Arab /nhǧ/ *clear up; open (road); (+ Qt) follow (a track); (+ A) be worn out*; /nahǧ/ *plain road*; /manhaǧ/ = ; *manner of action*; G&z /nhg/ *drive, urge on (flock).*

Tu /ənhəg/ *be naive (etc.)* seems too far semantically (Prasse) and so the suggested Libyan cognate with it.

NHV: Arab /n&y/ *bewail the dead* (Guillaume); Mhr /nə&yēt/ *elegy.*

Of onomatopoeic origin; G&z /nhy/ seems based on a different notion.

NHL: Akk /na'āl/ *moisten*; Arab /nhl/ *be thirsty; take a draught; quench (one's thirst)*; /manhal/ *watering-place (in a desert)*; /minhal/ *grave.*

Resigned metaphor in the last Arab entry.

NHM: Aram /nhm/ *growl, moan, sigh, coo*; Syr = ; *rattle, rumble*; Arab /nhm/ *chide (camels), sigh, moan; (lion) roar*; /nahmat/ *insatiable desire, need, want*; Mhr /nəhəmīt/ *eagle*; Soq /nihimi/ = ; Te /hm/ *growl, brawl; look after; R growl, roar, neigh; threaten*; Bed /hamam/ *neigh*; Eg /nhm/ *rejoice*; /(n)hmhm/ *cry, roar, moo, (bel)low.*

Of semi-onomatopoeic origin; the basic root is /hm/, cf. /hmV/ above; sometimes augmented with /n-/, sometimes reduplicated; refers primarily to loud animal noises, sometimes extended to inanimate ones, in Mhr Soq shifted to mean a noisemaker itself; in Eg extended to certain human noises too. However, because of its onomatopoeic nature it could have originated independently in more than one place.

NHR: Ug /nhr/ *river*; Aram /nah(a)r/ =; /nhr/ *grow bright, shine; remember; A =; look cheerful; tD stream, flow*; /nuh(a)r/ *light*; /nho^{w}r/ *daylight, eyesight*; Syr /nhr/ *light (up), shine*; /nuhr/ *light, eyesight*; /nahr/ *river*; Amor /nahr/ =; Akk /nār/ =. *canal, watercourse*; Arab /nhr/ *(+A, St) flow (river, blood); dig (a channel); make a daytime raid*; /nahr/, /nahar/ *river*; /nahār/ *day; daytime*; /manhar/ *river-bed*; ESA /nhr/, (pl.) /'nhr/ *river, watercourse*; Mhr /nəhōr/ *day*; Soq /('e/i)nehōr/, /-nhor/ =, *time*; /nohor/ *pass (through), traverse*; Te /nähar/ (poet.) *day*; ?/nähär/ *money as a parting gift*; ?Eg /hrw/ *day*.

As poetic tradition preserves old words, but also adopts foreign ones, the first Te entry may or may not be loan from Arab; the other one can hardly be that, but its relevance is doubtful (connection with the Soq verb?). The basic meaning is stream or flow; as this is often used to describe light too, there is no need to split the root in two. Cf. also /nwr/ below and /'wr/ above.

NW': Arab /ny'/ *(meat) be raw, uncooked*; /nī'/, /niyy/, (syr.) /nayy/ *raw (meat), pure (milk), imperfect (action)*; Mhr /nē/ *raw, uncooked*; Soq (pl.) /nihiten/ *raw*; G&z /na't/ *unleavened (bread)*; Te =.

As seen above, actually the root is /ny'/.

NW' II: Akk /nē'/, (OAss) /neā'/, (OAkk) /na'ā'/ *turn around*; Arab /nw'/ *rise (painfully, against); fall down (from fatigue); (star) set at the rising of another; L oppose*.

Even here, the root may have been originally /ny'/, H af in Hbr being then a secondary creation after the normal vocalization pattern in hollow roots (cf. /byn/ etc.).

NWB: Phoen /npt/ *honey(?)*; Ug /nbt/ =; Aram /no^{w}b/ *fruit*; /nåb/ *louse's egg*; /'inb/ =; *fruit*; Syr /nåb/ *louse('s egg)*; Akk /nūbt/ *bee*; /nanbūbt/, /-ūmt/ *wasp*; Arab /nyb/ *D, tD (plant) sprout*; /manāb/ *road to water*; /munīb/ *abundant spring rain*; Mhr /nōbēt/ *bee*; G&z /nhb/ =; Te =; Ch Sdd /nəb/ =.

The root is occasionally contaminated with /'b(b)/ and /&nb/ (q.v.); the word for honey may be regarded as a *Kulturwort* which may account for the devoicing of the labial in Phoen Hbr.

NWG: Ug /ng/ *depart*; Arab /nwǧ/ *dissemble*.

NWD: Aram /nwd/ *move, sway; pity*; /no^{w}d/ *(smallish) leather bottle*; Syr /nwd/ *sway, be agitated, wander around, flee; pity*; Amor /nwd/ *move around*; Arab /nwd/ *nod (drowsily); tD (bough) swing*; Mhr /xənīd/ *water-skin*; Te /nd/ *R shake, jolt*; Eg /nwd/ *move, go; go away (from)*; /nwdw/ *unsteady movement*.

The primary meaning is unsteady movement; the concrete expression of pity is also shaking the head; and the water-skin sways unsteadily when attached to the saddle. Cf. /nd(d)/ above.

NWV: Aram /noʷ(')y/, /noʷ'iʸ/ *beauty*; Syr /nåwīt/ *pasturage; cattle enclosure*; Akk /nawū/, /namū/ *pasturage, steppe*; Arab /nwy/ *intend; go off, change pasturage, emigrate; (God) keep, preserve; (she-camel) grow fat; (+A) do business*; ESA /nwy/ *pasturage*; /nwyt/ *region*; G&z /nway/ *goods, cattle, property, riches*; Te =; *weapons, ploughing implements; ingredients*; ?/näwna/ *shift, avert*; /tnäwana/ *move hither and thither, turn in all directions.*

The primary reference appears to be to the nomadic transhumance; this keeps cattle in good condition, perhaps even fat, hence (according to ancient oriental standards) beautiful. Cf. /n'V/ above.

NWX: Phoen /nx/ *set down*; /mnx/ *rest*; Ug /nχ/ *rest, be at ease*; /nχt/ *resting place, couch*; Aram /nwx/ *(come to) rest, settle (down)*; Syr =; *be satisfied, quiet*; Amor /nwχ/ *rest*, /nūχ/ = (n.); Akk /nāχ/, (OAkk, Ass) /nuāχ/ =; *come to rest, settle down, be satisfied*; Arab /nwχ/ *halt (in); (+R) make (a camel) kneel; besiege (a town); tD, St kneel*; /nawχat/, /munāχ/ *halt-place, station, stage*; ESA /nχ/ *make kneel*; Mhr /nwχ/ *ʃ rest; H bring to rest*; Soq /nwx/ *lament a deceased*; G&z /nwχ/ *extend, be long, protracted, high, eminent; stay, rest*; Te /nwx/ *extend, be/grow long.*

In Eth, dimensional aspects have become prominent. Should the ESA root be continuable rather than hollow, it is nevertheless evidently cognate with the present one.

NWK: -

Does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

NWL: Aram /nwl/ *be/grow ugly, disfigured*; Soq /na&hal/ *be ugly.*

The secondary /h/ common in Soq reinforced by pharyngalized onset. Cf. /nbl/ above?

NWM: Ug /nhmmt/ *slumber (of death?)*; Aram /nwm/+*R, tR slumber*; Syr /nwm/ =; Akk /munatt/ (pl. /munāmāt/) *morning slumber*; Arab /nwm/ *sleep; be dull, numb, (fire) extinguished; (wind) abate*; /nawm/ *sleep* (n.); /nīm/ *night-dress, blanket*; ESA /nm/ *fail, neglect*; G&z /nwm/ *sleep, fall asleep, die.*

As the words in Ug are not always expressly separated, interpretation as /nhm mt/ is possible (cf. G&z); however, the presence of/h/ is perhaps easier to understand on the assumption of a different pattern, e.g., */nahmūmat/. Vycichl suggests derivation of Eg /mnmt/ *bed* from this root, but the semantic connection, though plausible, is not necessary (cf. /mn/ *be ill*?), and the Eg root for sleep is /nm&/, hard to connect with the present root, as the phonetics could also be semi-onomatopoeic in each case.

NWS: ?Ug (pref) /yns/ ?; ?Aram (Zkr, imp.) /ns/ *H remove*; Syr /nws/ *tremble*; Arab /nws/ *dangle, swing; A move, toss.*

The Ug entry has broken context and the root could be /nsV/ (or /ns(s)/ which, however, appears to be cognate); in the Aram one, the root could be /hns/ (primary or D-stem).

NW&: ?Ug (*Qt* pref?) /yt&n/ *shake e.o.*; Aram /nw&/ *move; R shake*; Arab /nw&/ *(bough) dangle; tD be shaken (by wind); ramify, branch off (into species)*; /naw&/ *class, species; manner.*

NWP: Aram /nwp/ + *tL move to & fro; A swing*; Syr /nwp/ *incline; hang; A swing, agitate*; Amor /nwp/ *be exalted*; Akk /nāp/ +*Dt sway, be agitated*; Arab /nwf/ *be tall, high, eminent; (+A) overlook, -top*; /nawf/ *top of hump*; /nay(yi)f/ *excess, favour*; ESA /nwf/ *be eminent; Qt (sun) rise*; Mhr /nwf/ *H beckon*; Soq /nef/ *give a sign*; /nifnef/ *movement*; /nafenif/ *(camel's) tail*; ?Tu /anəf/ *grasp the tail (of a running animal).*

The primary meaning appears to be movement to and fro, this being characteristic of tall tree tops, camel's hump etc. also. The Tu entry agrees with this too in consequences, either the animal or the person who grasps its tail (depending on the size of the animal) being brought into an unsteady movement; but because of its isolated position a direct connection cannot be considered certain.

NWQ: Arab /nāqat/ *she-camel*; ESA /nqt/ = ; ?Eg /snq/ *suckle*; ?Cpt /sånk/ = .

Cognate with the root /ynq/ above (q.v.).

NWR: Ug /nr/ *shine*; /nr(t)/, /nyr/ *light, luminary, illuminator*; Aram /nu^{w}r/ *fire*; Syr = ; Amor /nwr/ *shine*; /nīr(a)/, /nēr/, /niwr/, /nūr(t/a)/ *light*; Akk /nawār/, /namār/, (OAkk /-b-/) *be(come) light, shine*; /nūr/, νωρ *light, brightness*; Arab /nwr/ *(+D, A, tD, St) shine, glow*; /nūr/ *light*; /nār/ *fire; heat (of war); advice*; /tannūr/ *(circular) oven*; ESA /nr/ *H offer a holocaust*; /δnwr/ *name of a month*; /mnrt/ (pl. /mnwrt/) *altar(-hearth)*; Mhr /nawr/ *light; glamour*; /tənnawr/ *oven*; G&z /mänarät/ *candelabrum*; Te /tännur/, /tändur/ *oven, hearth*; /tändärä/ *burn (in oven)*; /norät/ *chalk, lime*; Har /nōrät/ = ; Sdd /nora/, Wol /-ä/ = ; Tu /enir/ *candle, lamp.*

Cf. the roots /nhr/ and /'wr/ above. The primary meaning is apparently fire which also gives light and with which chalk is burnt into lime. The words for oven, candelabrum, candle, lamp, and chalk/lime have become *Kulturwörter* which may account for some phonetic irregularities, such as the geminated /n/ (and its partial denasalization in Te); the root may then be original in Asian Sem only.

NWʃ: Akk /nāʃ/, (Ass) /nuāʃ/ *lose firm hold, support; quake, tremble, sway, totter, retreat (for fright, anxiety).*

Cf. the root /y'ʃ/ above.

NZV: Arab /nzV/ + *tD leap, bound, gambol*; Soq /nizi/ *make detour, visit, stay a while (with).*

NZV II: Aram /ndV/ *sprinkle; spread out, asperse, gossip*; Syr /ndV/ *sprinkle; burst forth; stick out*; Akk /nezū/ *sprinkle, spatter (urine, excrement)*; Arab /nδ/ *urinate*; /nzw/ *escape; Q ps lose all blood*; G&z /nzχ/ *sprinkle, asperse*; Te /nzx/ *strew, squirt.*

Originally biradical; expanded with a final vowel in Asian Sem, with a velar/pharyngal fricative in Eth; phonological split in Arab.

NZL: ?Ug /nzl/ *hospitality?*; Aram /nzl/ *flow*; ?Amor /nzl/ ?; /manzal (ān)/ ?; Akk /nazāl/ *empty out (water, molten mass)*; Arab /nzl/ *descend; yield (one's rights); (price) abate*; /manzil/ *stage, lodgings; mansion (of the moon)*; ESA /nzl/ *descend*; Te = ; Berb: Rif /anza'r/, (+ Shilxa) /-ar/ *rain*; Fass /anzār/ =.

Presumably more widespread in earlier times; grown obsolete through the influence of Arab /nzl/ in religious usage? (& preserved in Rif Fass thanks to the phonological var.?).

NZM: Aram /zmåm/ *muzzle, nosering*; Syr =, *halter, bridle*; Arab /zimām/ *rein, halter, bridle; thong (of sandals)*; G&z /zmam/ *muzzle, nosering (for animals), halter*; Te /zmam/ *nosering*; /-mät/ *rope (of bast or leather)*; /zmm/ *L bridle.*

Evidently, /zm(m)/ is the original root, the /n-/-augment being found in Biblical Hbr and Ebl only where, however, the nominal type presupposes /nzm/ as the root. Ebl /ne-zi-mu/, /ni-/.

NZQ: Phoen (pref) /wyzq/ *damage*; Aram /nzq/ + *tQ, tA suffer damage or injury; D, A injure, damage*; Akk /nazāq/ *grow angry, be frustrated, worry*; Arab /nzq/ *be hot-tempered; L abuse; tL revile.*

NZR: Aram /nzr/ *abstain, practise abstinence; make a Nazirite vow*; /nzi^{y}r/ *Nazirite*; /nizr/ *Nazirite vow; long hair*; Syr /nzr/ = Aram; /nzīr/ *Nazirite, devotee; practising abstinence*; Arab /nδr/ *devote (a child) to God's service; put in vanguard*; /naδīr/ *consecrated to God, Nazirite, preacher, apostle, prophet*; G&z /näzrawi/ *Nazirite; Christian.*

The G&z entry is evidently of Hbr origin; but /nzr/ *bite* seems hardly connectable with this root, and so its Akk Arab cognates. Eg /nzrt/ means according to Baer a fiery serpent and probably represents a root var. of /nsr/ *burn*. Cf. the root/ndr/ above.

NXV: Ug /nx(V)/ *go, leave (for)*; Arab /nxV/ *direct o.s. (towards), follow, stoop, lean*; ESA /mnχy/ *(direction) towards.*

It does not seem appropriate to distinguish between two roots /nxV/, as this is not possible even along phonological lines; but Akk /na'ū/ seems semantically too vague to be positively connected. The root is contaminated with /nxt/ in the last Hbr entry.

NXL: Phoen /nxl/ *cast lots*; Ug /nxl/ *heir*; /nxlt/ *property, inheritance*; Amor /nax(a)l/ *inheritance*; Akk (Mari) /naχāl/ *transfer (property)*; Arab /nxl/ *give (bride) wedding-present; D, A give (s.o.) part of one's property; Qt, tD plagiarize*; ESA /nxl/ + *H give, grant (property, command); command(er), troops*; /nxlt/ *gift, usufruct*; /mnxlt/ *concession; usufruct*; (pl.) /nxlw/ *gift/*; Mhr /nxl/ *give (a son) his portion of livestock.*

The Akk entry is loan from WSem.

NXL II: Ug /nχl/ *wady*; Aram /naxl/ =, *brook*; Syr =, *river, valley*; Amor /nax(a)l/ *stream*; Akk /naχ(al)l/ *brook, wady, gorge*; Arab /naχl(at)/, /naχīl(at)/ *palm(-tree)*; ESA /nχl/ *palm grove, orchard*; Mhr /nəχlīt/ *date-palm*; Bed /nehal/ = ; Eg /nχr/ *brook.*

According to Baer (after Helck), the Eg entry is definitely loan from Can. Again, the word for (date-)palm (found also in Afar: /nāxli/, /nāheli/) may be regarded as a *Kulturwort*, and so this root too is original in Asian Sem only and may have branched off the preceding root towards the end of the prehistoric period (cf. Amor where the pharyngal is still undifferentiated).

NXM: Ug /nxm/ *D console, comfort*; Aram = ; Syr = ; *revive*; ?Amor /nxm/ *(be pleasant)?*; Arab /nxm/ *(horse) heave, pant*; /nχm/ *expectorate, blow (one's nose); sing, play.*

In Amor, Gelb does not differentiate between /n&m/ and /nxm/, and the meaning given is presumably for the former. In Arab, the meanings are particularized, but the connotation of relief is still evident in both entries. The root appears to be an offshoot from /xm(m)/ above in a reflexive sense.

NXC: Aram (Deir Alla) /nxc/ *distress*; Arab /nxΛ/ *strip (a bone); sharpen (a spearhead); importune (s.o., with requests)*; /nχ$/ *shake, urge, incite.*

NB. the irregularities in the pharyngal and sibilant. Cf. the root /lxc/ above.

NXR: Ug (pl.) /'anχr/ *dolphin*; Aram /nxr/ *stab; blow one's nose, make a nasal sound*; /nxi^{y}r/ *nostril*; Syr /nxr/ *puff, pant; snore*; /nxīre/ (pl.) *nostrils; bar, bolt (of a gate)*; Akk /naχār/ *snort, snore*; /naχīr/ *nostril*; /nāχir/ *'snorter': dolphin; a certain bird*; Arab /nxr/ *stab in throat, upper chest*; /nχr/ *snort, snore*; /nuχrat/ *snout*; /χr/ + *R snore*; Mhr /nxrr/ *roar*; /nχr/ *snort*; /ənχērōr/ *snore*; /nəχrīr/ *nose*; /fənxərēt/ *nostril*; Soq /naxar/ *have sore throat; ʃ make a complaint*; /minxar/ *dispute*; /naxrīr/ *nose*; G&z /nχr/ *snore*; /m(ä)nχär/ *bellows*; Te /näxär/ *breast*; /nxur/ *big leather bag*; Som /χūro/*snore, snoring*; Berb: Tu /ənχər/, /sunχər/, /χərərət/ *snore*; Kabyle /sχerχer/ = ; Cpt /hrhr/ =.

The Kabyle entry is on the authority of Vycichl (who quotes G. Huyghe); he considers it to be of Arab origin, just as Prasse does with regard to the (first) Tu entry. But is it really credible that ancient Berbers would have borrowed from a foreign language an *onomatopoeic* word to describe a phenomenon which was no doubt just as frequent and familiar to them as it is to us? The primary root appears to be biradical (perhaps related to /xr/ II above, nostrils being holes), but even the nasal augment still follows the onomatopoeic principle in this case. The split of the velar fricative off the pharyngal one attracted the word for snoring with it, as this agrees best with the actual sound, while the pharyngal remained with the words for the throat region, as again more appropriate for them; however, the division is not fully consistent, cf. the last Mhr entry (in which the initial /fə-/ seems to be the ancient word for the mouth, cf. ESA /f/, nostril being thus literally "mouth of the nose").

NXʃ: Ug /nxʃ/ *snake*; Aram /nxʃ/ *D observe (omina etc.); divine*; Syr *(Q, D, tD)* =; Akk /nēʃ/, /ne'āʃ/, (OAkk) /na'ā$/ *live; be cured, revived*; Arab /nxs/ *be inauspicious; D, tD, St enquire minutely; tD fast*; /naxs/ *ill-luck; inauspicious (day, planet etc.)*.

Even if Eg /nsw/ did mean *cast a spell*, the basic idea would still be different from that of the present root. The snake is a widespread symbol of life and also means of divination.

NXʃ II: Phoen /nxʃt/ *bronze, copper*; Aram /nxåʃ/ =; Arab /nuxās/, /ni-/, /na-/ *copper, brass*; /naxxās/ *coppersmith*; G&z /naxs/ *copper*; Te /näxas/ =; Har /näxas/ *brass*; Ch Sdd Wol /nas/ *copper*; Sdd /nähas/ *lead*; Som /naxās/ *brass, copper*; Berb: Sus /änā̿s/*red copper*; Tu /ənχəs/ *adulterate (gold, silver) by adding copper excessively*.

An old *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; connection with the preceding root unlikely; although metals do play some role in divination, naming a metal after that practice is hardly thinkable; and on the other hand, the preceding root is so varied in meaning that it can hardly be denominative. The second Sdd entry is my recording.

NXT: Ug /nxt/ *descend; (D?) bring down, fetch*; Aram /nxt/ *step down, descend; D, A put down, to rest; take down, remove*; Syr /nxt/ *descend*; Soq /n(e)xa7/, /-at/ *under*.

Cf. the root /nxV/ above and also /txt/ below.

NXTM: Aram /naxtoʷm/ *baker*; Syr /naxtūm/ =; Akk /nuχ(a)timm/ *cook*.

A *Kulturwort* of Sumerian origin.

N7V: Ug /m7/ *staff*; /m7t/ *bed*; Aram /n7V/ *bend, stretch (o.s.); incline, hang over*; ?Akk /na7ū/, /nadū/, /natū/, (Ass) /na7ā'/ *hit, beat*; Arab /n7w/ *stretch; be remote*; ?Te /n7V/ *tL grasp*; /n7/ *A, AtL fetch, catch (at)*.

The Akk Te entries are semantically rather remote, although some contexts of /zroʷ(a)& n7uʷyåʰ/ do remind of them. Ebl /ma-7a-um/ *baton*; (pl.) /ma-da-ti/ *rod*.

N7L: Aram /n7l/ *take, lift up, raise, carry (away)*; Syr /n7l/ *lift, draw up; burden; bow down; abolish*; ?Akk /na7āl/ *look (at, for), watch; see*.

Hardly from /n7V/ + /'äl/; rather, cf. /7wl/ *R* above.

N7&: Ug /n7&/ *plant*; /m7&t/ *plantation(?)*; Amor /n7&/ *plant*; ESA /n7&/ *tD =; fix firmly; be stubborn, rebel (?); tent(s)? bastion*?

N7P: Aram /n7p/ *drip*; Syr =; *melt*; Amor /n7p/ *drip*; ?Akk /ni7p/ *an ornament (pendant?)* (R. Zadok, RA 76 p. 176); Arab /n7f/ *ooze, exude, flow, pour; impute (vice to)*; ESA /n7f/ *H pour down/out (blood?)*; /m(n)7ft/ *sacrificial altar(?)*; Mhr /n7f/ *drip; be killed*; /nə7əfēt/ *drop*; Soq /n7f/ *drip, flow*; (pl.) /'in7ef/ *drop*; G&z /n7b/ *make drip, distil*; /nä7b/ *drop*; /n7f/ *liquefy; purge (of dross); percolate*; Te /n7f/ *filter beer*; Ch =; Wol /an7äfä/ *leak (through)*;

Ch Sdd /7äb balä/, Wol /-bb -/ *drip, trickle*; Bil /7ibb (7ibb) y/ =; Tu /əntəf/ *fall*; /ə77əb/ *(let) fall drop by drop*; Eg /ntf/ *pour out, water, irrigate.*

For further attestations in Cush see Leslau, Gur III p. 464, 607; and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 346. Arab /n¢f/ is hardly related, the central meaning being quite different. In Eth Cush, the root has split in two by voicing of the final radical, parallel to a semantic differentiation where, however, both strains have retained the basic connotation of liquid falling down. The root is again of onomatopoeic origin. Cf. /7p(p)/II above.

N7R: Aram /n7r/ *watch, guard, preserve; bear (a grudge)*; Arab /n7r/ *watch (garden etc.)*; /nä7ir/, /nā7ūr/ *watchman*; /nu77ār/ *scarecrow.*

LW from Aram; cf. the root /ncr/ below. Akk /nadār/ hardly relevant unless cognate with /ncr/ and semantically specialized; meaning, to *rage* (or similar) stands elliptically for /n7r 'ap/.

N7ʃ: Aram /n7ʃ/ *abandon, forgo*; (Tg) /r7ʃ/ =; *reject.*

NY': See /nw'/ above.

NYN: ?Soq /ninhin/, (du.) /ninoi/ *elder brother, master*; ?Berb: Sus /tinin/, f. /tiyyin/ *infant*; Tu /nunnu/ *brother, sister (Lallwort)* (Cohen no. 462); ?Eg /nny/ *infant.*

NYR: ?Ug /nr[t?]/ *newly ploughed land?*; Aram /ni^{y}r/ =; *yoke*; Syr /nīr/ *yoke*; Akk =; Arab =; *warp, woof; border (of cloth); track*; /nyr/ *weave, border (cloth)*; Te /nirät/ *weaver's beam.*

Must be regarded as a *Kulturwort* (with the occasional denominative verb), although the meaning varies considerably.

NYR II: -

Etymology obscure.

NK': Arab /nk'/ *kill, wound; take scab off (a wound); pay s.o. his due*; Te /nk'/ *injure, hurt, reproach*; Har /nk'/ *touch, harm; give a hint (to); tQ be mad, possessed*; /niki'ti/ *misfortune*; Wol /näče/ *touch.*

Cognate with /nkV/ below (q.v.).

NK' II: Phoen /nk't/ *tragacanth gum*; ?Akk /nukkat/ *an aromatic plant*; Arab /naka&at/, /nuk-/ *red blossom of a medicinal plant (used as a dye); amaranth; tragacanth gum.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

NKV: Aram /nkV/ *tQ suffer (pain, injury); D (cause to) deduct; A harm, injure*; Syr /nkV/ *oppose; (+A) harm, injure, wound*; ?Akk (late Bab) /nakū/ *beat?*; Arab /nky/+*A hurt, wound*; ESA /nky/ *injury, injurer*; /nkyt/ *injury, harm*; Soq /monke'/ *stab*; G&z /nky/ *harm, injure; A =, damage, detract*; Te /nkV/ *remove, clear away*; ?Chad: Kofyar (Bong) /nung/ *beat.*

The Chad entry, being isolated and structurally imperfect, must be considered uncertain; the Eg /nyk/ *punish; punishable creature* is semantically deviant too; and /sky/ refers primarily to the setting of stars. Cf. the root /nk'/ above.

NKV/T: ?Amor /nakamt/ ?; Akk /nakām/ *heap up*; /nakkamt/, (late Bab) /-ant/, /-and/ *store(house), treasury*; G&z /näqota/, /niq-/; /nekäta/ *treasury*.

LW from Akk.

NKX: Syr /nkīx/, /nakk-/ *bashful, modest, mild*; /nukåx/ *shyness, modesty, decency*; ?Arab /nkx/ *St marry*; /nukx/ *marriage-contract*; /nukax(at)/ *polygamist*.

The relevance of the Arab entry is suggested by the context of Gn 20:6 (where originally Sarah's marriage may have been referred to by /nokaxat/); on the other hand, /nğx/ seems hardly relevant (Irvine). Cf. the root /wkx/, /ykx/ above.

NKL: Aram /nkl/ *be crafty, cunning*; Syr /nkl/ *cheat, deceive, deprive, ambush*; ?Amor /nakl(at)/ ?; Akk /nakāl/ *be crafty, astute, efficient*; Arab /nkl/ *shrink, abstain; (+D) inflict exemplary punishment*; /nakal/ *expert*; /nikl/ *bonds, fetters*; /minkal/ *torture, rack*; ?/mkr/ *+A beguile* (cf. Guillaume); ESA /nkl/+*H inlay mosaic; pavement, mosaic*; ?Te /tänk^{w}äli/ *shrewd (?)*; Sdd /tänkoläññä/ =.

The Te entry is on the authority of Leslau (Gur III p. 600). The meaning of the Akk entry is influenced by Aram (cf. vS).

NKS: Aram /niks/ *property, goods, cattle*; Syr (pl.) /nekse/ *property, riches*; Akk /nikkass/ *calculation, account(s)*; (N/late Bab) *property*; ESA /nsk/ *property, riches*.

LW from Akk (and ultimately Sumerian); transposition in ESA.

NKR: -

Cognate with /krV/ II (see K-B^3).

NKR II: Ug /nkr/ *stranger, other*; Aram /nukrå'/, /-ray/ *strange(r), non-Jew(ish)*; /nkr/ *D treat as a stranger; A recognize*; Syr /nkr/ *D repudiate, reject; A =; recognize*; /nukråy/ *strange(r), alien*; Amor /nkr/ *be alien, different*; Akk /nakār/ *be different, strange, hostile*; /nakar/ (f. /-rt/, late Bab /-ʃt/) *strange, foreign; enemy*; Arab /nkr/ *(+A) be ignorant (of), deny, disown*; /nak(i)r/, /nukur/ *shrewd*; /munkar/ *unknown, denied, extraordinary; cunny, perspicacious*; ESA /nkr/ *(+H/S) alter, cause damage or injury, afflict, punish*; Mhr /nkr/ *understand; H =; feel (pain; as if); ʃ nag (s.o.) to tears*; Soq /nekir/ *be nostalgic; sorcery*; /ʃinker/ *be perplexed, on defensive*; /nekirhin/ *nostalgia*; G&z /nkr/ *A consider strange, unusual, remarkable; admire, respect, sense, perceive, take care*; /näkir/ (f. /-rät/, /näkar/) *strange(r), foreign(er), alien*; Te /nkr/ *kick back, reject; fill; exalt, honour; tD be far off*; /mstnkr/ *miracle*; ?Bil /inkerā/ *soul, life, self*;

Tu /unkar/ *deny (truth, knowledge of); renounce*; ?Eg /nčr(t)/ *god(dess) (=strange, wonderful, admirable*; Vycichl); ?Cpt /nūte/, f. /ntåre/ =.

According to Prasse, the Tu entry is loan from Arab; the Eg-Cpt entry must be termed uncertain, as the semantic development presupposed above, although plausible, is hardly provable. The Bil entry too is semantically remote, and so the cognate Cush ones in Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 38. The Saho /nakar/ *T be wonderful, St make w., Y find w.* appears also to be Sem in origin (cf. G&z, Te). The point of separation for the seemingly opposite main meanings lies in the concept of *guest*: a foreigner or stranger, if recognized upon arrival, is no longer a stranger; if not, he may be rejected and so remain a stranger, perhaps regarded as an enemy.

NM: Aram = Hbr; Syr /nym'/ *thread.*

LW from Gr; the Syr entry is a transliteration.

NML: Syr /nmål/, /namm-/ *anthill*; /naml/ *wart*; Amor /namal/ *ant*; Akk (Am) /naml/, /namāl/, (late Bab) /lamatt/ =; Arab /nam(u)l/, (n.unit.) /-lat/ =; /namlat/ *anthill*; Mhr /nōmīl/ *kind of (smallish) ant.*

A wandering word of unknown origin; in Akk, loan from WSem.

NMS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /nåmos/ *law*; Arab /nāmūs/ *law of God; angel Gabriel*; ?Mhr /nāmōs/ *law? esteem?*; Soq /nemos/ *esteem.*

LW from Gr; the Mhr entry is on the authority of Leslau, Soq (who gives no meaning); Johnstone does not have it.

NMR: Aram /nimr/ *panther*; Syr /nemr/ =; Akk /nimr/ =; Arab /namir/ =, *tiger*; /nmr/ *(cloud) be spotted, streaked; tD be spotted (like panther)*; ESA /nmr/ *panther; ?warrior*; G&z /nämr/ *panther; tiger?*; Te /näbr(i)/ *panther*; Wol /näwr/ =, *tiger.*

Another wandering word of unknown origin, with the occasional denominative verb.

NNS: Aram /nannås/, /nannoʷs/ *dwarf.*

LW from Gr.

NS(S): Aram /niss/ *miracle; elevation, exaltation*; Syr /nīs/, /ness/ *sign, omen.*

The latter Aram meanings could derive from the root /nʃʾ/ below.

NSV: ?Ug /nsy/ *remove*?; Aram /nsV/ *A test; D =, try, attempt*; Syr =; G&z /mänsut/ *temptation, offence, shock, danger, affliction, crisis, punishment.*

On the Ug entry cf. Gordon, UT no. 1661; Arab /nsy/ appears related to /nʃʾ/V/ below rather than to the present root.

NSX: Aram /nsx/ + *D, A remove*; Syr /nsx/ *copy, transcribe*; Akk /nasāχ/ *tear out, uproot, take off, remove*; Arab /nsx/ *disperse (dust), rake*; /minsax/ *rake* (n.); /nsχ/ *obliterate, abolish, copy, transfer, substitute; A abrogate.*

The Syr entry is loan from Arab. Phonological split in Arab parallelled by a minor semantic difference (with /-x/ more concrete or everyday reference).

NSK: Phoen /nsk/ *cast (metal)*; /nskt/ *(cast metal) statue, goblet*; Ug /nsk/ *pour out (rain, dew), cast (metal)*; Aram /nsk/ *+D make libation*; Syr /nks/ *pour out; instil (spirit); forge (metal vessels)*; Akk /nasāk/, /-ʃ-/ *throw down*; Arab /nsk/ *(+tD) devote o.s., worship God, be ascetic*; /nus(u)k/ *sacrificial victim*; /nasīk/ *ingot (of gold or silver)*; ESA /n$k/ *expenditure*; ?Bil /insaġ/ *pour (into), fill.*

Further in Cush: Quara /insāq̇/, Chamir /ie¢aq/ =; *Kulturwort*? The Arab verb has rather generalized the meaning of libation. Cf. the root /ysk/ above and /swk/ below.

NSK II: Arab /nsğ/ *put together, weave, plait.*

NB. the voiced (and affricated) velar/palatal.

NSN: Aram = Hbr; Syr /nīsån/ *the month of April*; Akk /nisan(n)/, /nissān/ *offering, sacrifice; spring; the first (Babylonian) month*; Arab (dial.) /nīsān/ *the month of April*; G&z /nisan/, /nesan/ =.

LW from Akk (and ultimately Sumerian).

NS&: Phoen (pref) /ys&/ *remove (a gate)*; Ug /ns&/ *pull out, remove; travel*; Aram /ns&/ *leave, go away; A remove*; Arab /ns&/ *(tooth) be loose & bare; travel; Qt disperse (cattle, in pasturage)*; /nz&/ *pull off; take, draw out*; Mhr /nsɣ/ *pull out (s.o.'s, camel's) hair*; G&z /nz&/ *pull out (a peg).*

NB. the G&z Mhr Arab varr.

NSQ: Aram /nsq/ = /slq/ *go up, ascend*; ?Amor /nasqat/ ?; ?Arab /nsq/ *string, set (pearls); D set in order, arrange symmetrically; L follow (in a file).*

Cf. the root /slq/ below.

N&L: Phoen /n&l mn&l/ *fasten bolt*; Ug /n&l/ *sandal, shoe*; Aram /n&l/ *put (shoes) on*; Syr /na&l/ *horseshoe*; Arab /n&l/ *wear boots; (+D, A) put boots or sandals on; shoe (horse, camel)*; /na&l/ *sole, sandal, shoe, horseshoe; hard ground*; Soq /na&al/ *shoe, footwear.*

N&M: Phoen /n&m/ *good(ness), kind(ness), happiness*; /mn&m/ *well-being*; Ug /n&m/ *good(ness), charm(ing)*; (+/n&my/) *pleasure, pleasant*; Aram /n&i^{y}m/ *pleasant*; /(bat) na&åmi^{y}t/ *ostrich*; Syr /n&m/ *utter*; /ne&mt/ *sound, voice, song*; /na&åm/ *ostrich*; Amor /n&m/ *be pleasant*; /na&im/, /ni&m/, (f.) /ni&(i)ma(t)/ *pleasant*; /na&m/, /nu&m/ *pleasure*; Arab /n&m/ *lead easy life; be soft, comfortable*; /naɣ(a)m/ *sweet melody*; /naɣmat/ =, *melodious voice*; ESA /n&m/ *be good, pleasant, favourable: H benefit; valid, standard (coin); sweet incense*; /n&mt/ *favour, prosperity*; Mhr /n&m/ *H (God) grant favour*; /na&mēt/ *well-being*; /nə'aym/(!), f. /nə&aymet/ *soft, smooth*; ?Eg /nğm/ *be sweet, pleasant, well*; ?Cpt /nutm/ =.

Phonological split in Arab. *Pleasant* (or *comfortable*) may be a more appropriate attribute to a couch than "lovely". The Eg-Cpt entry (E-G, Rössler) is phonologically hazardous (cf. Vycichl, Cpt), but because of the vagaries of /&/ in both Sem and Eg cannot be ruled out altogether.

N&R: Phoen /n&r/, *nar: servant, youth*; Ug =, *son; soldier?*; /n&rt/ *girl*; Aram /na&(a)ruʷt/ *(donkey's) bray*; Syr /n&r/ *(ass) bray, (lion, giant) roar; (tuba) sound*; Arab /n&r/ *clamour (in a riot); (beast) snort*; /na&rat/ *snort, snarl*; Eg ?/nχn/ *child* (Rössler); /na-&a-ru-na/ *troops?*.

I still believe that the term for the adolescent was derived from the change of voice characteristic of puberty, cf. Aram Syr Arab; generally, I do not think there are any "primary nouns" in the sense that they were created independently of the rest of the vocabulary existent at that time; what seem isolated now have simply lost their former cognates in the course of time through obsolescence or replacement, or conditioned sound changes have affected their phonological shape to such an extent that the cognation is no longer recognizable. The second Eg entry may be transcription of Can coll. noun (Albright). On *nar* cf. Krahmalkov in JAOS 93 p.64.

N&R II: Ug /n&r/ *kind of foodstuff (?)*; Aram /n&r/ *D shake (off), empty out*; Arab /n&r/ *(crowd) throng; (beast) be plagued by flies*; /na&ir/ *restless*; Te /n&r/ *instigate rebellion.*

NPV: ?Ug /npy/ *Q ps be repulsed?*; Aram /npV/ *D sift (flour)*; Syr /npåt/ *dregs, refuse*; Akk /napū/ *sift*; Arab /nfy/ + *D expel, remove; (wind) raise (dust)*; /nafiyy/ *cast off; rubbish, froth*; Soq /nofe/ *pierce, make hole(s)*; /menfa&ah/ *hole*; G&z /nfy/ *sift*; /mänfe/ *sieve*; Te /nfV/ *sift, loosen; separate, drop off*; /mänfet/ *sieve*; Har /näfa/ *sift*; /wånfīt/ *sieve*; Ch /wänfit/ =.

In Soq, the meaning has shifted so as to be comparable to making a sieve; in the noun, an original glide has shifted to pharyngal; in South Eth, the preformative of the noun has been denasalized. Cf. the root /nwp/ above.

NPX: Ug /mpχm/ (du.) *bellows*; /tpx/ *apple (?)*; Aram /tappuʷx/ =; /mapp(a)x/, /-axt/ *expiration, exhaustion*; /mappuʷx/ *bellows*; Syr /npx/ *blow (in, up); excite, inspire*; /mappōx/ *bellows*; Amor /npχ/ *blow*; Akk /napāχ/ *blow (at, up), kindle; (sun, star) rise*; /nappaχ(t)/ *bellows*; /nappāχ/ *smith*; Arab /nfx/ *(wind) blow; (perfume) diffuse o.s.*; /nafxat/ *blast of wind*; /tuffāx/ *apple(-tree)*; /nfχ/ *blow (into), fill; (+Qt, tD) be swollen, inflated*; /nafχ(at)/ *blast, breath, pride*; (+ /nuffāχ/) *swelling, inflation*; /minfāχ/ *bellows*; ESA /mnfχt/ *pumping maschine (?)*; Mhr /nfχ/ *blow (up), inflate*; Soq /nafax/ *breathe, blow*; G&z /nfχ/, /nfx/ *blow (off, at, into, up), inflate, excite; inhale; play (tuba etc.)*; Te /nfx/ *blow, inflate; tD swell up*; /mänfxi/, /mnafäxit/ *bellows*; /mnfxät/ *bladder*; Har /nfx/ *blow (into), inflate; play (a wind instrument)*; Ch /näfa/, Sdd /-ffa/, Wol /-fä/ =; Ch /arafa/, Sdd /anaffa/, Wol /-fä/ *fan (fire) with bellows*; Eg /tpx/ *apple*; (Dem.) /ğ(m)px/ =; Cpt /ğmpeh/ (etc.) =.

An early phonetic split of the last radical; the word for apple may be regarded as a *Kulturwort* and so the root is confined to Sem; those compared by Cohen, *Essai comparatif* no. 457 seem closer to /npʃ/ below. Cf. the root /pwx/ below.

NPK: ?Eg /mfk’t/ *turquoise.*

LW from Eg, if correctly identified.

NPL: Phoen /mplt/ *ruin(s)*; (NPu) /np’l/ *fallen, ruined*; Ug /npl/ +*Qt fall*; Aram /npl/ *(+tQ) fall (down, in), occur, come (to mind); A throw (down); miscarry, abort*; Syr /npl/ *fall (in, down, upon, to mind), collapse, fail, defect, embrace, have sexual intercourse; be thrown down, imposed, propagated; happen*; Akk /napāl/ *break (down), fell, demolish, destroy; pay compensation*; Arab /nfl/ *divide booty; Qt escape, be freed*; /nafal/ *booty, gift, gratuity*; Mhr /nfl/ *break splinter(s) off (bone, wood, stone), H throw stones down; Qt be cracked*; /nōfəl/ *splinter*; G&z /nafil/ *giant, ogre, monster*; Te /nfl/ *bear interest; A gain profit*; /tfl/ *fall; be too hasty; A thrust down, overthrow*; Tu /əfəl/ *leave, depart; (+S) overflow*; ?/ənfəl/ *push (hand, finger, foot) into s.th.*; ?Chad: Kofyar (Bong), Chip, Sura (Maghavul) /pal/ *fall.*

The primary root appears to be biradical again, cf. Tu Chad (and the root /pl(l)/ below); in Sem mostly augmented with /n-/, in Te also with /t-/. The G&z entry is loan from Hbr, originally probably referring to an aborted embryo whose non-humanlike features made it look like a “monster”; gigantic size could be added through generalization as another non-human feature, when the origin of the word was forgotten. Share of booty or comparable payment “falling to one’s lot’ is familiar enough. Ebl ʃ (af sf.) /ʃin$_4$-pi$_5$-la-nu/.

NPS: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat.

NPC: Aram /npc/ *shake off; empty out; break into pieces*; Syr /npc/ *shake, throw off; pour out*; Akk /napāc/ *push, throw down, away; break asunder*; Arab /nfʌ/ *shake off (dust, fruit)*; /minfaʌ/ *fan, duster, winnowing-basket*; G&z /nfc/ *flow apart; disperse; flee, avoid, escape*; Te /nfc/ *leave, depart; A shoot (an arrow).*

The basic notion in all the entries being dispersal, it seems idle to divide the root in two. Eg /npğ/ reflects a different notion.

NPʃ: Phoen /npʃ/, (NPu) /n’pʃ/ *self, personnel, desire, gravestone*; Ya /nbʃ/ =; Ug /npʃ/ *soul, appetite, person, throat; lung*; Aram /napʃ/, (Sfire, Fkh) /nbʃ/ *soul, life, person, self; rest, refreshment; gravestone*; Amor /nap$/ *breath, life*; Akk /napāʃ/ *blow, breathe (up), expand, grow (in volume)*; /napaʃt/, (MAss) /-alt/ *life; throat*; /napiʃt/, (Ass) /-uʃt/, /-ult/ =; Arab /nafs/ *soul, spirit, blood, evil eye, person, self, intention, desire, appetite, pride, scorn; essence*; /nafas/ *gust (of wind), breath(ing), draught; freedom of action; long discourse*; ESA

/nfs/ *irrigate; suspend, prorogue; breath, spirit, life, person, self; childbirth; tombstone*; /mnfs/ *means of irrigation*; Mhr /nfs/ *make space (for s.o.); Qt be delivered of a child/young; ʃ welcome s.o.*; /nfh/ + *H recover from faint*; /nafs/ *person, individual*; /nəfsēt/ = ; *soul*; /xənōf/ *self*; Soq /nifes/ *give birth; Qt = (easily)*; /nefoʃ/ *breathe, live, revive*; /nhof-/, /nhob-/(+sf.) *soul, person, self*; /fene$/ *breathe*; /fon$/ *breath, soul, wind*; G&z /nfs/ *blow; A breathe (out, in), refresh, (re)create, give rest*; /näfs/ *soul, spirit, breath(ing), person, ghost, daemon, self*; /näfäs/ *wind, air*; /näfst/ *body, genitals, anus*; Te /nfs/ *(wind) blow; be useful; tD breathe; be patient; have soul(!); tL beg, be parasite*; /näfs/ *soul, human life; patience*; /nos-/(+sf.) *self*; /mänfäs/ *soul, ghost, spectre*; /tnfäs/ *breath, life, patience, gentleness*; Har /nfs/ *At rest*; /matnäfäs/ = (n.); /näfsi/ *soul*; Ch Wol /näfäsä/, Sdd /-ff-/ *(wind) blow*; Sdd Wol /nəfas/ *wind*; Ch Sdd Wol /näfs/. *soul, spirit*; Sdd Wol /näbs/ = ; Sdd /mänfäs/ *spirit*; Bed /nifi/ *blow; wind*; Bil /näfs/ *have, take trouble; plague, coerce*; /mänfäs/ *soul, spirit*; Som /naf/ *life, self, breath, spirit*; /nēf/ *animal*; Tu /ənfas/ *respiration, life*; /sənfəs/ *breathe, sigh*; Chad: Ron (Bokkos) /lafos/, (Daffo) /nafos/, (Scha) /lufwos/, (Kulere) /nos/, Daba /nip/, Kotoko (Mandague) /lafassə/ *breathe, rest*; Kotoko (Mandague) /nawusə/ *soul*; Eg /nf/ *blow (wind)*; Cpt /nife/ = .

The last Sdd entry is my recording and may be loan from Amh; the Bil entries may also be Sem in origin (Reinisch), as Bil has another, unrelated expression for *soul, spirit*. The other non-Sem entries (cf. also Dolgopolsky p. 177), however, do not seem to have plausible Sem sources; moreover, the root belongs to the same class as the names of parts of the body which are borrowed only in very special circumstances, if ever. NB. the phonological varr. of the sibilant as well as the occasional contractions and transpositions. Ebl /nu-pù-uʃ-tu-um/, /-tù-um/, /-tum/ *life*.

NC(C): ?Ug /nc/ *kind of bird*; Aram /nicc/, /ne^{y}c/ *blossom*; /nacc/ *hawk*; /ncc/ *blossom; R shine, gleam, sparkle*; Syr /necc/ *hawk*; ?Arab /nc/ *display (a bride); manifest, reveal*; /naccat/ *female sparrow*.

The word for the hawk is supposed to derive from this root on account of its spark-like movements; but as these are not characteristic of any bird, the root could have been applied to other birds only secondarily at best. The Arab verb could be relevant, if the bride was, or (out of politeness) was supposed to be a sparkling beauty. Arab /nwΛ/ *(lightning) flash* may also be more remotely related.

NCB: Phoen /ncb/ *pillar; deputy, appointee(?)*; (af) *in$eb: erect; myn$ysth: stela*; Ug /ncb/ *stand; erect*; /mcb/ *stand? beam? (of scales)*; Aram /ncb/ *plant, set in*; Syr = ; *found, establish*; Amor /ncb/ *erect, set up*; Akk (Am) /nacāb/ *establish*; Arab /ncb/ *(+D, A) set (up); put down; hoist (a flag); plant (a tree)*; ESA /ncb/ *erect tombstone*; (pl.) /mncbt/ *pillars*; Mhr /ncb/ *erect, set up*; /nəcəbēt/ *beam; tree-trunk*; Soq /necab/ *erect*; (pl.) /menocib/ *governor*.

Cf. the root /ycb/ above. The Akk entry is loan from WSem. In the Phoen entries in Latin characters, /$/ stands for etymological (if not phonetic) /c/. Eg /ndb/ *foundation* seems to be based on a different idea; and so Bil /inʃaw/ and its cognates.

NCV: Akk /nāc/ *plumage*; Arab /nāciyat/, /nuccat/ *forelock*.

The next root could be cognate, if it originally meant tearing each other by hair (cf. Arab).

NCV II: Aram /ncV/ +*D, tQ quarrel*; Syr /ncV/ =; Akk /nacū/, /ne-/ *scrape (house) bare*; Arab /ncw/ *(+L, tL) seize (o.a.) by the forelock*; /nΛw/ *strip (s.o. of his clothes)*; (+/nΛy/, +*Qt) draw (the sword)*; ESA /nΛw/ *demolish (walls); uproot (?; vineyard)*; Mhr /nwc/ *ʃ, Qt wrestle*; /mənwēc/ *wrestling*; Soq /ntizioh/ *indignation*; ?G&z /ncy/ *pluck (out), pull (off)*; ?Te /n¢/ =; *drag; L quarrel*; ?Har /nä¢a/ *pluck out, chew off*; ?Ch /nä¢ä/, ?Sdd /-¢¢ä/, ?Wol /-¢e/ =; ?Eg /ndy/ *cast down* (Rössler).

Cf. the preceding root. Bil /lacex/ seems rather related to the next one (if any). Transposition in Mhr, loss of glottalization in Soq.

NCX: Phoen /ncx/ *conquer*; Aram /ncx/ *jump up; (tD) win, prevail*; Syr /ncx/ *be bright, clear; shine, flourish, win, prevail, excel*; Arab /ncx/ *be pure, genuine, sincere; give advice*; /nΛx/ *shoot (at), defend o.s. (+L s.o.); tD clear o.s. (from a charge)*; /nΛχ/ *shoot (at)*; G&z /ncx/ *be pure,clean, innocent*; Te /lcx/ *be pure, clean*; Har /nä¢īx/ *white*; /n7x/ *be white*; Ch /nä7a/, Sdd /nä77a/ *be white*; Ch /nä¢ä/, Sdd /nä¢¢ä/ *white*; ?Bil /lace'/, /-ex/ *be pure, clean, innocent.*

The root is semantically rather heterogeneous, but strains of meaning flow into each other rather smoothly in Syr G&z and also Arab, although there, phonological varr. complicate the picture; white is also often conceived as pure or shining; on the other hand, Te /l-/ could make the root /rxc/ too relevant (transposition?); the Bil entry is apparently loan from Te (Leslau, Gur III p. 463; my spelling follows Reinisch, as usually for Bil).

NCL: Aram /ncl/ +*A save, rescue*; Syr /ncl/ *pour in; A serve, liberate; abduct*; Arab /ncl/ *come out, escape; A, tD, St extract, pull out*; /nΛl/ *tD take away (from)*; Mhr /ncl/ *Qt (gun) break apart*; /nəcəlāt/ *blade*; Soq /'ecel/ *help, assist*; G&z /ncl/ *tQ fall out (extracted, broken loose)*; Te /ncl/ *break apart, fall out; tD, AtL tear off*; Ch /nä7ärä/, Sdd /ni77älä/, Wol /ne77-/ *separate, set (calf) apart (from the cow).*

NB. the sibilant var. in Arab and absence of /n/ in Soq.

NCR: Phoen /ncr/ *watch*; Ug /nγr/ *guard, protect*; Aram /n7r/ =; *observe, preserve, expect; bear (a grudge)*; Syr /n7r/ *guard, observe, preserve, expect*; Amor /ncr/ *guard*; Akk /nacār/ =, *watch, protect, preserve*; Arab /ncr/ *aid (agst.), preserve*; /n¢r/ *look at, inspect, consider, judge, take care, aid*; ESA /ncr/ +*H help, protect; St ask for help; help, assistance*; /n¢r/ *guard, protect, observe; care, protection; royal* *officers* (?; coll.); Mhr /n¢r/ *see, find (after a search); L consider; Qt await; ʃ consult*; /nī¢awr/ *gun-sight*; /nəcārāt/ *spectacles*; G&z /ncr/ *D look at, watch, inspect, observe, consider, contemplate*; Te /ncr/ *spy, catch a glimpse (from far)*; /mäncär/ *spectacles*; /mänäccär/ *telescope*; Eg /nğry/ *take hold (of); observe (laws etc.)*; /nğrt/ *custody.*

NB. phonological split in (Ug) Arab ESA. ?Ebl /ma-za-lum/ *guard.*

NCR II: Aram /nicr/ *twig, shoot; wicker-basket*; Syr /nåcart/ *sprout, shoot*; ?Amor /nicr/ ?; Arab /nΛr/ *(foliage) be green, (face) be fresh, bright*; /naΛir/, /-īr/, /'anΛar/ *bright, green, prosperous.*

NB. the Aram-Syr sibilant vs. Arab.

NQ(Q): G&z /nqaq/ *fissure, cavern.*

The Phoen (Pu) /nq(y)/ is uncertain of reading and interpretation, but hardly connected with this root anyway; cf. /nqV/ below.

NQ': ?Arab (syr.) /nq/ + *R grumble, complain.*

Of onomatopoeic origin; cf. /n'q/ above.

NQB: ?Ug /mqb/ *an agricultural tool*; Aram /nqb/ + *D perforate*; /nuqbt/ *woman, female*; Syr /nqb/ *perforate; dig, set in; D =; inscribe; corrode; make feminine (in gender)*; /neqbt/ *woman*; Akk /naqāb/ *deflower*; Arab /nqb/ *pierce, bore; (+D, A) journey through*; /naqb/ *hole, tunnel, perforation*; (+ /nuqb/) *mountain pass*; ESA /nqbt/ *tunnel*; ?Mhr /nqb/ *fall (off a mount), be cracked; L crack one's joints; H drop or throw off*; ?G&z /nqb/ *separate o.s.*; ?Te /nqb/ *tear off.*

The Mhr G&z Te entries are semantically remote, but Mhr less so, being cracked being often connected with perforation; and if valid, it may provide connecting link with G&z Te.

NQD: Ug /nqd/ *shepherd*; /maqqad/ *right of pasturage*; Syr /nuqdt/ *point; moment; (north, south) pole*; /nåqd/ *shepherd*; /nqz/ *puncture, punctuate*; Akk /nāqid/ *shepherd*; ?/naqād/ *be ill, in critical condition*; Arab /nqd/ *peck (grain); pay cash, (+Qt, tD) pick out (coins)*; /nq7/ *(+D) dot (a letter); D spot, speck (a garment)*; /nuq7at/ *point, spot, speckle*; /nāqi7/, /naqī7/ *a slave's slave*; ?/nqz/ *Qt (cattle) be struck by murrain*; ?ESA /nqz/ *dig*; Mhr /nqd/ *criticize, blame*; Soq /wgd/ *prick, stick, sting.*

The Soq entry seems to have preserved the original meaning best, and as neither a */ygd/ nor /yqd/ seems even remotely related, it is also best combined with this root, /g/ being due to the contiguous /d/ and the initial augment different. Murrain and many other diseases spread through insect sting, and pricking or piercing too has been used to mark cattle and even slaves (cf. Ex 21:6) in the ancient Middle East as well as elsewhere in the world. Some terms, like those referring to literary punctuation, partly shepherd too, may be regarded as *Kulturwörter*, but the final rad. has undergone phonological variation also outside them and not always due to contiguity with other consonants. Cf. also the root /nqz/ below.

NQV: ?Phoen /nqy/ *clean? polished?*; Aram /nqV/ *D cleanse, purify*; /naqy/, /nqeʸ/ *pure, clean; free, available*; ?Amor /nqy/ *be clear?*; Arab /nqy/ *be pure, unmixed, spotless; D, A cleanse, weed, prune*; ESA /nqy/ *Qt purify o.s.*; Mhr /ngy/ *be free (from debt, guilt)*; /nqV/ *be cleansed, pure*; /nəqay/ *pure*; Soq /neqe/ *be proper; ʃ = ; cleanse o.s.*; ?Tu /nəγiyət/ *sit weary by himself*; /anγəy/ *be disgusted (with), without appetite.*

Phonological split in Mhr. The Tu entries are rather remote semantically and geographically and must be deemed uncertain. Cf. the next root.

NQV II: Syr /nqV/ *sacrifice; D pour libation*; /neqy/ *sheep*; Akk /naqū/, (Ass) /naqā'/ *pour out (libation etc.); sacrifice*; /nīq/, /niqū/, (OAss) /niq'/, /niqi/ *sacrifice; sacrificial victim, dish, libation*; Arab /niqy/ *bone-marrow, eye-fluid*; /nuqāyat/, /-wat/ *marrow, pith*; /naqwat/, /naqāwat/, /-āt/ *choice part.*

The root may originally be connected with the preceding one, as purification ceremonies often include, or consist of offering a sacrifice; in Hbr, however (and still more clearly in Arab), the present root is semantically detached. ?Ebl /ni-qí-tum/ (= nì-gig).

NQZ: Aram /nqz/ *cup, let blood; be bled*; Syr /nqz/ *prick, puncture.*

Apparently branched off the root /nqd/ above (q.v.).

NQL: ?Aram /nqålbas/, /niʸqålwas/ *kind of dates*; Arab /'anqilā'/ *Syrian dates*; /naql/, /nuql/ *dessert, dried fruit*; ?Soq /naqal/, /noqil/ *choose, prefer.*

May be based on a place name (cf. Dalman); in such a case, the Aram entries could be closest to the original, the others being abridgments (in Hbr partially reduplicated).

NQM: Aram /nqm/ *take revenge*; Syr /nqm/ *tD* = ; Amor /nqm/ = ; Arab /nqm/ + *Qt = , punish, reprove*; ESA /nqm/ *avenge*; Soq = ; G&z /qym/ *tQ/tD plan, thirst for revenge*; /qim/ *lust for revenge*; Sdd /aqiyyämä/ *offend.*

As indicated by the Eth entries, the root is primarily biradical and may in fact be a reflexive formation from /qwm/ below. Eg /nqm/ (Calice no. 229) does not fit semantically and is late.

NQP: Aram /nqp/ *hit, beat, slay*; Arab /nqf/ *break, split (skull, an egg)*; ?Mhr /nqauf/ *work (on a stuff); rub, scrape off*; Soq /neqof/ *scrape*; /noqf/ *powder, flour*; G&z /nqf/ *peel off, bark (a tree); blemish*; Te /nqf/ *detach, strip off (leaves); decline.*

Found in South Eth too, see Leslau, Gur III p. 459. The Mhr entry too is on Leslau's authority (Soq p. 275), Johnstone does not have it.

NQP II: Ug (pl.?) /nqpt/ *year*; ?/nqƀn/ *part of a steed's harness*; Aram /nqp/ *A make round, surround; sell on credit*; Syr /nqp/ *adhere, cling (to), follow, accept (advice)*; Arab /wqf/ *stand (up, still), stop, pause, wait* *(for)*; /waqf/ *pause; bracelet; ring around a shield*; /waqfat/ *station, stoppage*; G&z /nq^{w}bät/ *belt, girdle.*

The primary reference appears to have been to the annual cycle of seasons and their astronomical indicators; then also to other circular things; originally biradical, cf. Arab and the root /qwp/ below. Phonological split in Ug, if the second entry relevant, cf. G&z. Eg /nxp/ has different primary meaning, to *fashion.*

NQR: Aram /nqr/ *pick, bore, perforate, gnaw, hollow out*; Syr /nqr/ *dig (through), excavate*; Akk /naqār/ *tear down, demolish, scrape off*; Arab /nqr/ *hollow out; engrave; play (lute, bugle, drum); pierce (a hatching egg); (+tQ) call aside; (+D, tD, Qt) scrutinize, fathom*; /naqīr/ *hollow (in stone, ground); hollowed-out palm-trunk; stock, origin*; /wqr/ *split (a bone)*; /waqr/ *crack, cavity*; ESA /nqr/ *hewn stone*; Mhr /nqr/ *dig (with adze)*; /mənqār/ *adze*; Soq /nogir/ *hollow, pit*; ?/mižeher/ (pl. /maqohor/) *sheepfold, courtyard*; ?/'eqar/ *arrive at night, pass the night*; G&z /nq^{w}r/ *(eye) be gouged out*; /wqr/ *dig, cut out*; Te /nqr/ *gouge out, injure (an eye)*; /wqr/ *D chisel, cut (stone)*; ?Bil /anqāy/ *hollow, cave; inside*; ?Eg /qrrt/ *hollow, cave (esp. of the nether world)*; /qrty/ *sources of the Nile*; (Dem.) /nqr/ *chisel out*; Cpt /nuker/ *prick, incise.*

According to Cerny, the Cpt entry and its Demotic prototype are loan from Sem, and Vycichl does not contradict this; the older Eg entries may be more remotely related (cf. Erman-Grapow) along with the root /qwr/ below. Appleyard finds the Bil entry doubtful; the second and third Soq ones are comparable assuming that an overnight cattle enclosure can be compared to a hollow space. On the Arab G&z varr. cf. Hurwitz p. 13f.

NQʃ: Aram /nqʃ/ + *D, A hit, knock*; Syr /nqʃ/ =. *beat, fix, implant, set*; Mhr /nq$/ *Qt, (snake, enemy) attack suddenly; provoke without reason*; Soq /neqo$/ *strike, pierce, stamp, mint.*

The Mhr entry is somewhat remote from Hbr, but clearly related to Soq which connects it with Syr (and hence, the others) semantically. Cf. the root /yqʃ/ above.

NRD: Aram /nard/ *nard*; Syr /nårdōn/, /-dīn/ =; Akk /lar(a)d/ =; Arab /näradīn/, /nard-/ =; ESA /rnd/ =; G&z /nardos/, /-du/ =.

A *Kulturwort* of Sanscrit origin.

Nʃʾ: Phoen /nʃʾ/, (af) νεσεο, (1.) *nasot: carry (off); offer; offering; chief*; Ug /nʃʾ/ *lift (up), raise*; Aram /nʃV/, /nsV/ =; *take*; Amor /n$'/ *raise, carry*; Akk /naʃū/, (OAkk, Ass) /naʃā'/ =; Arab /n$'/ *grow up, rise, happen, live*; ESA /nʃʾ/ *bank up; take (away); (+Qt, tD) undertake (raid, expedition*¦); Soq /mi$i'oh/ (pl. /meno$i'/) *bucket*; /ʃme$i/ *lift (up)*; G&z /n$'/ *lift (up), raise, carry, take (away; to wife), seize, conquer; accept*; ?/w$'/ *begin to speak* (Barth); Te /ns'/ *raise; take (away)*; Har =; *marry*; Ch /näsa/, Sdd /nässa/ *raise, rouse, wake up.*

NB. the phonetic quality of the Amor ESA sibilants is not clear. The Soq verb is denominative (Leslau). Ebl /na-ʃi-ì (a-na-a)/ *lift up (one's eyes)*; /na-se$_{11}$/ *prefect.*

Nʃʾ II: Aram /rʃV/ + *A lend*; Akk /raʃū/, (OAkk, Ass) /raʃā'/ *acquire, obtain, gain*; Arab /ns'/ *grant a moratorium; (+A) sell on credit; postpone, prolong*; ESA /ns'/ *postpone.*

The Aram entry may be based on Akk, but hardly others. Cf. the root /rʃV/ below.

Nʃʾ III: Arab /n$V/ *smell (an odour), get wind (of); feel dizzy (from wine).*

Hardly connected with the root /ʃw'/ (q.v.).

Nʃʾ/V: ?Ug /nʃ(V)/ *neglect?*; Aram /nʃV/ *(+A) forget*; Syr =; Akk /maʃū/, (Ass) /maʃā'/ =; Arab /nsw/ *give up (work)*; /nasā/ *tendon of the heel, sciatic nerve*; /nsy/ *feel sciatic pain; forget, leave behind*; Soq /neʃe/, /ni$i/ *forget*; ?G&z /nsy/ *tL (pretend to) forget (?)*; Te /nsV/ *forget, be forgotten; tL forsake, neglect.*

Dillmann doubts the validity of the G&z entry; however, Te supports it. Eth /rs&/ still seems to me closer to /rʃ&/ below. NB. the Akk labial nasal and the sibilant varr. in Mhr Soq.

NʃB: Aram /ntb/, /nʃb/ + *D (wind etc.) blow*; Syr /nʃb/ + *D =; be proud, inspired*; Arab /nsb/ *A (wind) blow.*

Cf. the roots /nʃm/ and /nʃp/ below.

NʃG: Aram (imp.) /nʃg/ *H catch up, reach*; Arab /n$ğ/ *hunt* (Guillaume).

NʃK: ?Phoen /nks/ *cut (throat)*; Ug /nθk/ *D bite; interest (tribute?)*; Aram /nkt/ + *D bite*; /nkʃ/ =; *weed; A hit, strike*; Syr /nkt/ *bite; provoke, anger; D bite, hate*; Akk /naʃāk/ *bite*; Mhr /nθk/ =; G&z /nsk/ =; /mänkäs/ *jaw*; Te /nkʃ/ *bite, sting*; Har /nχs/ *bite*; Ch Wol /näkäsä/, Sdd /-kk-/ =; *have a stomach ache*; ?Bil /nakat/ *bite, sting*; ?Chad: */^{n}g-c/ (?) *bite*; ?Eg /nsq/ = (figuratively); ?Cpt /låks/ =, *sting.*

The Phoen entry may rather belong to /nks/ *slaughter*; the Arab (ESA) /nkθ/, /nsk/ do not seem related. The Chad entry is Jungraithmayr & Shimizu's reconstruction on the basis of some thirty attestations which, however, do not show much evidence of the sibilant's glottalization (now totally lost) nor for an additional radical between it and the velar stop. In about four-fifths of the attestations the only consonants present are the prenasalized stop (occasionally transformed into a mere nasal) and the sibilant (occasionally prenasalized or -alveolarized); if the initial prenasalization foreshadows the Sem nasal, phonetic similarity seems so great that at least possibility of cognation must be admitted. The Bil entry is closer to Quara /naqa7/, and Eg Cpt are also phonetically exceptional.

NʃL: Aram /nʃl/ *throw out, send off*; Arab /nθl/ *take off (a coat of mail); (+St) empty (a quiver)*; /nsl/ *(hair, feather) fall off; (garment) slip* *off; (+A) (bird, beast) moult*; /n$l/ *snatch away, pilfer; carry off & devour.*

NB. the threefold split in Arab.

NʃM: Aram /nʃm/ *take a breath, rest*; /niʃm(t)/ *breath, respiration, soul, person*; Syr /nʃm/ *blow, breathe, pant, rattle*; /neʃm/ *spirit, breath; blast (of fire)*; /nʃamt/ *breath, spirit, soul*; Arab /nsm/ *(wind) blow gently; L smell, whisper; tD breathe*; Mhr /nsm/ *loosen bonds; H, Qt breathe; ʃ sigh*; /nəsēm/ *breath, soul.*

Cf. the next root and also /nʃb/, /npʃ/ above.

NʃP: Aram /nʃp/ *blow, be breezy*; /niʃp/ *twilight*; Syr /naʃp/, /nuʃp/ *serpent*; ?Amor /nʃp/ *D ?*; Akk /naʃāp/ + *D blow (through, away)*; Arab /nsf/ + *A (wind) scatter (dust); winnow; Qt, tL whisper*; Mhr /nsf/ *winnow*; /mf$/ *go in the afternoon/evening*; Soq /nesof/ *winnow*; /nofo$/ *go in the afternoon/evening*; Eg /nʃp/ *breathe*; Cpt /nuʃp/ *blow, agitate.*

NB. transposition and phonological variation in Mhr Soq. Cf. the preceding root (with note). The Mhr entries are on the authority of Leslau again (Soq p. 69, 272), Johnstone does not have them.

NʃQ: Ug /nʃq/ *kiss*; ?/nθq/ *kind of weapon*; Aram /nʃq/ *(+D) kiss, touch*; Syr =; Akk /naʃāq/ + *D kiss*; Arab /n$q/ *smell, snuff; be caught, ensnared.*

If the first Arab meaning is more original than to *kiss*, two originally separate roots have probably fallen together in the Hbr one. NB. the variation in the sibilant again.

NʃR: Ug /nʃr/ *eagle*; Aram /niʃr/ =, *vulture*; Syr /neʃr/ *eagle*; Akk (late Bab) /naʃr/ =; Arab /nasr/ =, *vulture*; Mhr /nōhər/ *big bird*; Soq /noyhir/ *bird*; G&z /nsr/ *eagle, vulture*; Te /n(ä)sr/ *eagle*; Sdd /neser/ =, *vulture*; Som /hanğar/ *kind of vulture*; Eg (Dem.) /nʃr/ *vulture, falcon*; Cpt /noʃr/ =.

A wandering word with some variation in meaning; the Sdd entry is my recording; for some further Gur and Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 75. NB. variation in the sibilant again.

Nʃ/SR: ?Phoen (Pu) /nyʃr/ *woodcutter(?)*; Aram /nsr/ + *D saw*; /massar/ = (n.); Syr /nsr/, (n.) /massar/ =; Arab /n$r/, (n.) /min$ār/ =; (n. also:) *pitchfork*; /'$r/ *saw (wood); sharpen (teeth)*; /mī$ār/ *saw* (n.); /nu$āret/ *sawdust*; Soq /min$ar/ *saw* (n.); G&z /w$r/, (n.) /mo$är(t)/ =; Cpt /baʃūr/ =.

The name of the instrument is a *Kulturwort* of WSem origin; according to Vycichl, the denasalization in Cpt is due to the presence of /r/ in the word. Ebl /sar-sa-rúm/ *saw.*

NʃT: Arab /snt/ *A experience drought; tD (upstart) marry a noble woman.*

Transposition in Hbr or Arab.

NTB: Ug /ntb/, (pl.?) /-bt/ *path*; Aram /ntiʸbt/ =.

NTZ: Aram /ntz/ *gush forth, burst out.*

Reflexive formation from the root /nzV/ (q.v.).

NTX: Aram /ntx/ *D seize, distrain; pull, tear off*; Arab /ntχ/ *pluck (the hair), pull off*; Mhr /ntχ/ *pluck (out of the ground), snatch*; Soq /natax/ *drag, tear apart*; Te /ntx/ *pluck, tear out*; Ch /tärata/, Sdd /nätta/, /täna-/ *snatch away.*

Connection with Te /n7V/ *tL grasp* does not seem probable.

NTK: Phoen (pref 1.) /'tk/ *bewitch*; Ug /ntk/ *pour (out)*; Aram /ntk/ *D, A = ; melt, cast (metal)*; Akk /natāk/ *(+Qtn) drop, fall (down) (rain, venom etc.).*

Cf. the root /nsk/ above.

NTN: Phoen /ytn/ *give, grant*; /mtn(t)/, /mtt/, μαθηδ *gift, present*; Ug /ytn/ *give, grant, issue, set*; /ytnt/, /mtn/ *gift*; Aram (pref) /ytn/, (nact) /mtn/ *give*; (Fkh) /ntn/ = ; Syr /mattlå wmassbå/ *commerce*; (pref) /nettel/ *give*; Amor /ntn/, /ndn/ = ; Akk /nadān/ = ; Eg /mtn/ *present, provide with*; /mtnwt/ *reward.*

The primary root is biradical, the initial augment varying more than usual; other modifications are apparently secondary. Ebl (nag) /wa-ti-nu/.

NTC: Syr /nt&/ *tear out; fall (down, out, off)*; Arab /t&/ *R shake; (beast) sink in the sand*; (eg.) */pull out (tooth, stone).*

G&z /nt&/ seems too remote semantically. Cf. the root /ntʃ/ below (and /nts/, /nt&/ MT).

NTQ: Aram /ntq/ *D, A tear apart, dissolve, snatch away; transform, modify*; Arab /ntq/ *shake, jolt; strike (fire); draw up (bucket)*; Soq /ntg/ *take off, seize*; G&z /ntg/ *take out (of), decrease, exhaust, dry up, fail, desist, cease*; Te = ; Ch Wol /nä7äqä/, Sdd /-77-/ *snatch, steal, kidnap (a bride).*

G&z /m7q/ seems semantically more remote.

NTR: Aram /ntr/ *fall off, out*; Syr = ; *flow away; throw away; delete*; Arab /ntr/ *snatch*; ?/ntl/ *rush forth*, /nθr/ *scatter, sprinkle, disperse*; ?Soq /netor/ *let go (saying), utter.*

More than one root could be involved, cf. also late Hbr & Aram /nʃr/ *fall off*; but they are difficult to separate both semantically and phonologically.

NTR II: Aram /nitr/ *natron*; Syr /netr/ = ; Akk /nit(i)r/ = ; Arab /na7rūn/ = ; Eg /nčry/ = .

A *Kulturwort* of Egyptian origin.

NTʃ: Aram /ntʃ/ *tear out, off*; Syr =, *bite (off), lacerate, cut (off), take excerpts*; Arab /nt$/ *pull, pluck out*; G&z /n$t/, /nst/ *disturb, disrupt, abrogate, dismiss, demolish, tear down, destroy.*

NB. the variation in the sibilant again; transposition in G&z. Cf. the root /ntc/ above (with note).

ס

S’: Arab /s’/ *R urge, chide (an ass).*

Onomatopoeic.

S’ II: Aram /så(’)t/, /s’(å^{h})/ *a measure of volume; a weight*; Syr /sa(’)t/, /så(’)/ *a measure of volume*; Akk /sūt/ = ; Soq /se/ *try, test, measure.*

The noun is a *Kulturwort* of Akk origin, but the Soq verb can hardly be denominative, as the noun is not attested in South Sem at all; according to normal Soq pattern, it is derivable from a root */swy/ on which the Akk noun too may be based.

S’B: Aram /s’b/ *D make, declare unclean; violate, rape.*

S’N: Aram /se^{y}n/ *shoe, sandal*; Syr /s’n/ *put/have shoes on*; /mså(’)n/ *shoe, sandal*; Akk /ʃēn/, (Nuzi) /ʃīn/ = ; G&z /$a’n/ = ; Te /s’n/ = ; Har /aʃīn/ *shoe*; Chad: Ban. (=Bandas?) /asenu/ = (Müller after Lukas).

Found in Gur Cush too, cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 100f. The noun is a *Kulturwort* of Akk origin.

SB(B): Ug /sb/ *turn, go round*; Aram /sbb/ *A go round*; Arab /sibb/ *turban*; /sabbat/ *period*; /sabab/ *rope, tie, means, cause*; /sabib(at)/ *plait of hair*; /sb/+*D abuse, curse*; (syr.) *slander; tD* (syr.) *carry on a petty trade; tL revile*; ESA /$bb/ *blaspheme(?); tD surround*; Mhr /sbb/ *insult, abuse, curse*; /səbēb/ *cause, fault*; Soq /sbb/ *slander*; /sebeb/ *reason, cause*; G&z (coll.) /’äsbab/ *guards, watchmen*; Te /säbäb/, /säbbät/ *reason, cause*; Har /säbäb/ = ; Ch Wol /säbäb/, Sdd /səbäb/ = ; Ch Wol /səbäsäbä/, Sdd /-ss-/ *gather, put together (scattered objects)*; ?Chad: Kofyar (Bong) /sup/ *turn round*; ?Eg /msbb/ *turn friendly (towards)* (Calice no. 203a).

Leslau considers Eth /säbäb/ to be loan from Arab; but the word is used in Arab mostly prepositionally, and prepositions are not normally borrowed unless there is support for them in the borrowing language; and the G&z Gur entries show that the root is original to Eth too; most watchmen “make rounds” and gathering scattered things is also called “rounding up” them etc. Slander and abuse as well as petty trade are also often connected with going around (cf. /rkl/ below). The Chad entry is plausible both phonologically and semantically, but it is geographically distant and other derivations are conceivable; the Eg one is semantically more remote.

SB’: Aram /sbV/ *imbibe, get drunk*; Akk /sabū/ *brew beer*; /sīb/ *beer*; Arab /sb’/ *buy (wine) for own use*; /sibā’/ *(purchase of) wine*; /sabbā’/ *wine merchant.*

Cohen’s (no. 296) non-Sem entries are phonologically equivocal.

SBL: Ug /sblt/ *burden?*; Aram /sbl/ *carry, bear, endure*; Akk /zabāl/, /sa-/, /ca-/, (late Bab) /zebēl/ *carry; convey*; ?Arab /zbl/+*Qt bear, carry s.th.*; ?Tu /ədbəl/ *lift up & carry (an infant, pet).*

The Ug entry is formally and functionally uncertain, but should be connected with this root. If the Arab Tu entries are relevant, the root must be very old and undergone different semantic shifts in different languages; in Arab too, the burden seems to be light. NB. the phonetic variation in the sibilant. Cf. /zbl/ above.

SBRQ: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

SGD: Aram /sgd/ *prostrate o.s.*; /sigd/ *idol*; Syr /sgd/ *prostrate o.s., worship, show respect*; /segdt/ *worship, veneration, idol, temple*; Arab /sğd/ *bow down, be lowly; worship (God)*; /masğid/ *place of worship, mosque*; Mhr /sgd/ *bow down, pray*; Soq = ; G&z /sgd/ *prostrate o.s., worship, adore, respect*; /msgad/ *place of worship, church, temple*; /mäsgid/ *mosque*; Te /sgd/ *prostrate o.s., pray*; Har = ; Ch Wol /sägädä/, Sdd /-gg-/ = .

Probably loan from Aram in Hbr and (ultimately, as wandering words), elsewhere too.

SGL: Ug /sglt/ *treasure; property*; Aram /sgullt/ *property*; /sgl/ *D accumulate, save, store*; ?Amor /sikl/, /sikil(t)/ ?; Akk /sakāl/ *take possession (stealthily)*; /sikilt/ *(secret) gain, acquisition*; /sukull/, /-g-/, (NAss) /sak-/ *herd, cattle*; Arab /sğl/ *A be rich; make large (gifts); fill (a vessel)*; /sağl/ *bucket full of water; bountiful man; great udder; gift*; /sağīl/ *share; large (udder)*; /sağūl/ *abundant (spring)*.

Hardly all based on a noun borrowed from Akk; the verbs do not look like denominative either. NB. the voiceless stop in (Amor?) Akk against all the others.

SGN: ?Phoen (NPu) /(.x)sgn/ *overseer (of the temple) (?)*; Aram /sign/, /sgan/ *governor, prefect (of temple priesthood)*; Akk /ʃakn/, /ʃākin/ *governor, prefect.*

LW from Akk.

SGS: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

SGR: Phoen /sgr/ *(Y)? deliver, hand over*; Ug /sgr/ *close, shut; buckle up (?a garment); (inner) room*; Aram /sgr/ *(+A) shut (up, in)*; Syr /sgr/ = ; *prohibit*; Arab /$ğr/ *tie up (to); turn s.th. aside (from)*; /sğn/ *restrain, imprison* (Guillaume).

Cf. the root /skr/ below. ?Ebl /sa-ga-ru$_x$-um/, /si-ga-lum/ (=KA-gír).

SD(D): Aram /sadd/ *block, stock(s)*; /saddån/ *block, (tree) trunk, stump; (potter's) wheel; anvil*; Syr /sadd/ *shackle*; /saddån/ *anvil*; Arab /sd/ *block up, shut, dam; supply (a want)*; /sadd/ *barrier, obstacle, dam, screen, mountain*; ESA /$d/ *obstruction; dam.*

NB. the ESA sibilant.

SDQ: Aram /sdq/ *split*; Syr =; *lacerate; break away, defect*; Akk /ʃatāq/ *split off; tear off, crush asunder*; Arab /$dq/ *have a wide(-sided) mouth*; /$idq/ *side of mouth*; (+/$adīq/) *side of a valley*; G&z /$7q/ *split, tear asunder*; Te /ʃ7q/ *D split, sail (through)*; /ʃdq/ *side of mouth*; Har /sēdäqa/ *split, crack*; Wol /sädäqä/, /-ä'ä/ *split, pierce, tear asunder.*

The Hbr entry could be loan from Aram. NB. variation in the phonation of the alveolar stop.

SDR: Aram /sdr/ *arrange, put in order*; Syr =; *ordain*; Akk /sadār/, (late Bab) /sedēr/ *set in order; do / take place regularly*; Arab /srd/ *set, do in sequence* (Barth); Sdd /siddärä/, Wol /ʃed-/ *set in a row, pile up in order.*

Appears to be common Sem, though only patchily attested; on the laws of probability, accidental similarity can be ruled out. Amm (pl.?) /sdrt/ *layer(?).*

SDR II: Aram /su^{w}dår/, /-ri^{y}n/ *cloth, shawl, turban*; Syr /sūdår/ *cloth, shroud; turban.*

LW from Lat (through Gr).

SHR: Aram /sah(a)r/, /se^{y}h-/ *moon*; /sah(a)ro^{w}n/ *crescent-shaped ornament*; Syr /sahr/ *moon; silver*; Arab /$ahr/ *(new) moon; month*; ESA /ʃhr/ *new moon.*

NB. the phonetic variation in the sibilant. The Arab /swr/ seems rather related to /ʃwr/ II below.

SWG: ?Phoen /sg/ *unfaithful* (?W.H. Shea in JAOS 97 p. 166ff); ?Arab /swğ/ *walk warily.*

The connecting link, the walker's decrepitude, is rather feeble. Cf. the next root.

SWG II: Aram /swg/ *fence around*; /syåg/ *fence, enclosure*; Syr =; *obstruct, impede; repair*; /syåg/ *fence, enclosure*; Arab /syğ/ *D fence*; /siyāğ/ *(prickly) fence, hedge, enclosure.*

The Arab noun may be loan from Aram, with denominative verb; however, the root could be ultimately connected with the preceding one, both aiming at obtaining security.

SWD: Syr /swd/ *tD speak (with)*; /swåd/ *talk, speech, language, pronunciation*; Arab /swd/ *be noble, glorious; rule, lead (a tribe)*; /sayyid/ *chief, lord, husband*; ESA /m$wd/ *(assembly of) clan-head(s); counsellor.*

NB. the ESA sibilant; in Syr, meaning expanded considerably.

SWV: Phoen /swt/ *(burial) robe, raiment*; /swyt/ *veil(?)*; (pl.; NPu) /mswy't/ *coverings*; Aram /masw/ *veil, mask.*

SWK: Aram /swk/ *besmear*; Arab /swk/ *rub (with); D, tD, Qt cleanse one's teeth.*

Cf. the roots /ysk/, /nsk/ above.

SWS: Phoen /ss/ *horse*; Ug /$$w/, /ssw/ (pl. /sswm/, f.du. /$stm/) = ; Aram /suʷs(y)/ = ; Syr /sūs(y/ī)/ = ; Akk /sisū/, (OAss) /-si/, /-sā'/ = ; Arab /sws/ *tend (a horse), train*; Eg /ssmt/, (NK) /zzmt/ *horse.*

A wandering word of Aryan (?) origin.

SWS II: Aram /suʷsy/ *swallow(?)*; ?Eg /čč/ *sparrow* (Rössler); ?Cpt /ğağ/ = .

A wandering word of unknown (onomatopoeic) origin.

SWP: Aram /soʷp/ *end*; /swp/ *end, cease; annihilate; complete*; Syr /swp/ *perish*; /sawp/ *boundary, limit*; Arab /swf/ *endure patiently; perish, die.*

SWP II: (Aram /suʷp/); Eg /čwf(y)/, /čfw/, (Dem.) /čwf/ *papyrus*; Cpt /ğowf/ = .

The Aram entry occurs only in the name of the Red Sea; LW from Eg. (?W.A. Ward, V.T. 24 p. 339ff argues that the reverse is true).

SWR: Phoen /sr/ *remove*; Aram /swr/ + *D investigate*; ?Akk /sār/ *dance, go round*; ESA /$wr/ *set apart*; Mhr /syr/ *go away; lie (with a woman); go near; travel down; turn (black etc.); Qt excrete*; ?Eg /z'/ *depart, leave (for)* (Rössler).

The basic meaning appears to be turning aside; in Akk Eg, this is not fully evident. Cf. the root /str/ below.

SWT: -

NB. the irregular vocalism in Sam Bab af nag. Cush /sV(y)-/ looks too equivocal.

SXB: Phoen /sxb/ *sweeper(?)*; Arab /sxb/ *trail, drag, sweep (one's 'tail' etc*); Mhr /sxb/ *drag, pull along; Qt slip away, crawl on one's belly*; /səxōb/ *raincloud*; Soq /sxob/ *draw, drag*; G&z /sxb/ *draw (in, down), drag (behind, out, up), at-, ex-, protract, induce*; Te /sxb/ *draw, drag (behind)*; Har /zēxaba/ *drag (on the ground); tD creep, crawl*; Ch Sdd /ʃabä/ *pull, drag; lead (a horse, mule).*

SXV: Aram /såxuʷt/ *dirt, filth*; ?/sxV/ + *A bathe, wash*; ?Syr /sxV/ *wash, purify o.s.*; Arab /sxV/ *scrape off; shovel (mud); (+ Qt) shave (the hair).*

The Aram-Syr verb is also connected with /ʃxV/ II *swim* from which the above meanings could also derive.

SXP: Aram /sxp/ + *D tear down, demolish*; Syr = ; *exile*; Akk /saχāp/ *overturn, upset, subdue, demolish*; Arab /sxf/ *shave (the head), burn up (palm-tree), peel off (grease); (+ A) (wind) drive (clouds).*

SXR: Phoen /sxr/ *merchant*; Aram /sxr/ *go round about; surround; peddle,* *practise itinerant commerce*; Syr /sxr/ *go (round) begging, beg*; Akk /saχār/ *turn, go round, seek; stay*; Arab /sxr/ *wheedle, bewitch, turn (s.o.) away (from)*; ESA /$xr/ *(protective) sorcery.*

The primary meaning is go/turn round, surround; "white magic" is also conceivable as providing protective surroundings.

S7N: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

S7R: Aram /s7r/ + *A slap, flatten*; /si7r/ *side, edge*; Syr /se7r/ = ; Arab /s7r/ *throw down; cut (with a sword).*

The primary reference is to flatness, discernible in the Arab entry too.

S7RBL: Aram = Hbr; Syr /'s7rblws/, /-rwbwl-/ *cyclone, whirlwind.*

LW from Gr; the Syr entries are transcriptional.

SY&: Aram /sy&/ *D help, support*; Syr = ; Arab /$y&/ *D escort, encourage; L accompany, support.*

The Hbr entry may be loan from Aram.

SYP: Aram /sayp/, /seʸp/ *sword*; Syr /sayp/ = ; Arab /sayf/ = ; *swordfish*; G&z /säyf/ *sword*; Te = ; Har /sīf/ = ; Sdd Wol /sef/ = ; Bil /säf/, /sēf/ = ; Som /sēf/, /sīf/, /seyf/ = ; *(shark's) fin*; Eg /zft/ *sword, knife*; /zf/ *flint-knife; cut (throat), slaughter*; (Dem.) /sfy/ *knife*; /zfy/ *sword*; Cpt /sēfe/ *sword, knife.*

A *Kulturwort* of Eg origin (Cerny). Although the noun is not attested before the twelfth dynasty (Vycichl), the verb is earlier and /zf/ *flint-knife* hardly conceivable except as prehistoric in origin.

SYR: Aram /siʸr(t)/ *thorn(-bush)*; ?Arab /zīr/ *porous jar used as a strainer*; Soq /sohor/ *thorn(-bush), brier*; Eg /srt/ *thorn*; Cpt /sūre/ = ; *talon.*

The Arab meaning is not very close to 'pot'; the other comparisons are valid on the assumption that the connecting link described in K-B^3 is valid.

SK(K): Aram /skk/ + *D interlace, weave, fence in*; Syr /skk/ *D fix with nails*; Akk /sakāk/ *stop up, occlude*; Arab /sk/ *stop, clamp (door); (+ Qt) be deaf; Qt (plant) be tangled*; /$k/ *pitch tents in a row*; ESA /$wk/ *enclose, fence in*; Soq /sak/ *roof*; /sekex/ *trapnet(?)*; Te /ʃk/ *R be crammed full*; /ʃäkik/ *a row of houses*; Har /skk/ *string, put in a row*; Ch /säkäkä/, Sdd /säkk-/ *drive a peg (nail etc.) in*; Ch /səχäsäχä/, Sdd /səqässäqä/, Wol /səkäsäkä/ *squeeze, stuff in*; Tu /əssək/, /săksăk/ = ; /ăsakat/ *hairdress (= plaits) of 7- to 14-year-old girls.*

?In Cush (cf. Dolgopolsky p. 265; but phonologically difficult). The primary reference seems to be to a protective structure of wickerwork, natural or artificial, then also a simpler string-like row or anything that bars access from outside and occasionally also squeezes in. The meanings are anyway so closely related that division of the root in two or even three seems artificial, as even the phonological or structural variations do not follow the same lines. Cf. the root /ʃ/sk(k)/ below.

SKV: Aram /skV/ *+D look (out, for); expect, hope*; Syr /sky/ *D expect*; Arab /mi$kāt/ *a niche in the wall (for a lamp)*; G&z /mäskot/ *window, light*; Te = ; Sdd = .

The Arab Eth entries must be regarded as *Kulturwörter*, apparently of Aram origin, as the root does not seem to be original elsewhere; the Hbr entry is obviously loan from Aram likewise.

SKL: Aram /skl/ *A act foolishly; tD be crazy*; Akk /sakl/ *simple-minded, awkward, foolish*; ?Arab /$kl/ *shackle (a beast), (+D, A) (affair) be doubtful.*

In Arab, the noun /$ikl/, /$akl/ *shape, form, sort (etc.)* could be more fundamental in meaning.

SKN: Phoen /skn/ *governor*; Ug =, *mayor, superintendent*; ?Aram /skn/ *be endangered*; Akk (Am) /sakān/ *take care*; (Ug, Alalakh) /sākin/, /sakinn/, /sakkin/ *prefect*; /ʃakn/, /ʃākin/ =, *governor.*

The relationships of the different entries are not clear; some borrowing from Akk may also be involved (cf. /sgn/ above). The Aram entry is semantically deviant, particularly as the postulated intermediary meaning, to *experience*, is nowhere clearly attested. The next root is not semantically far, either (being conceivable as one in need of care); but as it is etymologically distinct, secondary semantic assimilation must be reckoned with.

SKN II: Aram /miskeʸn/ *poor*; Syr /meskēn/ = ; Amor /meʃkīn/ =, *serf*; Akk /muʃkēn/, /ma-/ = ; /ʃukēn/, (OAkk, Ass) /-ka''en/ *prostrate o.s. (before god, king)*; Arab /miskīn/ *poor, weak, humble*; /skn/ *become weak, destitute*; ESA /mhskn/ *wretched, defeated(?)*; Mhr /məskayn/ *poor fellow*; Soq /miskīn/ (pl. /-kon/, f. /-konten/) *poor*; G&z /mskin/ = ; /mskn/ *t4-r grow poor, destitute*; Te /mäskin/ *poor, miserable, cripple, maimed*; /mskn/ *be crippled, maimed*; Har /miskīn/, /mä-/ *poor.*

The noun is a kind of *Kulturwort*, of Akk origin; in the other languages, the verb is denominative.

SKN III: ?Akk /musukkann/, /mes(uk)k-/, *makan-tree (Dalbergia Sissoo).*

Relevant on the assumption that the Hbr passage has been correctly interpreted: LW from Akk (and ultimately Sumerian?).

SKR: Aram /skr/ *+D stop up, obstruct, dam*; Syr /skr/ *shut, obstruct*; Akk /sekēr/, /sakār/ *block up, dam, barricade*; Arab /skr/ *fill up, shut, dam; (wind) calm down*; ESA /skr/ *calm down*; Te /skr/ *D, L prevent, impede.*

Cognate with the root /sgr/ above (q.v.).

SKT: Akk /sakāt/ *be quiet*; Arab /skt/ *stop speaking, singing; die; D hush, silence; A stay silent.*

Cf. the roots /ʃq7/, /ʃtq/ below.

SL(L): Phoen /slmt/ *stairs*; Aram /sullm/, /su^{w}lm/ *ladder*; Syr /sebbelt/ =; Akk /simmilt/ *stairs, ladder*; Arab /sullam/ =; Te /sl/ *climb a slope*; /släl/ *winding road*; Sdd /mäsälal/ *ladder.*

The noun is evidently a *Kulturwort*, but its origin is obscure; it does not seem to have cognates in Akk, and so the Akk form is not sure to be the primary one; in Hbr, it is evidently affiliated with the present root, cf. Sdd too.

SL(L) II: Aram /sall/ *basket*; Syr =; Akk /sall/, /sell/, /sill/ =; Arab /sall/ *perfume-basket*; /sallat/ (syr.) *small basket*; Cpt /salo/, /saro/ *basket.*

A *Kulturwort* of Sumerian origin (abbreviation of /gigursall/)?

SLD: -

Dissimilated from the preceding root?

SLX: Ug /slχ/ *forgive? sprinkle?*; Aram /slx/ *forgive*; /zlx/ *sprinkle, pour out*; Syr =, *moisten*; Akk /salāχ/ *sprinkle.*

G&z /zlx/ is semantically closer to Syr /zl&/ (cf. Dillmann); and although sprinkling is ritually connected with atonement, drawing water from a well is not. On the other hand, Saho has /salah/ *be merciful*, /salīx/ *merciful* for which there is no obvious source of borrowing. However, as cognates are not found elsewhere in Cush, it may be reasonable to assume Hbr-Aram influence through some unusual channel.

SLMNDR: Aram /salmandr/ *salamander*; Syr /slmndr'/ =; Arab /samandar/ =.

LW from Gr; the Syr entry is transliterational.

SL&: Aram /sil&/ *a coin (sela)*; (pl.) *scales (of a serpent)*; Syr /sal&/ *rock; a coin*; Arab /sl&/ *cleave, split, crack*; /sil&/ *fissure, crack, cleft (in a mountain)*; ESA /sl&/ *a coin.*

The monetary term is a *Kulturwort*. The locust may have been so called after its chapped skin; but both Baer and Vycichl express grave reservations about the relevance of Eg /znxm/ = Cpt /sanneh/, on phonological and structural grounds.

SLP: Aram /slp/ *distort.*

Arab /slf/ seems too remote semantically (Irvine).

SLQ: Aram /slq/ *ascend; meet; succeed; cure; D remove, cease, let off*; Syr /slq/ *ascend; be raised, brought, offered; effect, amount (to), be(come), happen, occur, be completed, come true*; Arab /slq/ *peel (flesh off bones); (+tD) climb, scale (a wall)*; Soq /siqlhel/ *high, eminent*; Har /sql/ *hang up; tD climb.*

Cf. the root /nsq/ above. Transposition in Soq Har.

SLT: Aram /sult/, /so^{w}lt/ *fine wheaten flour*; Akk /silt/ *kind of flour*; Arab /sult/ *thin-husked barley.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

SM(M): Aram /samm/ *powder, medicine, poison*; Syr /samm/ *medicine, poison; colour*; Akk /ʃamm/, (OAkk) /$amm/ *plant, herb, drug*; Arab /samm/, /summ/, /simm/ *poison; hole, eye (of needle)*; /samūm/ *pestilential wind*; Mhr /sam/ *poison*; Soq =; Te /sm/ =; /smum/ *hot desert wind*; Har /summi/ *poison*; Wol =; Bed /sēm/ =; Tu /əssəm/ =.

The main noun is a *Kulturwort*, probably of Akk origin; found also in Saho-Afar: /summe/, /summi/.

SM'/V: Aram /smV/ *be blind; D blind; delete.*

SMDR: Aram /smådr/ *(vine) blossom in bud*; Syr =; Akk (NAss) /samādir/ *(olive) blossom.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin, although relatively late attested; the Akk entry may be loan from Aram.

SMK: ?Ug /smkt/ *firmament(?)*; Aram /smk/ *support (o.s.), bring close, offer, ordain*; Syr /smk/ *support (o.s.), sustain; impose, put upon; delay; arrive*; Amor /$mk/ *support*; Akk /samāk/ *cover (up)*; Arab /smk/ *raise (a building); ascend, be lofty*; /samk/ *roof; vault (of heaven)*; /simāk/ *upholding or lifting implement*; ESA /$mk/ *ascend; (D?) support, exalt*; Soq /semk/, /senk/ *place, location (of support?)*; G&z /smk/ *lean against; support (o.s.); rely (upon)*; Ch /täʃamäχä/, Sdd /-mmäkä/ *lean back, upon; At sustain.*

NB. the ESA sibilant.

SML: Phoen /s]mlt/ *image, statue*; ?Akk /simmilt/ *stairs; threshold?*

In the title of the crown prince, /rabi simmilti/, the term is hardly used in its usual sense (stairs, ladder).

SMN: Aram /si^{y}mån/ *mark, sign, characteristic*; /su^{w}mån/ *boundary mark*; Syr /sīmiyon/ *sign, mark; (zodiacal) constellation; zenith; example*; (+/sīmån/) *milestone.*

LW from Gr.

SMR: Phoen /smr/ *nail; ?sceptre*; Aram /smr/ *D nail*; /masmr/ = (n.); Akk /samrūt/ = (n.); Arab /smr/ *(+D) nail, rivet; put (an eye) out with hot nails; shoot (an arrow)*; /ʾasmar/ *spear*; /mismār/ *nail, peg*; Mhr /smr/ *nail, screw; talk late*; /sēmər/ *a big tree*; /məsmər/ *nail*; Te /smr/ *D nail*; /mäsmär/ *nail, stroke, line, bulwark*; Tu /əsmər/, (n.) /anəsmir/ *nail.*

The whole root belongs to the category of *Kulturwörter*; presumably a noun (for *nail, peg*) was the primary element, although it has mostly been reformed from the originally denominative verb. Dolgopolsky's (p. 116) Cush Om entries seem too remote.

SN(N): Ug (pl.) /snnt/ *swallows*; Aram /snn/ *purify; D sift*; Syr /snōnīt/ *swallow*; ?/sn/ *liquefy, percolate*; ?Akk /sinunt/, /-nd/, /cinund/ *swallow*; Arab /sunūnū/ =.

Assuming that the resemblance between a swallow (or its tail?) and a palm leaf (used also as a makeshift sieve) is sufficient for both to be called cognate names, the root need not be split in two. However, NB. the Akk sibilant var.

SNDL: Phoen (Pu) /sdl/ *sandal*; Aram /sandl/ = ; Syr = .

LW from Gr; NB. assimilation in Pu.

SNV: Aram /'(a)sann/, /sany/ *thorn-bush, bramble*; ?Syr /sann/ = ; Arab /sanā/ *senna (Cassia obovata)*; Te /säna/ = .

The Syr entry is on the authority of K-B^{3}.

SNHDR: Aram = Hbr; Syr /sndrywn/ = .

LW from Gr; the Syr entry is transliterational.

SNP: Aram /sni^{y}p/ *attachment, (supporting) wedge*; /snp/ *tD come together, join*; Syr /snp/ *insert (into nostrils); D gird up*; Akk /sanāp/, /-b/ *gird at, up*; Arab /snf/ *gird up (a camel)*; /sināf/ *camel's girth.*

NB. the Akk var. Cf. the root /cnp/ below.

SNPR: -

The meaning, *eyelashes*, for Arab /$uft/ appears to be a late, secondary offshoot from the more fundamental reference to their place of attachment, cf. the more general meaning, *border, edge, rim.*

SNQ: Aram /snq/ *D choke? stuff?*; Syr /snq/ *be in need*; ?Amor /snq/ ?; ?Akk /sanāq/ *approach, come (close), arrive; inspect, control, examine*; Arab /$nq/ *pull (the bridle); strap (a waterskin); tie (a beast) to hang*; (syr.) *hang, throttle.*

In Syr, the meaning has shifted to metaphorical; in Akk (if indeed related) nearly lost the fundamental reference to pressure. Cf. the root /cnq/ below.

SNR: Aram /zo^{w}når/ *girdle*; Syr = .

LW from Gr, probably in Hbr too (with secondary loss of voicing of the sibilant and frontation of the subsequent vowel).

SS: Aram (Sfire, imperial) /ss/ *moth, weevil*; Syr /sås/ = ; Akk /sās/ *moth*; Arab /sūs(at)/ *moth-worm, weevil*; G&z /ΛaΛe/ =, Te /cace/ *kind of ants.*

A wandering word, with some phonological and semantic variation.

S&D: Aram /s&d/ *support, strengthen; eat, dine*; Akk (N/late Bab) /sēd/ *support*; Arab /s&d/ *be prosperous, fortunate; L aid, assist*; ESA /s&d/ *grant (favour); favour*; Mhr /sād/ *help*; Soq /sa&deh/ *happiness*; Te /sä&äd/, /-ad/ *luck, fortune.*

The Akk entry is loan from Aram (vS); the Mhr one from Arab (Johnstone), and so the Te one. Eg /sğr/ *lie down, sleep* seems hardly related.

S&V: ?Ug /s&t/ *winnowing, winnowed grain?*; Syr /s&V/ *dare (to); be bold, aggressive, rebellious; afflict*; Akk /se'ū/ *press down, subdue*; Arab

/s&y/ *act, go, run, be busy; be a tax-collector; (slave-girl) prostitute herself; slander*; G&z /$&y/ *disperse, ventilate*; Te /s&V/, (n.) /sä&äy/ *run, jump.*

NB. the G&z sibilant.

S&P: Arab /sa&af/ *palm-boughs*; /s&f/ *be cracked (fingertips)*; /$&b/ *separate (people); collect and scatter; D, L, A, N part for ever; tD, N (tree) branch off, fork*; /$a&b/ *gathering, tribe, nation; similar*; /$i&b/ *mountain path; underground watercourse; numerous tribe*; /$u&bat/ *twig; portion; chink; stream in sand; space between two branches*; ESA /ʃ&b/ *tribal group, people, community*; Mhr /cəγāfēt/ *leaf*; Soq (coll.) /ca&lof/ =.

Plenty of phonological variation, but semantically coherent (a collective entity branching off); on the connection between tribal communities and tree branches cf. also roots /n7V/ above and /ʃb7/ below. Dolgopolsky's (p. 120f) Cush entries seem too remote.

S&R: Aram /s&r/ *tQ be disturbed, alarmed, troubled*; Akk /ʃār/ *wind; breath*; Arab /s&r/ *kindle (fire, war); Q ps be blasted by hot wind*; /su&r/ *possession, insanity; hunger.*

NB. the Akk vs. Arab sibilant.

SP: Phoen /sp/ *basin*; Ug /sp/ *jar; bowl; a measure of volume*; Akk /sapp/ *a metal vessel/container*; ?/ʃapp(at)/ *a (clay) vessel.*

Arab /suffat/ seems to have a different semantic background (Irvine). Eg /spt/ may be loan from Can (see Ward, V.T. 13 p. 339ff).

SP(P): Aram /sipp/ *door-post, threshold*; Syr /sepp/ =; *boundary, suburb*; Akk /sipp/, /sibb/ *door-post, -frame; supporting pillar (at the city wall), post etc. (at bed, table).*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

SPG: Aram = Hbr; Arab /safanǧ/ *sponge.*

A *Kulturwort* of Gr origin.

SPD: Ug /spd/ *ʃ wail, mourn (professionally?)*; Aram /spd/ *wail, mourn (ritually, for the deceased)*; Syr /spd/ *tremble; be worried, afraid; wail*; Akk /sapād/ *mourn, wail.*

SPV: Ug /sp'/ *eat, devour*; Aram /spV/ + *A gather, apportion, give to eat*; Syr /spV/ *gather, heap up, carry off, overflow*; ?Arab /sfy/ *(wind) raise dust*; ?ESA /sfʾ/ *delete.*

The root is both semantically and morphophonologically somewhat heterogeneous, but the latter aspect may be dialectal, and as destruction is often compared with being eaten (or "consumed", "devoured") our Hbr material fits under one heading.

SPX: ?G&z /sfx/ *extend, expand, stretch*; ?Te /sfx/ *expand, stretch*; ?Sdd /säffa/ *be wide.*

Semantic connection with the Hbr entries is rather tenuous; with Arab, none seems to exist, as being stretched out is only said of a camel in a figurative sense; for ESA too, there seems to be a different semantic background (Müller).

SPN: Phoen /mspn(t)/ *ceiling, roof*; Aram /spiʸnt/ *ship*; Syr /spī(n)tt/ =; Akk /sapīnat/ =; ?/sapān/ *level off, roll over; devastate*; Arab /safīnat/ *ship*; ESA /sfn/ =; Mhr (pl.) /səfōyen/ =.

The word for ship must be regarded as a *Kulturwort*; the Akk verb, if cognate, has developed into more active and forceful direction; Eth /ʃfn/ *envelop, wrap up* seems to have a different background.

SPSL: Aram /sapsäll/ *seat, bench*; Syr /sabsell/, /saps-/ =.

LW from Lat (through Gr).

SPQ: Aram /spq/ *clap hands*; Arab /sfq/ *strike (hands), slap (the face), shut (the door)*; /sf&/ *slap (face etc.), mark; L slap, embrace, fight*; /cf&/ *slap (the face), tap (the neck); L, tL slap o.a.*; G&z /cf&/ *slap (the face), box (the ears)*; Te /cf&/, /¢f&/ =; Har /7əfit/ *slap*; Ch /täfa/, Sdd /7äffa/ *slap, clap hands*.

NB. the various phonological shifts; some onomatopoeic influence may be involved.

SPQ II: Aram /spq/ *D raise doubts*; Arab /$fq/ *(+A) be anxious (about); D, A lessen*.

The Hbr entry may be loan from Aram.

SPR: Aram /sappiʸr/, /sampiʸriʸn/ *sapphire*; Syr /sappīr/, /-l/ =; Arab /cafīr/ = (Guillaume); G&z /sänper/, /snpir/, /sofor/ =; Te /sänfir/, /säfiros/ =.

A *Kulturwort*, as it seems, of Sanscrit origin; *lapis lazuli* may often have been included.

SPR II: Phoen /spr/ *letter, inscription; scribe*; /mspr/ *number*; Ug /spr/ *count, tell; scribe; letter, document, list; number*; /mspr/ *story*; Aram /sipr/, /sepär/ *book; writing*; Syr /sepr/ =; Amor /$pr/ *send*; Akk /ʃapār/, (OAkk) /$a-/ *send, despatch, write*; /ʃipr/, (OAkk) /$ipr/ *despatch, message, messenger; work, task*; Arab /sifr/ *book*; /sāfir/ *writer*; /sfr/ *go on a journey; D send*; ESA /sfrt/ *measure, extent*; G&z /sfr/ *measure, allot, distribute*; Te /sfr/ *measure; encamp; L depart; AL despatch*; Har /sfr/ *measure*; Ch Wol /säfärä/, Sdd /-ff-/ *measure, weigh; encamp*. ?Eg /spr/ *turn (to), appeal, request; reach, arrive (at)*.

Based on the Akk noun, but the root may have been original in other languages (Arab, Eth).

SPR III: Aram /spr/ *D shave, cut hair*; Syr =; *corrode*; ?Arab /sfr/ *N (hair) fall off*; /safīr/ *falling leaves*.

The Arab meanings could be secondarily derived from the more general one of being laid bare.

SQL: Aram /sql/ *stone, execute by stoning.*

The Aram entry is loan from Hbr.

SQR: Aram /sqr/ *look at*; Syr /sqr/ *D wink (with the eye).*

Arab /srq/ *L steal (a glance)* derives from the basic notion of stealing generally.

SQR II: Aram /siʸqår/ *bandit; stolen (goods)*; Syr /sq'ryw/ (pl.) *'daggermen', terrorists.*

LW from Lat (through Gr); the Syr entry is transliterational.

SR(R): ?Ug /sr/ *Qt meditate, plot(?)*; Akk /sarār/ *be false, unreliable, mendacious*; Arab /$r/ *be ill-natured, wicked.*

NB. the Arab sibilant. Cf. the root /cr(r)/ II below?

SRB: Aram /srb/ *curve*; /såråb/ *obstinate*; Syr /srb/ *speak against, be obstinate, rebellious.*

Arab /srb/ seems to have a different semantic background.

SRG: -

An offshoot from /ʃ/srg/ below (q.v.).

SRD: Aram /sråd/ *wirenet, sieve; lattice*; ?Akk /sarād/ *tie up; pack up (an ass)*; Arab /srd/ *stitch, sew (leather); pierce; weave (a coat of mail)*; /sard/ *mailed fabric*; (syr.) /sarad/, /misrad/ *coarse sieve.*

SRV: -

A root var. of /ʃryn/ below (q.v.).

SRX: Aram /srx/ *hang down*; Syr /srx/ *cut off*; Arab /srx/ *(flock) go to pasture in the morning (by themselves); D send (the flock) to pasture; (woman) let down and comb her hair*; ESA /ʃrx/ + *Qt keep safe, protect*; Mhr /$rχ/ *pull down (a branch) to break it*; /$arχ/ *lopped branch; wand*; ?G&z /$rx/ *grant success; prosper.*

As an overhanging element often affords protection (cf. Mt 23:37), connection is plausible for ESA; the G&z meaning can be understood as an extension of this, but is hardly provable.

SRX II: ?Phoen /srx/(?) *(D?) ruin, let perish*; Aram /srx/ *decay; sin; A make stink*; Syr /srx/ *injure, wound, corrupt, sin*; ?G&z /rsx/ *be squalid, sordid, polluted, guilty*; ?Te /rsx/ *be dirty.*

The reading of the Phoen entry is uncertain. The Eth entries are also semantically somewhat deviant, and alternative derivations are possible.

SRK: Aram /srk/ *hold fast, hang to*; /sirk/ *adhesion, habit*; Syr /srk/ *adhere*; Arab /$rk/ + *L, tL, Qt share, aggregate (in), form partnership.*

SRN: Ug /srn/, /$rn/ *king, ruler* (?or Npr?).

A title of non-Sem origin.

SRN II: Aram = Hbr; Syr (pl.) /sērēnes/, /syrynws/ = ; *marine monsters; desert-dwelling birds.*

LW from Gr; the second Syr entry is transliterational.

SRS: Aram /srs/ *D castrate; tD become impotent*; /såri^{y}s/ *castrate, eunuch*; Syr /s(å)rīs/ = ; /srs/ *D castrate*; Akk /ʃa rēʃ/ *royal butler, chief steward*; Arab /sarīs/ *eunuch, impotent.*

The noun is a wandering word derived from the Akk phrase, the verbs denominative.

SR&P: Syr /sr&p/ *germinate; inflect, derive.*

Secondary root based on /s&p/ above (q.v.).

SRPD: -

Secondary root based on /spd/ above? (but the semantic background seems different).

SRQ: Aram /srq/ *D empty (out)*; /sri^{y}q/ *empty; good-for-nothing*; Syr /srīq/ = ; /srq/ *rob, despoil; D =, empty (out), frustrate*; Arab /$rq/ *pluck (fruit); (palm) show ripening dates.*

Meaning varies in some detail, but common to all is non-availability of usable fruit, temporary or permanent, natural or (being) artificially created.

SRQ II: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

ST(T): -

Seems not attested elsewhere; dialectal var. of /xt(t)/? an /s-/-derivation from that root (Jastrow) with a total loss of /x/ phonologically hard to accept. NB. occasionally spelt with /ʃ/.

STW: Aram /sitw/ *winter*; Syr /satw/ = ; *tempest*; Arab /$itā'/ *winter*; (syr.) *rain*; Mhr /$ētəw/ *winter (January-March)*; Soq /$ete/, /$e'te/ *north (wind).*

STM: Aram /stm/ *shut, stop up; D =, conceal.*

Cf. the root /ʃ7m/ below?

STR: Aram /str/ *demolish, destroy; D let loose, confuse*; Syr /str/ *ruin, turn loose; speak against, slander*; ?Akk /natār/ *ʃ demolish, destroy*; Arab /$tr/ *cut, slit; revile, abuse*; ESA /ʃtr/ *deface, destroy.*

If the Akk entry is relevant, the root is a secondary formation. Cf. the root /ʃtr/ below.

STR II: ?Ug /ztr/ *accommodate?*; Aram /str/ *D hide*; Syr = ; *protect; bury*; Arab /str/ *hide, veil*; /sitr/ *veil, curtain, screen; fear*; ESA /str/ *H protect*; Mhr /str/ *cover (protectively), hide (Qt o.s.)*; Soq /streh/ *tent*; /mistor/ *hide*; G&z /str/ = ; Te = ; *keep secret; tD be hidden, disappear, die*; Har /sutri/ *seclusion*; Ch Wol /sətər/ *headband, veil* *(of Muslim women)*; Tu /əs7ər/ *cover, protect, hide*; ?Eg /mstrt/ *loincloth*; /ʃt'/ *inaccessible, secret, difficult* (Rössler after Holma).

The Har Gur Tu entries may be loans from (or influenced by) Arab. The Eg meanings are somewhat off-beam.

ע

&B(B): ?Arab /γb/ *(+A) do s.th. every second day; D repel an evil (from)*; ?ESA /mγbb/ *rampart, dyke*; ?Soq /'eb/ (f. /am/) *great, big*; ?Te /&b/ *grow big, numerous, copious*; /&baba/ *strength.*

The Arab entry is related to the ESA one, the others are separate, and each one is only qualitatively related to the Hbr one; Soq presents also phonological difficulties.

&BD: Phoen /&bd/ *serve; slave, servant*; Ug =; Aram /&bd/ *do, make, work, perform, arrange, be*; /&abd/, /&äbäd/ *slave, servant, worshipper*; Syr /&bd/, (n.) /&abd/ =; Amor /&abd/ *slave*; Akk /abd/ =; Arab /&bd/ *serve, worship; A, D, tD enslave*; /&abd/ *slave, servant, man*; ESA /&bd/ *(D?) enslave; tD (tQ?) submit o.s.; slave, servant, worshipper*; Mhr /&bd/ *worship*; ?G&z /&b7/ *coerce, force (to do s.th.)*, Te /&bd/ *serve, worship (God); enslave, grow strong; ?grow crazy*; ?(pl.) /&abud/ *large herds*; Har /ābid/ *worshipper.*

The religious terminology is akin to *Kulturwörter*, spreading primarily from Hbr-Aram and secondarily from Arab; the Akk entry also is loan from WSem. Eg /χf&/ *grasp; fist* seems far-fetched. Amm /m&bd/ *work*. Ebl /ebdu/ *slave, servant.*

&BV: ?Ug /γbn/ *fatness, plenty (?)*; Aram /&aby/ *thick*; /&åby/, /&oʷbiʸ/ *thickness, compactness; covering*; Syr /&by/ *be thick, dense, coarse*; Akk /ebū/ *be thick*; Arab /γby/ *be ignorant, stupid*; (syr.) /&by/ *D fill up (a bag, sack)*; /&abiyy/ *thick, dense (crop, woods)*; G&z /&by/ *grow, be large, maximal*; Te /&bV/ *grow up; be great, eldest; D (?) be haughty; A magnify, educate, praise*; Bed /hamāy/, Bil /&abay/ *grow large.*

The Bil entry is loan from Sem (Appleyard). Cohen's (no. 77) other Cush entries are phonologically ambiguous. The Ug entry is a *hapax*, but occurs parallel to /m'id/ *abundance*. On the connection between thickness (=fatness) and stupidity cf. the root /7pʃ/ above.

&B7: Aram /&b7/ *seize (as a pledge)*; Akk /ebu77/ (?/-tt/?), /χubutt(at)/ *(interest-free) loan.*

The Hbr noun, being the primary one and akin to *Kulturwörter*, could be borrowed; the whole root might then be cognate with /&bt/ below (q.v.).

&BR: Phoen /&br/ *pass*; Ug /&br/ *harvest(?)*; Aram /&br/ *pass (by, along, across), meet, transgress; D pass over, lead (beyond), remove; become pregnant; impregnate, intercalate*; Syr /&br/ *transgress; pass (by, through, along, ahead, away, across); overpower*; Akk /ebēr/ *pass across*; /ebūr/, /ib-/ *harvest, summer*; Arab /&br/ *cross, pass (over); (time) elapse*; /&abr/, /&ibr/ *shore, bank; margin*; /ma&bar/ *ford, passage*; /γbr/ *pass, go away; continue, stay, remain*; ESA /&br/ *pass, cross; opposite shore, region; riverside field; (in) exchange (for), against; (large) watercourse*; (+/m&br/) *to(wards)*; /m&br/ *shore, riverside; trial*; Mhr /&br/ *cross; L give a lift*; /γbr/ *(come to) meet (Qt e.o.); H aid, assist; f get help, collect funds; fL (child) recognize and run to (his/her parent)*; /γōbər/ *camel about to give birth*; Soq /&aber/ *pass (by, through, across); transgress; f receive*; /'aber/ *pass on, give*; /&ober/ *shore*; /&abeher/ *side, beam, bar*; /&abreh/ *old age*; G&z /'ber/, /&ber/ *old woman, widow*; Wol /əber/ *grandfather, -mother.*

Passage of time leads to old age, so the Eth entries are semantically plausible; and according to Dillmann, the G&z entry is *passim* spelt with /&/, cf. Soq too. Harvest is likewise naturally connectable with this root, the grain having passed through several transformations to re-emerge as it was sown. Phonological split in Arab Mhr, parallelled by (different) minor semantic modifications.

&BT: ?Aram /&(a)bi^{y}7/ *pack-saddle*; Syr /&b7/ *be dense*; /&abbī7/ *dense, leafy, luxuriant, numerous (herd etc.), rich, densely wooded*; /&bi7/ *pack-saddle*; Akk /ebe7/ (?/-t/?) *bind*; Arab /γabī7/ *pack-saddle*; /γb7/ *A keep (a beast) continuously saddled.*

Appears connected with the root /&b7/ above, cf. Akk and the preponderant nil phonation of the last rad. elsewhere. Semantically, a pledge can be understood as a tie binding the pledger to the pledgee and vice versa. The word for the pack-saddle (mostly of camel, but also of other beasts of burden) which seems to have become a *Kulturwort*, may also better be placed with the present root, tied as it is concretely; the Arab verb is evidently denominative. Bil /abbäd/ *shut in, lock in/out* seems to have a different semantic background. ?Ebl /ni-bí-tum/ *turban(?).*

&G: Phoen (NPu) /&g&/ *kind of bread/cake*; Akk (Mari) /χug/ *kind of barley bread*; Arab (syr.) /&uğğat/ *omelet*; ?Tu /əgg/ *knead (dough).*

If the Tu entry is indeed related, the root must be of very early origin; the noun is evidently a *Kulturwort* anyway, though somewhat varying in meaning; originally purely biradical, sometimes the stem vowel, sometimes the 2nd rad. lengthened.

&GB: Arab /&ğb/ *(+A ps, tD, St) admire, wonder (at)*; Mhr /&gb/ *love, like, want (to)*; Soq /&eygib/ *want, desire.*

&GL: Phoen /&gl/ *(hornless) calf*; /&glt/ *(wheeled) cart, wagon*; Ug /&gl/ *calf, (yearling) bullock*; /&glt/ *heifer*; Aram /&gl/ *be round; D make* *round, wrap around*; /&igl/ *calf*; /&(a)galt/ *female calf; wagon, chariot; a constellation; basin*; Syr /&egl/ *calf; certain stars*; /&gelt/ *female calf*; /&ågalt/, /-gelt/ *cart, wagon; certain star(s)*; /&gl/ *D roll (on); A hasten, accelerate*; ?Akk /agal/ *ass (for riding; also as a draught animal?)*; Arab /&iğl/ *calf*; /&iğlat/ *heifer*; /&ağalat/ *cart, car, wheel, pulley*; Mhr /&gl/ *ʃ hurry; hasten, urge (to hurry)*; /'āgəlēt/ *haste, wheel*; Soq /'ig&alil/ *roll (on), tumble, wallow*; /ga&lhel/ *round*; G&z /'g^{w}l/ *foetus, offspring, young (of any animal; rarely human)*; /'g^{w}al/ =; *human species, mankind*; Te /'gal/, (coll.) /'gl/ *calf*; /&gl/ *D assemble, pile (in a circle); tD assemble in a circle; be surrounded by a wall*; /&ggul/ *round*; ?Har /gīgi/ *young (of an animal)*; /gilgil/ *protruding (tooth)*; ?Ch /grangər/, ?Sdd ?Wol /gəlgəl/ *young (of an animal)*; Bil /gär/ (pl. /gäl/) *calf*; Eg (late) /&grt/, (Dem.) /&klt'/ *cart*; Cpt /aɋolte/, /ak-/ =; *wagon*.

The word for cart, wagon may be regarded as a *Kulturwort*. The basic meaning appears to be roundness and related actions, such as rolling, and the root may indeed be an early expansion of /gl(l)/ above; this also accounts best for the varying nature and type of expansion in Eth, cf. Soq too. Applied to animals, the root may originally refer to the hornless young of adult horned cattle; a hornless head may well be described as "round" when compared with a horned one. For further Cush attestations see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 157; Cohen's (no. 43) Eg Berb entries seem too hazardous.

&GM: Ug /&gm/ *be gloomy(?)*; Aram =; Akk /agām/ *throw a tantrum*; Arab /&ğm/ *try, test; (+N, St) have impediment or difficulty (in speaking); St mutter, be unable to answer*; Mhr /&gm/ *be dumb; Qt be locked (up); ʃ be too ill to speak*; /'āgəm/ *virgin*; /'āgēm/ =; *dumb; dead end*; Te /'gm/ *be grieved; tL doubt, hesitate, be angry*; ?Eg /dgm/ *be stupefied, speechless, benumbed* (Rössler).

The primary meaning seems to be emotional disturbance causing difficulty in speaking, as if being "blocked up" which is then metaphorically used of other obstructions too. Cpt /åkm/ does not seem related, cf. Vycichl s.v.; less still Eg /y'kb/: /dgm/ too is phonologically difficult, cf. the note on /dl/ above; what a Berb /&gm/ would be I do not understand.

&GR: ?Syr /&agr/ *coarse, grave, rude, terrible, wild*; /&gr/ *D make a rude noise*.

On the assumption that the word is of onomatopoeic origin; although in that case, identification with bulbul is hardly correct. For an alternative see K-B^{3}.

&D(D): Ug /&dn/ *season*; Aram /&iddan/ *time*; Syr /&eddån/ =; *year; moment*; ?Akk /adān/, /-ann/, /&adān/ *fixed time*; Arab /&d/ *reckon, count, make a census*; /&adad/, /&iddat/ *number*; /&iddān/, /&add-/ *time, season*; /&idd/ *abundance*; ESA /&dd/ *number, reckoning (of time)*; ?/&dn/ *fixed time(?)*; ?/m&d/ *limit, termin*; Mhr /'āddēt/ *waiting period after divorce*; /'ādīd/ *each, every, total*; G&z /&dme/

appointed, predetermined time; /&dm/ *appoint, predetermine (day, time)*; Te /&dm/ *appointment, appointed time*; /&d/ *count, determine; visit (the sick, mourners)*; /&dud/ *determined; point, period (of time)*; /&ädäd/ *number, limit, measure*; Ch Sdd /ädme/, Wol /ədme/ *age.*

The root is basically biradical, in Asian Sem the 2nd rad. usually geminated, in Eth, expanded by /-m/; the Te entries without /-m/ may be of Arab origin. The Ug /&dd/ is obscure, but seems hardly connectable with this root anyway. The Akk entry might come from /y&d/ (v.Soden); the two roots could be cognate or contaminated otherwise also.

&DV: Ug /&d/ *until*; Aram /&ad/ =; /&dV/ *pass by, through; go away, withdraw*; Syr /&ad/ *until, while, before*; /&dV/ *arrive, come (at, upon), happen*; Akk /adi/ *to, until, within*; Arab /γdw/ *go/come early in the morning*; /γad/ *morrow, next day*; /&dw/ *run, rush (on)*; ESA /&dw/ *enter, cross, pass through; (+H) transgress, violate*; /&dy/ *enter; go, start journey; until, (up) to, in*; /&d/ *in(to), to(wards), against, up to, as long as*; Soq /&dy/ *traverse; ʃ run*; G&z /&dw/ *pass through, transcend, surpass*; Te /&dV/ *go beyond, pass over; be infectious*; /mä&äddäy/ *opposite shore*; /m&ddäy/ *other side*; Har /ada/ *pass*; Sdd /(b)ädwä/ *(on) the other side*; Wol /ode/ *cross (over)*; ?Hsa /har/ *until, up to, even, so (much) that, even though.*

The Hsa entry is phonologically feasible, but actual connection hardly demonstrable; and being the only non-Sem entry must be considered uncertain. Phonological split in Arab. Eg /ğ'y/ looks phonologically too hazardous; and so Dolgopolsky's (p. 143f) Cush Om entries. Cf. the next root.

&DV II: Aram /&dV/ *(+D) plunder, take booty*; /&(a)då'/, /-day/, /-di^{y}t/ *booty*; Syr /&dV/ *A take (off, booty)*; ?Arab /&dw/ *+A act wrongfully (towards)*; /&dy/ *+Qt be hostile (to); tD encroach upon the right (of); receive (dowry) from a wife*; ?ESA /&dw/ *pay; St be required to pay*; ?G&z /&da/ *debt, guilt, compensation*; ?Te /&dV/ *pay*; /&day/ *debt*; /&ädäyo/ *payment.*

Exacting payment could be compared to taking booty, and the Arab entries could be conceived as generalizations of that concept. It appears, however, that all these concepts are derivable from the preceding root, including taking booty itself, and so it may be better to limit the present root to Hbr Aram Syr, even that a secondary offshoot from the preceding root. Eg /ğ'y/ looks again too hazardous.

&DV III: Aram /&(a)di^{y}t/ *ornament*; ?Chad: Hsa /adō/, Miya /adem/ =.

Connection with the Chad entries is thinkable best, if the word was an early *Kulturwort*, later disused in most languages. It seems to occur in proper names in Phoen and Ug also (cf. K-B^{3}) and may thus have been common NWSem at least.

&DN: Ug /&dn/ *pleasure* (Pardee); Syr /&dn/ *D delight, give pleasure*; /&uddån/ *softness, self-indulgence, effemination*; /&den/ *paradise*;

Amor /&dn/ *be pleasant*; /&adn/ *pleasure (?)*; Arab /'iγdawdan/ *(plant) be fresh, verdant*; /γadan/ *doze, slumber*; (+ /γudnat/) *delicacy, softness*; ?/&dn/ *stay, abide*; /&adn/ *sojourn; paradise*; ESA /&dn/ *H bestow well-being.*

The word for paradise may come from Hbr; but a lengthy stay also presupposes relative well-being; there may thus have been a phonological split in Arab in this root too. The meaning given for the Ug entry may not be exact; I have it only on a brief note from Pardee; however, affiliation with this root is not in doubt.

&DP: Aram /&dp/ *Q ps be better, preferable*; Arab /γdf/ *be generous*; ?/&df/ *eat little*; /&ad(a)f/ *little fodder.*

Creation of a contrary meaning in connection with a phonological split is conceivable, when the original root had a comparative sense.

&DR: Phoen /&dr/ *herd*; Aram /&ädr/ = ; Akk (late Bab) /χadir/ *flock (of small cattle)*; Arab /γdr/ *(cattle, sheep) lag behind*; Soq /geder/ *be missing.*

The basic meaning appears to be mustering of the herd or flock, including removal of the unfit; secondarily transferred to the inspection and preparation of cultivable ground etc.; and as flock follows the leader, the concepts of lagging behind and even missing are derivable from it. On the other hand, although Eg /ydr/ *herd* fits semantically, /y/ = Hbr /&/ is unparallelled and therefore unacceptable (Baer). The Akk entry is WSem loan.

&Dʃ: Arab /&adas(at)/ *lentil(s)*; Te (coll.) /&ädäs/ = ; Bed /adas/ = ; Tu /əlγədəs/ = ; Eg /&rʃn/ = ; Cpt /arʃin/ = .

A *Kulturwort* of WSem origin (if not pre-Sem).

&WB: ?Ug /γb/ *cloud(?)*; Aram /&e^{y}b/ *darkness; heavy cloud*; Syr /&åb(t)/ *forest, grove, thicket*; /&yb/ (or /&wb/ *A) obscure*; Akk /abab/, /ebūbat/ *forest*; Arab /γyb/ *go away, be absent, disappear; (sun, moon) set*; /γayhab/ *darkness, night; intensely black.*

ESA Arab /&yb/ has different semantic background (Müller).

&WD: ?Ug /&d/ *witness(?)*; Syr /&hd/ *remember, recall; D = ; remind*; Arab /&hd/ *meet, behold, observe (carefully); be acquainted (with); L take an oath; Qt take care (of)*; /&ahd/ *oath, bond, compact; treaty, agreement; acquaintance, friendship, affection*; ESA /&hd/ *make a treaty, pledge o.s.; Qt take care (of).*

&WD II: Aram /&o^{w}d/ *still, again*; Syr /&wd/ *D habituate*; /&yåd/ *habit, custom*; Arab /&wd/ *return, repeat; D train, accustom*; ESA /&wd/ *do again; D bring back; repulse; H withdraw*; Mhr /&wd/ *Qt be used to*; /&ōdət/ *habit*; G&z /&wd/ *turn (round), go around, surround, wander away*; /&äwd/ *circle, threshing floor, council*; Te /&äwädä/ *be firm, steady; live long*; Har /āda/ *custom*; /ūd/ *threshing floor*; Ch /od/, Sdd Wol /awd/ = .

The basic meaning appears to be continuity; in Eth, this has assumed the circular form.

&WV: Aram /&wV/*curve, deviate; A be wrong*; Arab /&wy/ *(+ D, Qt) twist, bend*; /γwy/ *seduce, mislead*; /γawiⁿ/, /-wiyy/, /-yyān/ *erring, following one's passions*; ESA /γwyt/ *detour(?)*; Mhr /γwy/ *be wrong; forget, leave behind, lose*; G&z /&aw/ *bend, curvature*; /&yy/ *err, go astray; fail to understand*; ?Eg (cf. on /&wl/ II below).

Phonological split in Arab. Cf. the roots /&wl/ II and /&wt/ below.

&WZ: Arab /&wδ/ *(Qt, tD) seek protection, refuge*; /&awaδ/, /&iyāδ/, /ma&āδ/ *shelter, refuge, protection*; Mhr /&wδ/ *warn; Qt seek refuge*; Soq /&od/ = ; Te /&awäzä/ *be worried (?protect o.s.?); tQ gird one's loins up*; /&äwäz/ *loincloth.*

In Hbr, sometimes contaminated with /&z(z)/ below.

&WL: Phoen /&l/ *suckling, infant*; Ug /&l/ *suckling (animal); sibling(?)*; Aram /&uʷl/ *suckling*; /&(a)wiʸl/ *boy*; /&eʸl/, /&iʸl/ *ass's foal*; Syr /&ūl/ *foetus, infant*; /&īl/ *foal*; Arab /&wl/ *feed, provide (for)*; /γyl/ *(pregnant woman) suckle, A = ; (ewe, goat, cow) give birth twice a year*; /γayl/ *milk of a pregnant woman; valley with flowing springs; well-watered place; fat, big (boy, woman)*; ESA /&l/ *family, offspring*; Te /&wal/ *young of the elephant (and of other animals*; poet.); /&yal/ *family*; Bil /&äwāl/ *young of the elephant.*

The Bil entry is loan from Te (Appleyard); the second Te one from Arab, but the first Te one seems original; the root is thus common WSem. Eg /xwn(t)/ *boy (girl)* is phonologically hazardous.

&WL II: Aram /&awl/ *injustice*; /&awwål/ *wicked, evildoer*; Syr /&awl/ *injustice, crime, violence*; /&awwål/ *wicked, criminal*; Arab /&wl/ *deviate from right, rule unjustly, distress; (+ A) exceed the bounds (of justice; tax-collector).*

Eth /&lw/, /&ly/ seems better connected with /&lV/ below, cf. similar developments of meaning in /&br/ above and /pʃ&/ below (etc.). Eg /&wn/ *be covetous, despoil* is not far in meaning either, but without a Cpt equivalent with /-l/ one has to be careful (Baer); there is also Eg /&w'y/ *rob; robber*; taken together with /&wn/, they are semantically conceivable as expansions of a biradical /&w/, cf. /&wV/ above from which the Hbr-Aram-Arab /&wl/ could likewise have been derived by means of the /-l/-augment, otherwise found as nominal afformative in words like /karmil/ (see /krm/ above), /&arpil/ (see /&rp/ below) etc. Som /&ol/ *foe* is derivable from other sources.

&WP: Phoen (pl.) /&pt/ *flying (ones), birds*; Ug /&p/ *fly; flight*; Aram /&wp/ *fly*; /&oʷp/ *bird, fowl*; Syr /&awp/ (coll.) *bird; swarm (of bees)*; Arab /&wf/ *fly, circle (over); augur (from birds' flight)*; /&ayfat/ *birds' flight*; ?ESA /&wfyn/ *famine, plague, pestilence* (orig.: *bad omen*?); Soq /&ef(f)/ *mount, fly; boast*; G&z /&of/ (coll.) *bird,* *winged creature*; Te /&of/ *bird, bat*; Har /ūf/ =; Ch /ãfʷ/, Sdd /of/, /wof/, Wol /ũfʷ/, /omfe/ *bird*; Eg /&py/ *fly; pass (by, through)*; /&ff/ *fly* (n.); /&fy/ *bee*; /&pp/ *winged solar disk*; Cpt /af/ *fly* (n.); /af(nebyå)/ *bee*.

The root appears to be basically biradical; in Sem, the stem vowel has been mostly lengthened; in Eg, a final (semi)vowel appended (or the final rad. repeated); in South Sem, more variation. The primary reference seems to have been to flying creatures generally.

&WP II: Arab /&wf/ *tD prowl by night*; /&awāf/ *nightly prey; windfall profit.*

The primary meaning of Arab /γyb/ seems to be absence rather than darkness; of /γyf/, bending; Akk /apū/, /abū/, /epū/, /upū/ seem semantically closer to /&wb/ above, but are phonologically and structurally difficult with either.

&WC: Aram /&wc/ *advise.*

Root var. of /y&c/ above; the Aram entry appears to be loan from Hbr.

&WR: ?Phoen /&wr/ *blind(?)*; Ug =; Aram /&wr/ *D blind*; Syr /&wr/ *A =; D = (figuratively)*; /&wår/ *blind(ness)*; Arab /&wr/+*Qd be blind(ed) (in one eye)*; /'a&war/ *one-eyed*; Mhr /&wr/ *go/be blind*; /'āwēr/ *blind*; Soq /&er/ *go blind*; G&z /&wr/ *go/be blind; A blind*; /&wir/, /&wur/ = (n.); Te /&wur/ =; /&wr/ *go/be blind*; /&äwär/ *blindness*; /&wär/, /&urät/ *shame*; Sdd /(in) awwärä/ *be blind*; /(in)äwər/, Wol /(in)ur/ *blind*; Som /&awar/ *(be) one-eyed.*

The Som entry is apparently loan from Arab, as the meaning, one-eyed, does not appear elsewhere; in a curse formula, such a meaning would be rather lame; it must have originated as a precision var., as one-eyed people are often anyway called blind, particularly if the other eye is weak-sighted too which in nomadic conditions is often the case. Ultimately, the root could be contrastive (or euphemistic?) cognate with /&wr/ III below. Cohen's (no. 66) non-Sem entries are too adventurous phonologically.

&WR II: Phoen (pl.) /&rt/ *skins*; ?Ug /γr/ *skin?*

&WR III: Ug /&r/, (*L*?) /&rr/ *arouse*; Aram /&wr/+*L*, *A* =, *awaken*; Akk /ēr/ *wake up, be awake; D awaken*; ?Arab /γyr/ *grudge, be jealous (of); A excite jealousy*; Soq /&wrr/ *be awakened.*

Arab /&r/ appears to be onomatopoeic in origin, a cry being an essential part of the restlessness expressed by the tL-stem too; however, the entry above is not semantically very close either (Irvine considers it unlikely). Cf. the first /&wr/ above too.

&WT: Aram /&wt/ *D curve, bend; corrupt.*

Syr /&tt/ deviates both structurally and semantically; the Aram entry may be loan from Hbr, and the whole root a secondary formation based on the fem. form of /&wV/ *D* af 3rd pers.sg.

&Z: Phoen /&z/ *goat*; Ug =; Aram /&izz/, /&ez/ =; Syr /&ezz/, (cs.) /&nez/ =; Akk /enz/, /ezz/, /izz/, /χanz/, /χazz/ =; Arab /&anz/ =;

female eagle, bustard, vulture, hawk; black hillock; rock in water; Mhr /wōz/, /xōz/ *goat*; Soq /'oz/ =, *sheep*; ?Ch /anž/, /ãž/ *heifer, calf.*

The last two Akk entries are borrowings from WSem; in the second Mhr entry, the initial /x-/ is the petrified PTdt (Johnstone). The etymology is not clear; if the nasal is secondary, the word could derive from the next root, as goats are rather strong with regard to their size, cf. also the other Arab meanings; but to be totally secondary, the nasal is unusually widespread and partly early. Its irregular occurrence suggests pre-Sem origin and *Kulturwort* category, both nasalized and non-nasal forms being early. For possible Cush attestations cf. Dolgopolsky p. 146f.

&Z(Z): Phoen /&z/ *strength; strong*; /&zz/ *mighty*; Ug /&z/ *strong, strength; be strong*; /&zz/ *D strengthen; prevail*; Aram /&zz/ *tD grow strong*; /&azzi^{y}z/ *strong*; /&uzz/ *kind of eagle*; Syr /&z/ *be strong, powerful, violent; prevail; tD = ; grow strong, mighty, bitter, angry; threaten*; Amor /&zz/ *be strong*; Akk /ezēz/ *grow/be furious*; Arab /&z/ *be strong, powerful; strengthen o.s.; become weak; (difficulty) be hard, insuperable; be rare, precious; become illustrious*; ESA /&zz/ + *H establish, reinforce*; /&zt/ *strength, vigour; honour, glory*; Mhr /&āzz/ *honour*; /'āzzēt/ *nobility*; Soq /&zz/ *strengthen, fortify*; G&z /&zz/ *be/grow strong, powerful, robust; corroborate, confirm*; Te /&z/ *be strong, mighty*; /&äzazät/ *might, majesty*; ?Eg /&ğ/ *be strong, safe* (Ward).

Cf. also the note on root /&wz/ above. The Eg entry looks like a LW, but it is attested since Middle Kingdom.

&ZB: Aram /&zb/ *leave, abandon*; Amor = ; Akk /ezēb/, (Ass) /ezāb/ =, *leave behind*; Arab /&δb/ *(+A, St) neglect*; /&zb/ *be/go far away; (tD) live celibate; (land) be desert*; ?ESA /&δb/ *St (herd) move freely*; Mhr /&zb/ *stay alone with flocks*, /'āzēb/ *heifers kept apart*; G&z /ma&säb/ *celibate; widow.*

Phonological split in Arab (& cf. ESA vs. Mhr); cf. G&z also.

&ZB II: Ug /&db/ *prepare, set (in order)*; ?Amor /χzb/ *rescue(?)*; Akk /ezēb/ *ʃ rescue*; Arab /&δb/ *D punish, torment*; (Dath.) *cut & hew to shape*; ESA /&δb/ *be punished, fined; (D?); + H/S, St punish, impose penalty; repair, restore.*

As punishment was conceived as a restoration of the balance disturbed by the offence, according to the principle, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth", among the ancient Semites, words denoting punishment also belong here. H.G.M. Williamson's attempt (in ZAW 97 p. 74ff.; after O. Loretz et al.) to account for the Hbr attestations on the basis of the preceding root is too forced for Ex 23:5 at least.

&ZN: -

Etymology obscure; even identity of the bird not certain.

&ZQ: Akk /esēq/, /ez-/, /eʃ-/ *inscribe, engrave (an image)*; Arab /&zg/ *dig earth (with a spade)*; /mi&zaq/ *spade, hoe*; G&z /&äzäqt/ *well, cistern, pit, hollow*.

An Aram /&azēqā/ *field ploughed for the first time* (Tyloch) I do not find confirmed.

&ZR: Phoen /&zr/ *help*; /m&zrt/, (sf.) *mysyrthohom: assistance*; Ug /&δr/ *save, rescue*; Aram /&dr/ *help*; Syr =; Amor /&δr/, ?/χzr/ =; Akk /χāzir/ *helper*; (Am) /izirt/ *auxiliary (troops)*; Arab /&δr/ + *A excuse, clear from blame*; /&zr/ *D assist, honour*; /γzr/ *be abundant; A (God) be munificent (to), lavish*; ESA /&δr/ *aid, assist*; /m&δr/ *protective wall*.

Phonological split in Arab (cf. Amor too); the Akk entries are loans from WSem.

&ZR II: Aram /&(a)zart/ *temple court*; Arab /&aδirat/ *court, yard (of a house)*; ?ESA /m&δr/ *protective wall*.

Possibly ultimately connected with the preceding root, cf. the ESA entry. The Akk /edēr/ seems to mean primarily to *embrace*.

&7: Aram /&e^{y}7/, /&e7/ *stylus*.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

&7V: ?Aram (imperial) /&7y/ *cover?*; Syr /&7V/ *delete, wipe off; veil; expiate*; Akk /e7ū/ *be/grow dark, obscure*; Arab /γ7w/, /γ7y/ *(+A) be dark, obscure; cover, conceal*; /γi7ā'/ *cover(ing), lid; ignorance*; /γi7āyat/ *tunic*.

&7LZ: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr; NB. /&/ = κ.

&7LP: Phoen (Pu) οθολαβαθ *bat*; Aram /&(a)7alle^{y}p/ =.

A secondary enlargement of /&7p/ below (? with secondary transposition of the augment; or pre-Sem?).

&7N: ?Arab /&7n/ *macerate (hides); (cattle) lay near water (to rest)*.

The possible connecting link is the moisturizing effect of the vascular system; but even that seems rather weak.

&7P: Phoen /&7p/ *wrap, envelop*; Aram =; Syr =; *return, revert, (re)join*; Akk /ecēp/ *double*; Arab /&7f/ *incline, lean, bend, fold; D wrap; Qt, tD wrap o.s.*; /mi&7af/ *cloak*; /ma&7if/ *fold*; ESA /&7f/ *cloak*; Mhr /&7f/ *seize, fold; panic, run amok; take far away*; Soq /&aΛf/ *fold, pleat*; G&z /&7f/ *weave*; /&7uf/, /&ä7f/ *fabric, textile*; /&cf/ *fold, multiply; (+tQ) wrap o.s.*; Te /&cf/ *fold, multiply*; Ch /a7äfä/, Sdd /a77-/ =.

Semantically, the root is coherent, but phonological relationships are complicated, particularly as /c&p/ below and also Syr /'&p/, /&p/ are semantically overlapping and also phonologically singly connectable; to maintain the unity of the root, at least one early phonological split (resulting in /c/ vs. /7/) must be assumed. Cf. the next root too.

&7P II: ?Arab /&7f/ *St try to conciliate; implore mercy (of)*; Soq /&eΛaf/ *calm down, rest.*

The Arab entry fits a general background of weakness, but is derivable from the preceding root too (as bending or inclining towards); on the strength of this, the whole root could be an early offshoot from the preceding one.

&7R: Phoen /&7r/, (n.) /&7rt/ *crown*; Aram /&7r/ *surround; D adorn (with a garland)*; Arab /'7r/ *bend, arch, surround* (Guillaume); Soq /ma&7eroh/ *waist, shape.*

&Y7: Syr /&y7/ *D irritate; tD grow angry, furious*; /&ay7/ *anger, fury, provocation, vexation*; Arab /&y7/ *be long-necked; D* (syr.) *yell, scream*; /γy¢/ + *D, L, A distress, enrage; Qt, N, tD grow angry, enraged.*

The root may be of onomatopoeic origin; Ug /&7/ parallel to goose is hardly connectable.

&YN: Phoen /&n/ *eye, sight; evil eye; spring*; /m&wn/ *temple*; Ug /&n/ *see, look; eye; spring*; Aram /&eʸn/, /&ayn/ *eye, look, evil eye; outlook, round hole (in tools); spring*; Syr /&ayn/ *eye, spring; circular formation; capital city; guide; outlook, aspect, surface*; Akk /īn/, (OAkk, Ass) /ēn/ *eye, spring*; Arab /&ayn/ *eye, look, hole, spring, sun, countenance, spy, direction, self, money*; /ma&ān/ *abode*; /ma&īn/, /ma&yūn/ *smitten by the evil eye; overflowing (spring)*; ESA /&yn/ *D, H turn towards, see; eye; spring*; /mt&n/ *irrigation*; Mhr /'āyn/ *eye, spy; spring*; /'əyīn/ *evil eye*; /&yn/ *smite with the evil eye*; Soq /&eyon/ =; /&ain/ *eye*; G&z /&äyn/ *eye, spring*; /&yn/ *D watch intently, contemplate*; Te /&n/, /&nt-/(+sf.) *eye; evil eye*; /&äyänä/ *spy, lurk, keep obsessed*; /&yun/ *obsessed, crazy*; /&in/ *eye, face; eye (of needle); spring, well; liquid honey*; /&äyn/ *spy*; /&äynät/, /&äyän/ *superstition, insanity*; Har /īn/ *eye, spring, centre*; Ch /en/, Sdd /in/, /yin/, Wol /in/, /en/ *eye*; Ch /ənet/, Sdd /ənnayt/ *spring*; Bil /&il/ *eye*; /&ayan/, (n.) /&aynā/ *spy*; Som /il/, /iʃV/ (mainly in compounds), /indo/ *eye*; /indäy/ *look (at), watch*; Konso /ilta/ *eye*; ?Chad */yd/, */ynd/, */dt/, (*/yt/, */yn/, */dn/) =; Eg /&n/, /&yn/ = (preserved only as script sign); *(be) beautiful.*

The Chad entries are Jungraithmayr & Shimizu's reconstructions on the basis of all the attestations; the initial /y-/, however, is actually found in 13 languages only, usually before /i/ (in 2 languages and one var. before /e/, and in another var. before /u/) from which its origin as an initial glide is readily conceivable, cf. the Sdd var. (recorded by myself); likewise, /d/ (or its voiceless var. /t/) occurs only in a minority of cases by itself, in several others prenasalized and then usually also postsibilized (cf. Som for parallels, albeit separate there); the bare /d/ is then also conceivable as a result of total denasalization of /n/, as also (in Chad just as frequent) /r/, Bil Som /l/ (also in Quara, Iraqw), and Konso /lt/; partial denasalization is found also in Te (before suffixes) Som (independent form, verb) and in Saho, Afar; Or

/iğa/ finally combines total denasalization with postsibilization. Om Berb thus remain the only branches of the phylum without an attestation. Ebl (cs.) /in/, (pl.) /a-na-a/ *eye*.

&YP: Aram /&pV/ *toil*; Syr /&wp/ *grow tired, weak, feeble; lose courage*; Arab /&yf/ *(animals) dislike, loathe (food, drink)*; /γyf/ *D act cowardly (at war)*; /'aγyaf/ *bending, soft*.

Root var. of /y&p/ above; phonological split in Arab.

&YR: Phoen /&r/ *town*; Ug = ; ?/γr/ *mountain*; Arab /&ur&urat/ *summit, mountain peak*; (Dath) /&urr/ *mountain*; (Yem) /&urr/ *hill fortress*; ESA /&r/ *mountain, settlement, acropole, castle, citadel*; Te /&yr/ *come home, return; AtQ settle, found a settlement*.

Phonological split in Ug, if the second entry is relevant; cf. also the root /cwr/ IV below. The Dath Yem entries are quoted from Biella.

&KB: Aram /&kb/ *D hinder, delay*; Arab /&kb/ *stand still; (camels) throng; tD (worries) crush*; Mhr /&kb/ *pester, trouble; H exhaust*.

&KBR: Aram /&akbr/, (f.) /-bart/ *mouse*; Syr /'agbr/, (f.) /-burt/; /&uqbr/, /-bart/ = ; Akk /ak(ka)bar/, /agbar/ *jerboa*; Arab (pl.) /&akābir/ = ; Mhr /&ikbār/ = .

Probably of pre-Sem origin; the Arab Mhr entries are on the authority of K-B^{3}.

&KBʃ: Aram /&akkåbi^{y}t/, /-ko^{w}b̤-/ *spider*; Arab /&ankab/, /-būt/ = ; /&ukāʃ(at)/, /&ukk-/ = ; *spider's web*; Te /&änkäbot/ (pl. /&änäkkb/) *spider*.

Probably of pre-Sem origin again.

&KS: Arab /&ikās/ *cord tying camel's forelegs (connected to its nose, neck)*.

Semantic shift in Hbr; the verb being a hapax is likely to be denominative.

&KR: Phoen /&kr/ *ban, ward off (?)*; Aram /&kr/ *make turbid, trouble, worry, sadden*; Syr /&kr/ *D impede, resist*; Arab /&kr/ *(water) be turbid; (+Qt, tL) return (agst. enemy etc.); D, A render (water) turbid, foul*; ESA /&kr/ *object; Qt show hostility*.

&L(L): Aram /&ll/ *D glean*; Arab /&l/ + *D do repeatedly*.

Gleaning is a kind of repetition of harvest. Cf. the next root.

&L(L) II: Ug /γll/ *enter, immerse; wade (in)*; ?/&l/ *yoke(?)*; Aram /&ll/ *enter, come; have sexual intercourse; (sun) set*; Syr /&l/ *enter, fit, approach; have sexual intercourse*; Akk /χalāl/ *shut in, retain*; Arab /γl/ *enter, penetrate; insert*; /γull/ *collar of iron*; ESA /&ll/ = ; ?Mhr /γəllēt/ *mist*; ?Soq /&alhel/ *cloud*.

&LG: Ug /t&lgt/ *stammering*; Arab /&ilğ/ *(wild) ass; non-Arab; unbeliever*; Te /&lğğ/ *act foolishly; tL stammer*.

With Te as a connecting link, the Arab entry may be considered relevant. However, the whole root may be a transpositional var. of /l&g/, created independently in Te too.

&LV: Phoen (Byblos) /&ly/, (NPu) /&l'/ *rise (up, against), ascend; be adopted*; Ug /&ly/ *ascend; ʃ raise up, erect (a monument); offer (a sacrifice)*; Aram /&lV/ *A weigh, estimate; tQ, tD be elevated, exalted, relieved of a burden*; Syr /&ly/ *D lift up, exalt; relate, refer; tD be elevated, exalted; ascend, excel, grow (up); A act injustly; ʃ lift up; ʃt be elevated; grow proud*; Amor /&aliy/ *high*; Akk /elū/, (OBab) /alū/ *ascend; be high*; Arab /&lw/, /&ly/ *+Qt ascend, grow, rise in rank/dignity; become lofty, proud*; /γlw/ *exceed the bounds, grow, increase; L overcharge*; ESA /&ly/, (Qat) /&lw/ *ascend, be high; D, F elevate; H raise, make grow, load (upon); tD rise up (against); Qt take care, supervise*; /γlyt/ *tyranny, oppression*; Mhr /'ālēw/ *at the top*; /γly/ *be(come) expensive; ʃ buy at a high price; ʃL buy s.th. expensive; H sell at a high price*; /γōli/ *dear, expensive; precious*; Soq /&eyli/ *be high*; /&oli/ *esteem highly, praise; love*; /&ale/ *mount; draw/pull upwards*; /ʃe&eli/ *be high up; boast*; /&elhe/ *high*; /&al/ *friend*; /&alihin/, /&alho/ *love*; G&z /&lw/ *transgress, apostatize, transform, pervert, rebel; migrate*; /ma&let/ *apostasy, rebellion, sedition*; /la&lä/ *upon, over, against*; Te /&lV/ *emigrate; pour out*; /lä&al/ *upper*; /lä&äl/ *at the top*; /'äl&älä/, (mostly) /&ä-/ *raise*; Har /lä'ay/, /lāy/ *above, over, on (top of), top, upper*; ?Ch /nän/ *east*; Sdd /lalä/ *on, above*; Berb: Sus /γ^{u}li/ *ascend, mount, go up*; /γlu/ *be costly*; Tu /aləy/ *be suspended, hanging; be high up and difficult of access*; ?Chad: Mon(tol?) /laa/ *(sun) rise*; Log(one) /la/ *lift up* (Müller after Jungraithmayr & Lukas); Pero /alawe/, Jimbin /aluhu/, Mbarmi (=Zul) /wal/, /vwoΛi/, Zar/Saya /walΛi/, Kilba (Pela) /heli/ *leaf*; Eg /y&r/, (from MK) /&ry/ *ascend, mount; raise*; (Dem.) /&l/ *ascend*; Cpt /ale/ =, *mount, embark.*

The Chad verb is phonologically feeble, the noun semantically rather periferal (although attested in Hbr); in Cush and Om the root is completely unattested, and the semantic and phonological/structural peculiarities in Eth may not be unconnected with it; the Ch entry may be connected with the sunrise; phonological split in Arab ESA Mhr Berb; transposition in early Eg (cf. Arab /w&l/? but the semivowel does not match); /xr/ *head, face* is hardly closer anyway. Tu /əγləy/ has different semantic background, and /əwən/ is phonologically quite distinct. ?Ebl /é-lum/ *holocaust(?).*

&LZ: ?Amor /alaz/ ?

The Amor entry is on the authority of K-B^3, Gelb does not give it. The root is a var. of /&lc/ (cf. also /&ls/) below.

&L7: Arab /γ7l/ *(night) be dark, (sky) be overcast.*

Transposition.

&LM: Phoen /&lm/ *indefinite time; tomb*; Ug /&lm/ *indefinite time; world, universe*; /χu-ul-ma-tum/ *future*; Aram /&ål(a)m/ = ; Syr /&ålm/ = ; Arab /&ālam/ *world, universe*; ESA /&lm/ = ; G&z /&aläm/ = ; *indefinite time*; Te /&aläm/ *world*; Gur /aläm/ = .

&LM II: Phoen /&lm/ *youth*; /&lmt/, (pl.) *almytth: maiden*; Ug /γlm/ *boy, servant, messenger*; /γlmt/ *girl; name of a goddess*; Aram /&lm/ *be strong, vigorous*; Syr /&laym/ *boy, youth, (young) man; servant*; /-mt/ f.; /&lm/ *tD grow up, mature, be educated; be rejuvenated; behave like a juvenile*; Arab /γlm/ *be excited (by lust); attain puberty*; /γulām/ *youth*; /-mat/ f.; ESA /γlm/ *boy*.

Hardly connected with the notion of knowledge, unless more remotely and in a deeper sense (of maturity). Cf. /xlm/ above.

&LS: -

Hardly connected with Arab /&lz/ or /&ls/ (Irvine), hence less reason to split the root in two; probably root var. of /&lc/ below.

&LP: Ug /γlp/ *envelop; husk (of grain)*; Aram /&lp/ *D succumb to weakness*; Arab /γlf/ + *D provide a covering, case*.

&LC: Phoen /&lc/ *rejoice, exult*; ?Ug = (?); Akk /elēc/ *swell; rejoice, exult*; ESA /m&lc/ *(occasion for) joy, triumph*.

Cf. the roots /&lz/ and /&ls/ above.

&LQ: Aram /&(a)låqt/, /-lu^{w}qt/ *leech*; Syr /&elaqt/ = ; Akk /ilq/ = ; Arab /&alaq(at)/ = ; /&lq/ *Q ps have leeches at the throat*; (syr.) *D kindle/catch fire*; Mhr /&lq/ *make fire; H light, kindle*; /'āwqayt/ (pl. /'ālaqtən/) *small water-worm*; G&z /&äläqt/ *leech*; Te /&äläq/ = ; /&älqät/ *suckling, baby; honey(comb)*; Har /ēqti/ *leech*; Ch /aräqə7/, Sdd /aläqət/, /alä'ət/, Wol /al¢it/ = .

It is not clear whether the two meanings, fire and leech, are originally related, but in the Hbr entry they are combined.

&M(M): Phoen /&m/ *people, community, personnel*; Ug /&m/ *people, kin*; Aram /&amm/ *people*; Syr = ; *kin, Christians, gentiles, the unlearned*; Amor /&amm/ *paternal uncle*; Akk /χamm(at)/ *head of the family*; /(χ)amm/ *people(?)*; Arab /&m/ *include, comprehend (all/whole of)*; /&amm/ *paternal uncle; crowd; dense*; ESA /&m/ (pl. /&mm/) *paternal uncle/relative(s)*; /&mt/ *people (? (paternal?) kin?)*; /&mm/ *H distribute (irrigation water)*; /t&mm/ *public usage*; Mhr /'ōm/ *grandfather, ancestor*; /'āmēt/ *grandmother, aunt*; Te /&ämmät/ *paternal aunt*.

Found in Cush too: Saho Afar /&ammi/ *paternal uncle*; ?Quara /am/ *people*. However, the Quara entry could belong to the root /'m/ above; and the Saho Afar as also the Te one may have been borrowed from Arab. The root seems thus to be limited to Asian Sem and perhaps to WSem; at least the second Akk entry is loan from WSem, and as the first one too occurs only in NAss outside Bab which had lengthy early contact with people of WSem origin, it may come from the same source. The primary meaning seems to have been *kin* in a collective sense which could be represented by the head or other prominent member individually.

&MD: Phoen /&md/ *pillar*; Aram /&ammuʷd/ =, *pole; beam, (morning), twilight*; Syr /&ammūd/ *pillar, column; altitude*; Akk /emēd/, (Ass) /emād/ *lean on; put, load upon*; /imitt/, /em-/ *support; burden, imposition*; Arab /&md/ *(+D, A) prop up, set on pillars; D obstruct*; /&imād/ *tentpole, pillar*; /&amūd/ *prop, support, column, base*; ESA /&md/ *pillar, vine-prop, trellis(?); ?naturally watered field*; Mhr /&md/ *H prop up one's head*; /'āmawd/ *(ceiling) beam*; /'amdēt/, /mämdēt/ *cushion*; Soq /&md/ *lean (on), support o.s.*; /ma&midoh/ *cushion*; /&eymed/ =; *head*; G&z /&ämd/ *column, pillar, support, pole, mast, obelisk, statue*; Te /&ämd/ *support, pillar, pole; will, intention*; /&md/ *tD be supported, strong.*

The basic meaning appears to be standing firm and so providing support; in Hbr, this has expanded to coming to a standstill after movement; in Akk, to taking advantage of the support. The words for *pillar, column* might qualify for a *Kulturwort* status, but there are at least two fundamental types, even if the long /mm/ of Hbr-Aram be secondary, and even they don't cover the whole WSem field; so we may consider the root common Sem.

&MV: Aram /&mV/ *be/grow dark, dim, faint*; Syr /&my/ *tD be blinded*; Arab /&my/ *be(come) blind, ignorant, obscure, dubious*; /γmy/ *(Q/A ps) have a gloomy day, dark night; faint.*

Phonological split in Arab; connection with /γmw/ *make a roof of wood and earth* may be secondary.

&ML: Aram /&ml/ *work; have, take trouble*; /&aml/, /&(a)mal/ *work, trouble; yield*; Syr /&ml/ *work, do*; /&aml/ *work; yield*; Akk /nemel/, (Ass) /-mal/ *earnings, profit*; Arab /&ml/ *make, work, act*; /&amal/ *work, action, deed, labour*; Mhr /&ml/ *do, make; believe, pretend*; /'āmāl/ *farm.*

G&z /ma&bäl/ seems hardly related, cf. the Arab equivalents quoted in Dillmann (s.v.).

&MS: Phoen /&ms/ *carry; set (before)*; Ug /&ms/ *load (upon), carry; construct; load, burden*; Aram /&ms/ *press together*; Syr /&ms/ *tQ be contracted, condensed*; Amor /&ms/ *carry*; ?Arab /&am(ā/ū/ī)s/ *hard, difficult (war, affair, day), dark (night)*; ?Te /&ms/ *be(come) pregnant; germinate.*

The primary sense seems to be exertion of pressure; in Arab (if relevant), this has become figurative, in Te, specialized and shifted further; but if germination is the primary meaning, the semantic background is quite different.

&MQ: Phoen /&mq/ *plain, valley*; Ug =; *strong; force?*; Aram /&mq/ *A make deep*; /&amq/, /&umq/, /&oʷmäq/ *depth; depression (in skin)*; Syr /&mq/ *be/grow deep, depressed, deeply moved*; /&umq/, (cs.)

/&moq/ *depth, altitude; valley; (ship's) hold; subtility*; Akk /emēq/ *be wise; ſt implore earnestly*; Arab /&mq/ *(well) be deep; be long, extensive*; /&amq/, /&um(u)q/ *depth, distance*; (syr.) /γmq/ *be deep*; Mhr /&mq/ *hit the middle*; /’āmq/ *middle, centre*; Soq /&amq/ *middle, environs*; /&amiqoh/ *pasture*; G&z /&mq/ *be(come) deep; hollow out, excavate*; Te /&mq/ *be concave, hollowed out.*

Phonological split in Arab (dialectally); semantic one in Mhr Soq.

&MR: Aram /&mr/ *D bind, make (sheaves)*; /&umr/ *sheaf; a measure of volume*; Syr /&mīr(t)/ *grass, hay*; Arab (syr.) /γumr/ *sheaf*; /γmr/ *D heap up (sheaves)*; Soq /xameleh/ *sheaf.*

Double phonological shift in Soq; Ug /γmr/ seems hardly connectable with this root, even if it did mean a recruit.

&N(N): Phoen /&t/, *yth: time*; /k&n/ *now*; Aram /&ånt/ *time; marital duty*; /&itt/ *time*; /&(a)nån/ *cloud(-mass)*; /&nn/ *D gather clouds; L divine from clouds*; Syr /&nån/ *cloud(-mass)*; /&nn/ *D gather clouds; R be(come) overcast*; Arab /&n/ *appear, occur (to), turn (from)*; /&anān/ *raincloud; visible (sky); horizon.*

The horizon still seems to me the basic line of reference from behind which clouds usually seem to appear and the crossing of which (by various heavenly bodies) also provides basis for calculations of time.

&NB: Ug (pl.) /γnbm/ *grapes, fruits*; Aram /&inb/ *grape*; Syr /&enbt/ = ; *berry*; Amor /&inb(at)/, /ʾinb/ *fruit, vine*; Akk /inb/, /enb/, /imb/ *fruit, offspring, sexual potency*; Arab /&inab(at)/ *grape*; ESA /’&nb/ (pl.) *vine(yard)*; Te /&näb/ (coll.) *grapes.*

NB. Ug uvular fricative vs. pharyngal elsewhere. The noun may be classified as a *Kulturwort*; sometimes confused with the root /’b(b)/ above.

&NG: Aram /&ng/ *D do for fun, enjoy o.s.*; Arab /γnğ/ *D fondle, spoil (a child)*; ?G&z (pl.) /’ä&nug/ *nose-, earrings*; /&ng^{w}ät/ *mandragora*; ?Te (f.!) /&änig/ *beautiful.*

The Eth entries are conceivable as objects or means of enjoyment, including mandragora as a narcotic.

&NG II: Aram /&gn/ *shut in; D prevent new marriage of (unproven) widow*; ?Arab /&nğ/ *bend, draw; check (a beast) by pulling rein; break in (a camel); tie (a bucket) with a rope.*

Appears to be created through transposition from Hbr-Aram /&gn/; but the Arab entry too seems to be related, although more remotely. Syr /&gn/ seems to have a different semantic background.

&ND: ?Arab /&inda/ *at, near, by, about*; /&anad/ *side, margin.*

The preposition is semantically plausible, but the root does not give much support.

&NV: Phoen (pref) *ianna: answer*; Ug /&ny/ *respond, reply*; /m&n/ *response, reply*; Aram /&nV/ *respond, reply; D sing*; Syr /&nV/ *respond,* *obey, act, have effect; D sing (before & in response)*; Amor /&ny/ *answer*; Akk /enū/ *turn (back), alter, change*; Arab /&ny/ *mean, concern, belong, happen (to); Qt attend (to); (+L) take care (of)*; /γny/ *D sing*; ESA /&ny/ *Qt take care (of).*

Phonological split in Arab; as singing used to take place in the form of alternating responses (cf. Syr), splitting the root in two is not justified semantically. Cf. the next root also. Cohen's (no. 83) non-Sem entries are phonologically ambiguous.

&NV II: Phoen /&n/ *humiliate*; Aram /&nV/ *D oppress, afflict, rape; castigate, mortify (the flesh)*; Syr /&nV/ *be busy, occupied (with); A occupy, apply, impose, vex*; /&nwy/ *tQ be occupied (with), study; humble o.s.*; /&anwåy/ *humble, ascetic*; Amor /&nw/ *be submissive*; Arab /&nw/ *be(come) submissive; A humiliate, abase*; ESA /&nw/ *humble o.s.*; ?Te /&n/ *befall, fall upon; tD yield, give in, stoop.*

The Te entry is also related to Arab /&n/ which, however, does not seem to fully cover it semantically; perhaps it has been secondarily influenced by the latter. It could also be argued that the root is ultimately connected with the preceding one, as submission and obedience is also a kind of response to a command or oppression; however, the semantic background is so different that if the roots are really cognate, they have probably been separated right in the beginning as contrastive.

&NP: Aram /&anp/, /&(a)nap/ *branch*; Syr /&nåp/ =; *mane.*

&NQ: Aram /&unq/ *neck*; (+/&inq/) *necklace*; Syr /&nåq/ *branch, offshoot*; /&eqq/ *necklace*; Akk (late Bab) /unq/ =; Arab /&nq/ *be long-, thin-necked; D, Qt seize by the neck or throat; A grow tall*; /&un(a/u)q/ *neck*; G&z /&nq/ *put, hang around the neck*; /&nq^{w}/ *ornament (necklace) set with gems; jewel*; Te /'angät/ *neck*; Har /angät/ =; Ch Sdd Wol =.

The Akk entry is loan from WSem; /unq/ *ring* seems too remote to me, as phonology is not unequivocal. The Te entry is on Leslau's authority. Cf. /xnq/ above.

&Nʃ: Phoen /&nʃ/ *fine; tax* (n.); Aram /&nʃ/ *punish*; ?Akk /kanāʃ/, (OAkk, NAss) /χanā$/, /χanāʃ/ *submit; D, ʃ subjugate.*

The meaning of the Ug /γnθ/ is uncertain, but hardly related to this root; the only connecting link for the Akk entry appears to be the Phoen *tax* which is rather weak. NB. the phonological variation in both the 1st and 3rd rad.

&S(S): Aram /&(a)si^{y}s/ *must*; ?/&sV/ *D press (together), squeeze*; ?Arab /&awz/ *grape* (Guillaume).

If the second entry is relevant, related to /&ʃV/ Ez 23:3 etc.

&SQ: Aram /&sq/ *be busy*; Syr /&sq/+*tQ be difficult*; Arab /&sq/ *stick (to), be busy (about)*; /&$q/ *stick, cleave (to), love passionately.*

Cognate with the root /&ʃq/ below.

&PL: Aram /&upl/ *"hill", a quarter of Jerusalem*; Arab /γfl/ *be careless, heedless; (+A, tL) overlook, neglect*; /&af(a)l/ *fatty growth around genitals*; Mhr /γfl/ *be carefree; cheer s.o. up.*

The Aram entry is loan from Hbr; phonological split in Arab. 1S 5f would require too much emendation to make connection between /&plym/ and the Gr god Apollo plausible (agst. O. Margalith, V.T. 33 p. 339f).

&PR: Ug /&pr/ *dust, soil, earth*; Aram /&apr/ =; Syr =; Akk /ep(e)r/, (late Bab) /ipir/ =; Arab /&af(a)r/ =; ?ESA /&fr/ *land, earth (?)*; Mhr /&fr/ *dig (over); Qt play in (loose) soil, dirty o.s. with soil, sand*; /ōfər/ *red, brown*; /'āfōr/ *cloud*; Soq /&afer/ *red*; G&z /'äfär/ *dust, dry soil*; Te /&fr/, (n.) /&afra/ *foam*; /&äfär/ *dust, desert*; Har /afär/ *clay, soil, earth*; Gur = (varr.: Sdd /afər/, Ǝza /ā-/).

The Gur varr. are my recordings. Dillmann considers the G&z entry loan from Amh, probably correctly; but in Te, the root seems to be original; foam resembles dust sufficiently to be named after it; as also cloud for which dust-cloud additionally serves as a concrete connecting link (cf. the root /ʃxq/ below). Cf. the root /'pr/ above.

&PR II: Phoen (Pu) /(')&prt/ *lead*; Aram /'(a)bår/ =; Syr /'abår/ =; Akk /abār/ =; Arab /'abār/ =.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; hardly Sumerian, as the old sumerogram is /A.GAR$_5$/; and the more recent /A.BAR/ too fails to account for the Hbr-Phoen form satisfactorily. The Phoen /'-/ appears to be an early case of PTdt spelt so (Friedrich).

&C: Phoen /&c/ *wood*; Ug (+ /ic-cú/) =; *tree; vine*; Aram (imperial) /&q/; ?/&c/; ?(Warka) /aχχ/; (JAram) /'å&/ *wood*; Akk /ic(c)/, (Ass) /ec(c)/ =, *tree*; Arab /&acā/ *staff, stick, (axe) handle*; /&iΛāh/ *any (tall) thorny tree*; /γaΛa^{n}/ *a hardwood tree (or shrub, of genus Euphorbia)*; /γayΛ/ (coll.) *abundance of trees used to make fire*; /γayΛat/ *thicket*; ESA /&Λ/ *wood(-work)*; G&z /&Λ/ *tree, bush, thicket, wood*; /&Λa/ *lot*; Te /&¢¢ät/, (coll.) /&¢äy/ *tree*; /&¢¢ey/, (coll.) /-e/, /&¢äy/ *wood*; /&c/ *lot, die*; Har /intʃi/ *wood*; /xə7a/, /xi7a/ *lot, die*; Ch /ä¢ä/, Sdd /ən¢ä/, Wol /ən¢e/, /ən¢ə/ *tree, wood*; Bed /hinde/ =; /-di/ =, *plant* (Fleming); Som /xeΛ/, /xiΛ/ *woods, bush, thicket*; ?Chad: Ron (Fyer) /yu'yit/, Scha Kulere /yicaw/, Geji/Gyaanzi /iyinchin/, /yaηciη/, Jimi /yencho/, Guruntum /yangsi/, /-ṇsi/, "Fali" /otsum/, Laamang II (Hidkala) /udzu/, Mofaw (of Duvangar) /udεz/, Gisiga (Marua) /wudes/ *tree*; ?Eg /χt/ =, *wood*; ?Cpt /ʃe/ *wood.*

Jungraithmayr & Shimizu reconstruct the root of the Chad entries as */'t(t)/, partly with prothetic */yaη/. The latter, however, is likely to be an initial accretion rather than an originally independent element, cf. the nasalization in Eth Bed; and the initial semivowel may be a secondary glide replacing the pharyngal found in Sem. The main radical is actually more often sibilant or affricate than a plain stop; and final accretions, whether (semi)vocalic or nasal, are found in Sem too; accordingly, original connection must be considered possible, if not more. The Eth word for *lot, die* is a kind of *Kulturwort*, no doubt often borrowed through unusual channels; the pharyngal split in Arab, the sibilant suffered several transformations; in Eg both radicals are irregular. Ebl (cs.) /ì-cú/ *wood, timber.*

&CB: Syr /&cb/ *repair, refashion; bind (a wound), cure*; Arab /&cb/ *bind (a limb), put on (turban); combine (with); Qt wind a turban (round the head)*; (+ /'&cwcb/) *coalesce, form a league.*

&CB II: Aram /&cb/ + *tQ be sad, grieve*; Arab /&cb/ *bind & beat up; (saliva) dry up; D (bad years) cause loss of cattle, property; starve*; /&Λb/ *cut off, prevent, disable, revile*; /&¢b/ *(skin, hide) dry up; take care (of); bear patiently*; /γcb/ *compel, violate*; /γΛb/ *be cross (with)*; /γaΛab/ *anger, wrath, passion*; ESA /(pl.) /&cwb/ *(legal) obligations*; Mhr /&źb/ *be imperfectly healed*; /γcb/ *disarm; take by force*; G&z /&cb/ *be difficult, arduous, hard, grave, necessary; have trouble, take pains*; Te /&cb/ *be in distress*; /&cub/ *strange, peculiar*; /&äc(ä)ba/ *famine.*

Phonological splits in Arab Mhr.

&CD: Ug /m&cd/ *scythe(?)*; Akk /ecēd/, (Ass) /ecād/ *reap, harvest*; Arab /&Λd/ *lop (a tree) with a hook; St =; pluck (fruit)*; /mi&Λad/ *reaping-hook; armlet, amulet*; /-ād/ *butcher's knife*; ?Soq /ma&Λad/ *door-knocker; ladle*; /nt&Λd/ *open*; G&z /&Λd/, /&cd/ *mow, reap*; /ma&Λ(ä)d/ *scythe, sickle, bill-hook*; Te /&cd/ *mow, harvest*; /mä&äcäd/ *scythe*; Ch /adädä/, Sdd /add-/ *reap, mow, harvest*; Ch /märdäd/, ?Sdd /mägada/(!) *sickle.*

The word for scythe/sickle may be considered a *Kulturwort*; the Sdd form for it is my recording. Cf. the root /xcd/ above. Cohen's (no. 54) Cush entries seem to be loans from Arab.

&CV: Aram /&icy/ *tail-bone*; ?/&cV/ *oppress, withhold unjustly*; ?Syr /&cV/ =, *coerce, draw forth, gouge out*; /&c/ *compress, coerce*; Arab /&ucac/, /&ucuc/, /&ac&ac/, /&uc&uc/, /-ūc/ *tail-bone*; /&acā/ *leg-bone; staff*; /&iΛw/, /&uΛw/ *(body) limb*; /&cw/ *hit with a stick; bind (a wound); Qt cut (a stick) from a tree*; ?/&cy/ *(+L, St) rebel (against), disobey*; ?G&z /&cw/ *shut (in); obstruct*; Te /&ecat/ *back, waist, loin(s); support, relatives*; ?/&cV/ *press, fence in*; ?/&cit/ *narrow pass*; ?/mä&äcäyit/ *(leather) belt, bridle*; ?Eg /&ğ'/ *injustice; criminal*; ?Cpt /oği/ =.

As the tail-bone, in comparison with the main spinal column, makes the impression of being bent under pressure, the word for it could conceivably be derived from the (main) verb. However, the Arab forms suggest that the noun was originally biradical and also that it was originally connected with /&c/ above which is also semantically plausible, shaped as the tail-bone is rather like somewhat curved stick. In Te, the meaning of the noun has been expanded; in Eg Cpt, if relevant, abstracted.

&CL: Aram /&cl/ *tQ(?) be slothful*; /&a7l/ *lazy, laggard*; Syr /&a7l/, /&7el/ *hard, difficult, deaf, stubborn, stupid*; Akk /ecēl/ *lame, paralyze*; Arab /&cl/ *be crooked; (+D) bend, twist; D be late*; /&Λl/ *be harsh (to), weary*; /&7l/ *+tD be unemployed; D leave unemployed, unoccupied; neglect; strip (s.o.) of his/her goods, ornaments*; Mhr /&¢l/ *be helpless.*

The first Aram entry may be loan from Hbr; phonological split in Arab, cf. Mhr also.

&CM: Phoen /&cm/ *bone*; Ug /&¢m/ = ; *mighty(?)*; Aram /&i7m/, /&u7m/ *thigh, loin*; /7m/ *bone(s), skeleton*; Syr /&a7m/ *loin, side; bones; kin, relatives*; Akk /ecemt/, /-ent/, /-ett/, (poet.) /-met/ *bone; wood (in idols)*; Arab /&cm/ *preserve, keep safe; A strengthen, fasten*; /&aΛm/ *handle (of a bow); root (of tail)*; /&¢m/ *be great, big, momentous, grievous*; /&a¢m/ *bone; main part*; /&i¢(a)m/, /&u¢m/ *magnitude, importance*; /&a¢īm/ *great, big, tall, grand, important, serious, terrific*; ?Mhr /'āźayź/ *bone*; G&z /&äΛm/, /&äcm/ *bone*; Te /&cm/ *tD be strong, collect o.s.*; /&ccum/ *strong*; /&äcm/, /&ä¢m/ *bone; honeycomb; kinsman*; Har /ā7/ *bone*; /a77i/ *self*; Ch Sdd Wol /a7əm/ *bone.*

Phonological splits in Arab Eth; the root is common Sem, and Eg Chad /qs/ could be more remotely related, cf. Mhr.

&CM II: Aram /&mc/ *close the eyes (of a deceased)*; Syr /&mc/ *close (eyes), shut off (senses); be closed (eyes, mouth)*; Arab /γmc/ *(eye) be blear*; /γmΛ/ *be hidden, concealed; D, A close (the eyes); N (eye) be closed*; ?Mhr /&cb/ *bind, tie*; ?Soq /ez&ainin/ *close eyes.*

Transposition either in Hbr (Mhr Soq) or Aram Arab. As the Mhr entry deviates both phonologically and semantically, and the Soq one could be derived from /&yn/ by a secondarily voiced causative preformative, the former alternative is more probable.

&CR: Phoen /m&crt/ *walled enclosure*; Ug /γcr/ *(enclosing) boundary*; Aram /&cr/ *press, squeeze (out); withhold*; Syr /&cr/ *press, squeeze (out), trample (upon), vex*; ?Akk /χacār/, /-cīr/, /χicār/ *(cattle) pen, (sheep-)fold*; Arab /&cr/ *press, squeeze, wring, withdraw, prevent*; /&acr/, /&icr/, /&ucr/ *time, age, epoch*; /&ucr/ *asylum, refuge*; /&sr/ *be adverse; (+A) press, compel; L treat harshly; A become destitute; have laborious childbirth*; /&¢r/ *feel disgust; A (drink) cause indigestion*; ESA /&cr/ *tL struggle; trouble* (?; n.); ?Mhr /&zr/ *pester, torment*; ?Soq /&eyzar/ *get drunk time & again*; /&cr/ *extract*; G&z /&cr/ *press, squeeze (out); coerce*; Te /&äcr/ *obstacle.*

Phonological splits in Arab, cf. Mhr Soq (if relevant). In addition, the root appears to be cognate with /xcr/ to which the Akk entry may indeed be closer.

&QB: Phoen /&qb/ *sequel(?)*; Ug /&qb/ *tendon, heel(?); restrain?*; Aram /&qb/ *come late; D follow (tracks)*; /&iqb/ *heel, hoof, end, sequel,* *consequence*; Syr /&eqb/ = ; /&qb/ *kick; follow, pursue, persecute; recuperate*; Amor /&qb/ *protect*; Akk /eqb/ *heel*; Arab /&qb/ *come, strike (at the heel), succeed; (+D, L) follow closely*; /&aqb/ *race, run*; (+/&aqib/) *heel; son, offspring; pivot, axis; subsequent*; /&uq(u)b/ *result, consequence*; /&iqāb/ *requital, punishment*; ESA /&qb/ *guard, deputize; deputy (governor), steward; consequence; purchase, exchange*; Mhr /&qb/ *take one's turn, one another's turns; H flit, move on*; Soq /&eqab/ *change, become*; G&z /&qb/ *guard, observe, attend (to), keep, preserve, reserve, conserve*; Te /&qb/ *guard, keep, ambush; ascend*; /&qb/ *foot, leg*; (+/&äqäbät/) *slope*; Har /ēqäbä/ *wait, expect*; Ch /əq^{w}əb/, Sdd /əqqub/, Wol /uqqub/ *cooperative banking shared by drawing lots.*

Eg /&q'/ seems too hazardous.

&QD: Aram /&qd/ *tie, bind; fall on one's knees*; Syr /&qd/ *roll (on, over), contort*; Arab /&qd/ *knot, tie, contract, cement; vouch (for)*; /&aqd/ *knot, contract, responsibility; arch, vault*; /&uqdat/ *knot, obligation, joint, ganglion*; ESA /&qd/ *oath, obligation*; Mhr /&qd/ *make a binding promise; cast a spell; Qt believe*; /'āqd/ *promise, marriage contract*; Soq /&aqed/ *tie, attach*; G&z /&qud/ *tied up, bound*; /&qc/ *bind with ropes, impede*; Te /&qd/, (n.) /&qdät/ *knot*; Har /agäda/ *bind, tie*; Ch Wol /agädä/, Sdd /agg-/ = ; ?Cpt /akt/, /akēt/ *cause to solidify(?).*

The Cpt entry, if correctly interpreted, appears to be borrowed from the Arab A-stem. NB. the G&z var. Cf. the root /'gd/ above.

&QV: ?Aram /&qV/ *oppress, distress*; Arab /&qw/ *hinder; (+Qt) sink (a well)*; /&aqwat/ *courtyard; (town's) surroundings*; /&wq/ *(+Qt, D, A) impede, hinder, delay*; /&awq/, /&ūq/ *obstacle.*

Transpositional varr. in Arab.

&QL: Ug /&qltn/ *crooked, twisting*; Aram /&iql/ *armband, clasp*; /&iqqu^{w}l/ *bay, inlet*; Syr /&qål/ *pain in contorted(?) stomach*; /&aqqūl/ *curvature*; /&qalql/ *tortuous, depraved*; /&ql/ *tR (serpent) twist o.s.*; Arab /&ql/ *bind (camel's) legs to thighs; confine (bowels); be intelligent, outwit; have crooked legs*; Soq /&eqlhe/ *small hook*; Eg /&q'/ *rope, sail.*

The Eg entry, being the only non-Sem one and apparently without a good etymology in that language, may be an early loan from Arab, as there were Arab mariners in the service of Egyptians. Cf. the root /&qd/ above.

&QM: Aram /&qm/ *curve (one's neck etc.); be insidious, crafty*; Syr /&qīm/ *perverse*; /&qm/ *pervert, distort, avert; declare false, treacherous*; Arab /&qm/ *(+Q ps) (joints) dry up*; /ma&qim/ *joint*; (pl.) *vertebrae (of a horse)*; Soq /ta&aqamhon/ *board, side (of a ship).*

The sideboards of a smallish ship are usually noticeably curved, and so is the spinal column of a horse, let alone dried-up joints.

&QC: Aram /&qc/ *sting*; Syr /&uqs/ *sting, sharp point*; Arab (syr.) /&qc/ *(+D) (wasp etc.) sting*; /&aqc(at)/ = (n.).

&QR: Aram /&qr/ *uproot, demolish, destroy*; /&iqqår/ *root, foundation, chief issue*; /&aqqår/, /&(a)qar/ *barren, infertile*; Syr /&eqr/ *root; foot (of scales); principle; drug*; /&aqr/ (f. /&qart/) *sterile, barren*; /&qr/ *uproot, tear out, delete, exile; grow sterile*; Arab /&qr/ *hit, wound, hock, slay; (+Q ps) (woman) be barren; have no outcome; tD (plant) grow*; /&uqr/ *barrenness; sterile man; ruined palace*; /&aqr/ *wound; interstice; principal part*; /&āqir/ *barren, infertile*; Mhr /&qr/ *grow up, be(come) big*; Soq /'eqre/ *sprout*; /&eqar/ *grow; be heavy, slow, awkward*; (f.) /&aqairoh/ *raise*; /&aqer/ *advanced age*; (*N* f.) /inza&riroh/, var. /inʃar-/ *be sterile, barren.*

The basic element appears to be the word for root concerning which both positive and negative actions may take place; hence the apparently contradictory meanings. Phonological split with transposition in Soq. Cpt /atꝗrēn/, /aꝗ-/ is hardly connected (cf. Vycichl); Bil /kŭrīr-uχ/ is also phonetically remote.

&Qʃ: Syr /&qīs/ *contorted*; /&qasqas/, /&qacqac/ *curly*; Arab /&q$/ *bend (wood)*; /&aq(a)$/ *top of vine; fruit of a thorny tree*; /&qc/ *(woman) twist her hair*; /&iqcat/ *lock, plait (of hair)*; /&uqcat/ *knot, knob.*

NB. the phonological variation in the sibilant.

&R(R): Aram /&r(r)/ *R lay bare*; Arab /&r/ *(camel) be scabby*; /&arr/, /&arar/, /&urūr/ *scab, mange*; /&arār/ *prematurely weaned (child).*

Skin diseases are conceivable as due to exposure, and premature weaning is directly comparable to the latter. Cf. the root /&rV/ below.

&R(R) II: Aram /m&årt/ *cave*; Syr /m&arrt/ =; Arab /maγār(at)/, /mu-/ =, *grotto*; /γarr/ *gap, cleft (in the ground)*; /γār/ *hole, cave, lowland*; /γwr/ *go down (to lowland); penetrate (into); (water, eye) sink; (star) set.*

Found also in Hrs: /meγāreh/ *cave*; Ug /mγrt/ (cf. Eg /ma-ga-ra-ta/) and Lib /mγrt/ may be place names. The Gr word μεγαρον (var. μαγ-) *sacrificial pit, tomb, sanctuary* could also be connected. The root appears to be basically biradical, with sometimes the stem vowel, sometimes the second radical prolonged.

&R(R) III: Aram /&rr/ *D object*; /&år/ *oppressor*; Syr /&arrt/ *concubine.*

The Hbr entry is loan from Aram; cf. the root /cr(r)/ II below.

&RB: Phoen /&rb/ *exchange; surety; marob: surety, guarantee*; Ug /&rb/ *enter; (sun) set; guarantee*; /&rbn/ *pledge, surety*; Aram /&rb/ *enter, guarantee; (sun) set; D mix, join*; Syr /&rb/ *pledge (o.s.), guarantee; enter, mix; (sun) set*; Akk /erēb/ *enter; (sun) set*; Arab /&rb/ *be true Arab; D speak out (on behalf of), (+A) give earnest*; /γrb/ *depart; (sun, star) set; D, A go west*; /γarb/, /maγrib/ *west*; /γurūb/, /maγrib/ *sunset*; /γrm/ *take responsibility (for), pay debt* (Barth);

ESA /&rb/ *(+S) offer (sacrifice); enter, consecrate; tD pledge o.s.*; /&rbn/ *pledge, hostage*; /m&rb/ *entrance, sunset, west*; /γrb/ *west*; Mhr /mārēb/ =, *sunset*; /γrb/ *Qt enter, (sun) set*; Soq /ma&rib/ *evening*; /ma&reboh/, /mar&e-/ *west wind*; ?/&erim/ *be replaced*; /&arim/ *replace, exchange*; /&a(i)remoh/, /&aromoh/ *ransom*; G&z /&rb/ *(star, sun) set*; /&äräb/, /&ärab/, /m&rab/ *sunset, west*; Te /m&rab/ *west*; /&äräbräb/ *mixture of true & false*; ?Har /artu/, /ōrti/ *night*; ?Wol /arot/ =; ?Bil /aräb/ *be black, blue*; /-bā/ *black with white spots*; /arābā/ *steppe, wilderness*; ?Berb /afara/ =; ?Eg (Dem.) /'lb/ *pledge, surety (?)*; Cpt /arēb/ =.

In Cush also: Or /harafa/ *plain, desert* and cf. Dolgopolsky p. 150. The basic meaning being everywhere to *enter*, there is no sufficient reason to divide the root; in Arab, a phonological split has taken place again, influencing partly ESA (in the divine epithet) and Mhr too. The Soq forms with the nasal 3rd rad. may be derivable from the pledge and guarantee aspect, but Har Wol have only one firm rad. in common with the rest, with some support from the vocalization suggesting former presence of a labial; assuming borrowing from Cush (Leslau), this receives some further support from Bil where particularly the second entry is combinable with a starry night from which the aspect of mixture too could have originated. The Cpt entry is no doubt loan from Sem, but if the Dem. one is really its antecedent, the correspondence, /l/ for Sem /r/ is intriguing. Amm /m&rb/ *west*.

&RB II: Aram /&rb/ *D ps be pleasant*; ?Arab /&rb/ *(+A) speak Arabic properly*; Mhr /&rb/ *L teach s.o. good manners*; Eg /&'b/ *(be) pleasing* (Baer).

&RB III: Aram /&urb/, /&o^{w}rb/, (f.) /-rabt/ *raven*; Syr /&urb/ =; Akk /ārib/, /ērib/ =, *crow*; Arab /γrb/ *be black*; /γurāb/ *(black) crow; rook*; Mhr /yəγrayb/ *raven*; Soq /&arib/ =; ?Har /kurra/ *crow*; ?Ch /k^{w}ərä/, Sdd /qurä/, Wol /quri/ =; ?Bil /aräb/ *be black/blue*; ?Berb: Rif /abaγ'r/, /baγa'r/ *raven*.

The word is a wandering one, no doubt of onomatopoeic origin, so it is easier to accept the Berb entries for which a transposition is sufficient to account for the present form than the Eth ones which have only one consonant in common with the rest.

&RG: Arab /&rğ/ *ascend; incline, slope (westward)*; /&arğat/, /&u-/ *declivity*; ESA /&rg/ *eminent(?)*; G&z /&rg/ *ascend*; Te =; Sdd /asarrägä/ *conclude blessing*; Bil /arag/ *ascend*; /argā/, /arig/ *(elevated, conjugal) bed*.

The Bil entries appear to be borrowed from Sem; the noun is found in Quara too: /arg/ *(movable) bed-frame*.

&RD: Aram /&(a)råd/, /&åro^{w}d/, (f.) /-dt/, /&ardå'/ *wild ass*; Syr /&råd/, (f.) /-dt/ =; Amor /&arad/; /&ard/, (f.) /-dat/ =; Akk /χarād/ =; ?Arab /&ard/ = (?).

The Akk entry is loan from WSem. The Arab entry is on the authority of K-B.

&RV: Phoen /&r(V)/ *expose*; Ug /&rw/ = ; /&ry/ *naked(?)*; Aram /&rV/ *A pour, empty out*; /&äryt/ *nakedness, shame, pudenda*; Syr /&aryat/ (PTa) *naked*; Akk /erū/, /arū/ *be naked; D expose*; Arab /&ry/ *be(come) naked, free, exempt; D strip (s.o. of clothes), free (from)*; ?Soq /gere/ *plaster*; Bed /'awil-/ *clitoris*; Bil /(&)awil(tē)/ = ; Som /&awr-/ *vagina*; Eg /w&rt/ *leg*; /-t(y)/ *womb*.

The connecting link for the Soq entry would be pouring out of plaster; however, as this is not particularly characteristic of plastering for the action to be named after it, and the first rad. deviates phonologically, connection is problematic. Arab /γry/ is semantically still more remote. Eg /x'w/, /x'y/ *(be) naked* is also phonologically difficult. The Cush entries seem to have been influenced by Arab to a varying extent, but hardly borrowed altogether.

&R7L: Aram /&r7l/ *lay bare*; /&ar7ill/ *naked*; Syr /&r7l/ *strip naked, denude*; Arab /&7l/ *be destitute; (woman) wear no jewel.*

Secondary root, based on /&7l/ (cf. Arab); cf. also the root /&cl/ above.

&RK: Phoen /&rk/ *estimation*; /-kt/ *assessment; battle array*; Ug /&rk/ *prepare*; (pl.) /&rkm/ *arrangement(?)*; Aram /&rk/ *prepare, arrange*; Syr /&rk/ *knead*; Arab /&rk/ *train; endure (vexation); fight bravely*; /&ark/ *experience*; /&arik/ *heap of sand*; /&arak/ (coll.) *fishermen, mariners*; /&irāk/ *(arrangement, group of) camels for watering*; Soq /ʃa&rek/, (n.) /ma&rek/ *fish*; /mʃo&rek/ *fishing place*; /ma&rikoh/ *circular.*

Meanings highly specialized in Soq; but battle arrangement is often semicircular, and cf. Arab. In Ug, meaning given is intentionally superficial to accommodate different suggestions.

&RL: Aram /&arl/, /&(a)ral/ *uncircumcised*; /&url(a)t/ *foreskin*; Syr /&url/, /&rol/ *uncircumcised*; /&urlūt/ *foreskin*; Akk /urull(āt)/ = ; Arab /γurlat/ = ; /γrl/ *be uncircumcised*; ?/&uδrat/ *hymen, foreskin, circumcision*; Eg /qu-ur-na-ta/ *foreskin.*

The Eg entry is an attempt at the transcription of the Can word; /-rn-/ for /-rl-/ presumably to indicate the existence of phonological difference — moreover, /n/ for Sem /l/ is not uncommon otherwise either, although /r/ is more common. The last Arab entry is feasible both semantically and phonologically (assuming transposition; /δ/ alternates with /l/, e.g., in dialectal Finnish), but presupposes separation in rather remote past, whereas contiguous /-rl-/ cannot be very old. Cf. /&wr/II above?

&RM: Ug /γrmn/ *heap of corn*; Aram /&urm(t)/ *heap, pile*; Syr /&rm/ *(+tD) (water) collect; heap, wall up*; /&ramt/ *heap, accumulation*; Akk /aramm/ *dam*; Arab /&urmat/, /&aramat/ *heap of corn, sand, dung*; /&aramram/ *numerous army*; (syr.) /&rm/ *D heap up; tD be heaped up; (river) swell*; ESA /&rm/ *dam*; /t&rm/ *building*; Soq /&armomoh/ *herd, flock.*

Again, the Soq meaning is rather specialized, but Arab provides a connecting link. NB. the Ug /γ/.

&RM II: Aram /&rm/ *A act craftily; tQ =; grow prudent*; Syr /&rīm/ *prudent, astute*; Arab /&rm/ *be ill-natured; treat a.o. wickedly*; /&rf/ *know, perceive; acknowledge (fault); manage (a business) skilfully; govern*; ESA /γrb/ *know*; Mhr /γrb/ *know, recognize; know how (to do)*; Soq /&erob/ *know, recognize.*

Phonological splits and shifts in Arab and SAr.

&RM III: ?ESA /&rm/ *'uncovered', widow?* (Beeston).

Appears to be a secondary enlargement of the root /&r(r)/ above, cf. /&rV/ also. The ESA entry is a hapax (Ja 350).

&RS: Syr /'rsn/ *barley gruel*; ?/&rʃ/ *D fatten.*

The root appears to be based on a *Kulturwort*, cf. also the root /grʃ/s/ above.

&R&: Aram /&r&/ *D meet, encounter, happen; gather*; Arab /&rΛ/ *accident) happen; (+A) appear (to); present, expose (to view); review (troops)*; /&arΛ/ *unforeseen event; compensation; exhibition (of goods); review (of troops).*

The root /'r&/ above appears to be a secondary var. of this one; the Hbr entry is loan from Aram.

&RP: Ug /&rpt/ (pl.) *clouds*; /γrpl/ *heavy cloud*; Aram /&arpi^{y}l/, /&ur-/ *dark cloud; drizzle (?)*; Syr /&arpell/ *cloud, fog, steam*; Akk /erēp/, /arāp/ *be cloudy, gloomy*; /erpet/, /urpat/ *cloud*; Arab /γrf/ *take (water) with hand or ladle*; /γarrāf/ *(river) having much water*; (syr.) *waterwheel*; /mi&rafat/ *ladle*; /&arfat/ *wind*; Mhr /γrf/ *fetch, scoop up (water)*; ?Cush */arba/ *moon*; ?Proto-Om */'arp-/, */'arf-/ = (Dime /ɛrpo/, Bako Hamar /arfi/ =) (Fleming).

As is well known, moon is in popular beliefs commonly held to be responsible for dew and is also otherwise connected with moisture, so the Cush Om entries could be related; the connection, however, would be remote. Phonological split in Ug Arab, cf. Mhr vs. Akk. Eg /x'p/ is closer to /xp(p)/ (q.v.).

&RP II: Phoen /&rpt/ *portico*; Aram /&årp/ *neck*; /&rp/ *break the neck*; Syr /&urp/ *cock's crest*; Arab /&urf/ =; *horse's mane*; /&rf/ *cut (horse's) mane; A (cock/horse) have a fine crest/mane*; Soq /&arib/ *neck.*

NB. the voiced labial in Soq.

&RC: Ug /&r¢/ *majestic, awesome*; Syr /&rc/ *happen, take place; be accomplished, perfected*; /&arct/, /&rīct/ *case, event, accident*; /&råc/ *affliction, oppression*; Arab /&rc/ *thunder; A be shaken*; /&arrāc/ *thundercloud*; /&rΛ/ *(accident) happen; (fever) seize; put (sword) upon, flog, slay*; /γrΛ/ *fear; be disgusted (at), grieved (by); long (for).*

Phonological splits in Arab, cf. Ug; in addition, the root appears to be cognate with /&r&/ above (q.v.).

&Rʃ: Ug /&rʃ/ *bed*; Aram /&ars/ =, *couch, stretcher*; Syr =; Akk /erʃ/ *bed*; Arab /&ar$/ *throne; bier (for the deceased); nest; trellis, roof, booth, house*; /&arī$/ *trellis, shed, booth; litter*; ESA /(pl.) /'&r$/ *shaded plantations*; Soq /&ariʃ/ *cabin*; G&z /&äri$/ *booth, shed (for shade)*; /&ärat/, /'ä-/ *bed, (movable) bedstead*; Te /&ärat/ =, *seat; kind of tomb*; Har /arʃi/ *throne*; Wol /ars/ *(movable) bedstead*; Bil /arāt/, /&a-/ =; /arät/ *(cattle) lie down in shade*; Om: Ometo /arsa/ *(movable) bedstead.*

For further attestations in Cush see Leslau, Gur III p. 91 and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 53. The noun is an old *Kulturwort*, occasionally borrowed more than once from different directions and slightly different meanings. The ESA entry, even with the meaning of plantation, seems to me still agree better with this root than with Arab /γars/ *seedling* which, incidentally, could ultimately derive from an offshoot of the present root itself. The root seems to have influenced also the root /'rʃ/s/ above.

&ʃ: ?Ug /&θ/ *moth(?)*; Aram /&aʃʃ/ =; Syr /&aʃʃ/ *louse*; Akk /aʃāʃ/ *fish moth*; Arab /&uθθ(at)/ *moth, grub*; /&θ/ *(moth) eat, fret (wool)*; G&z /&Λe/ (coll.) *moth, caterpillar, worm, grub, maggot.*

Another '*Kulturwort*' of unknown origin. ?In Cush Om (cf. Dolgopolsky p. 302).

&ʃ(ʃ): Aram /&(a)ʃåʃi^{y}t/ *glass lamp*; Arab /&s/ *(Qt) go round about by night; R (darkness) fall in, dissipate; (wolf) prowl*; /γsw/ *(night) be obscure.*

Phonological split coupled with a metaplastic shift in Arab.

&ʃB: Aram /&i$b/, /&isb/ *herb; weed*; Syr /&esb/ =; Akk /eʃēb/ *grow luxuriantly*; /iʃbabt/ *grass (also medicinal)*; Arab /&$b/ *(herbs) dry, wither; +D, A (soil) produce green herbs*; /&u$b/ *green herbs, pasturage*; ESA /&$b/ *fodder.*

The seemingly contradictory meaning of withering may have originated in the short duration of the green growth.

&ʃ/SV: Mo (af 1.) /&ʃty/; Phoen (NPu) /m's'/ *deed(s)*; Ug /&ʃy/ *(active=) fertile (field)*; ESA /&s'/, /&sy/ *make, construct; present (an offering); acquire*; Har /āʃa/ *make, act; have sexual intercourse*; Bil /es/, /is/ *make, do, provide, appoint.*

Further Cush attestations: Saho Afar /is/, Saho Quara /iʃ/ *make, do (etc.)*; Sid /'asi/ *do*; and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 99, Dolgopolsky p. 291 and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 53. Patchy attestation may be due to competition from /p&l/ and /&bd/; preservation in Har Gur (cf. Leslau ib.) may have been aided by the presence of the root in Cush, but I would speak about Cush influence rather than secondary borrowing after earlier loss. The Arab /&sw/ appears to me semantically too remote. NB. phonological variation in the sibilant.

&ʃN: ?Phoen /m&ʃn/ *funerary urn*; Aram /tnn/ *D*, (n.) /tnån/, /tann/, /tånan/ *smoke*; Syr /tn/ (+*D* , *tD*), (n.) /tennån(t)/, /-nūt/ =; Arab

/&θn/ *smell smoke; +D (fire) smoke; D fumigate, perfume*; /&aθan/, /&uθān/ *smoke*; + /&iθn/ *small idol*; Soq /&eto/ *smoke*; /&atua/ *smokey, -ed*; G&z /tän/ *smoke, vapour*; /&7n/ *fumigate*; /&7an/ *incense*; Te /tn/+*A, AL*; (n.) /tän/ *smoke*; /&7n/ *fumigate*; /&7an/ *incense*; Har /tnn/, (n.) /tän/ =; Sdd /tännänä/, Wol /tän-/, (n.) Gur /tän(n)/ =; Bil /&a7an/ *fumigate (a milk container after use).*

The forms without /&/ are so widespread that a twofold form of the root must be assumed to have existed since ancient times; it is also hard to believe that /&/ could have disappeared secondarily from Aram-Syr without leaving any trace. As a matter of fact, the root belongs to the *Kulturwort* category, smoke being an important indication of the presence of human beings particularly in nomadic conditions, to say nothing about the use of smoke for cultic and hygienic purposes. The Phoen entry is relevant, if the remains were (originally at least) burnt in the urn; in Soq, the end of the root has been denasalized. Cf. the root /q7r/ below.

&ʃQ: Aram /&sq/ *be concerned (with, about)*; Syr /&sq/ *tD be concerned (about), affected (with pain)*; Arab /&$q/ *love passionately; cleave, stick (to)*; /&i$q/ *excessive love*; ESA /&ʃq/ *+S take care, be in charge; matter, work.*

NB. the ESA sibilant. The root is a var. of /&sq/ above.

&ʃQ II: Aram /&ʃq/ *oppress, take advantage (of)*; Syr =; *slander, inform, corrupt*; Arab /&sq/ *stick (to), prosecute eagerly*; /&asaq/ *ill-nature, injustice*; /&usuq/ *hard (to his debtors).*

&ʃR: Aram /&tr/ *be/grow rich*; /&utr/, /&o^{w}tar/ *riches, wealth*; /&atti^{y}r/ *rich*; Syr /&tr/ *be/grow rich, potent, abundant; acquire (wealth)*; /&utr/ *riches, wealth*; /&attīr/ *rich, copious, frequent*; ?ESA /&θr/ *H add?*; ?Soq /&es(y)reh/ *thicket.*

For the ESA entry, possibly /hwθr/ (root /yʃr/ above) should be read (Biella). The Soq meaning is rather marginally comparable; Arab /&θr/ can hardly be relevant (Irvine).

&ʃ/SR: ?Ug /&ʃr/ *serve, pour out; drink, libation; butler?; head of ten (?); give tithe*; /&ʃrt/ *tithe; 10th part*; Aram /&$r/, /&sr/ *D tithe*; Syr /&sr/ *D* =; Akk /eʃrēt/, (Ass) /eʃrāt/, /iʃ-/, (late Bab) /uʃrēt/ *tenth part, tithe*; Arab /&$r/ *be tenth; +D tithe, tL be friendly, intimate (with)*; /&u$r/ *tenth part, tithe*; /&i$rat/ *friendship*; /&a$īr/ *friend, associate, spouse; tenth*; /&a$īrat/ *kindred, tribe*; ESA /&ʃr/ *tithe; tenth (part)*; /&ʃrt/ *family, clan*; /m&ʃrt/ *tribal assembly*; Mhr /&ʃr/, (n.) /'ā$ūr/ *tax*; /'ā$ər/ *friend*; Soq /&a$or/ *tithe, tax, duty*; /&$r/+*Qt live together, mix (with), make friends*; /&a$/ (pl. /&e$ore/) *friend, mate*; G&z /&$r/ *invite (to a meeting, banquet); inaugurate (war); tithe; multiply by ten*; Te /&ʃr/ *D, L count, compute; tD be counted; receive (a share); be well-mannered*; /&ʃär/ *favour, kindness*; /&ʃrät/ *modesty, politeness*; /&ʃur/ *number, toll, account*; Har /assir/ *double*; Ch Sdd /asrat/ *tithe*; Eg /&ʃʾ/ *(be) much, many*; (+/&ʃʾt/) *crowd*;

(Dem.) /&ʃ/ *be numerous*; Cpt /aʃai/ *increase, be multiplied*; /aʃē/ *crowd, multitude.*

The primary meaning of the root appears to be a familiar crowd, i.e. the community in which one lives, the extent of it somewhat variable. Cf. the Nn for *10* in section C. Rössler's comparison of the Eg entry to Arab /zχr/ *grow, swell, stir* is hardly more convincing than the one above.

&TD: Aram /&td/ *D set up, prepare*; /&(a)ti^{y}d/ *ready, prepared; future*; Syr /&tīd/ =; /&td/ *be ready; D prepare, incite*; Akk /atūd/, (OAss) /et-/; (also) /dūd/ *wild sheep; ram*; Arab /&td/ *be ready, prepared; D provide for the future*; /&atīd/ *ready*; (syr.) *future*; /&atūd/ *goat (yearling, mature for procreation).*

The noun may be regarded as a *Kulturwort.*

&TQ: Ug /&tq/ *pass (by)*; Aram /&tq/ *grow old*; /&atti^{y}q/ *old*; Syr /&tq/ *progress; stay long; grow old*; /&attīq/ *old*; Amor /&tq/ *move, pass*; Akk /etēq/ *pass (by, through); happen*; Arab /&tq/ *grow old*; /&utq/, /&itq/ *oldness, antiquity*; /&atīq/ *old, antiquated; excellent, noble.*

&TR: ?Ug /γtr/ *kill (for sacrifice?)*; ?Aram /&(a)ti^{y}rt/ *perforation*; Arab /&tr/ *sacrifice (sheep)*; ?/&7r/ *send out sweet odours; D perfume*; ?ESA /&7r/ *spice, aroma.*

The background appears to be rather comprehensive cultic occasion of which partial aspects only are reflected in different languages; but as cultic character is often not in evidence, the interpretation must be considered uncertain.

&TR II: -

The relevance of the second entry is uncertain, as no context nor translation is given in the publication. The Hbr root is loan from Aram to the root /&ʃr/ above.

פ

P(V): Phoen /p/, (NPu) /py/ *mouth, word*; Ug /p/ =; Aram /pumm/, /po^{w}m/ *mouth, opening, entrance; edge (of the sword)*; Syr /pum(m)/ *mouth, word, command; mouthful; beak; opening, entrance; (river) bank; (earth) surface; edible part (of fruit); edge (of sword)*; Amor /p/ *mouth, word*; Akk /pū/, (OAkk, OAss) /pā'/, /pī/ *mouth, muzzle, snout, beak; word, command; opening, entrance, start (of way); edge (of sword); dawn*; Arab /fam/, /fum/, /fim/ *mouth, orifice, opening; teeth; branch; point (of a sword)*; ESA /f/ *mouth, command, authority*; G&z /'äf/ *mouth, snout, muzzle, beak; word, command; orifice, entrance; edge (of sword); dawn*; Te /'äf/ *mouth, nostril, entrance;*

end, edge, point (of weapons etc.); Har /af/ *mouth, entrance*; Ch /ãf/, Sdd Wol /af/ *mouth, beak; language*; Bed /yaf/ *mouth, beak*; Bil /ab/ (pl. /afuf/, /afif/) = ; *edge, sharp point; gate, door; portion*; Som /af/ *mouth, entrance; edge; speech; language*; Om: Ari /afa/, Hamar /afo/, Dime /apo/ *mouth*; Berb: Rif /im(m)i/ = ; Fass /imī/ =, *entrance*; Sus /īmi/ = ; Tu /emi/, /imi/ *mouth; language, (way of) speaking; teeth; orifice, entrance; cutting edge*; Chad: Sura (Cakfem), Chip /pwå/, Kofyar /fwo/, /ffo/, Goemai (Ankwe) /puwen/, Ron /fo/, Tsagu (etc.) /behe/, Ngizin /miya/, Tera (Nyimatli) (etc.) /me/, Ngweshe (etc.) /we/ *mouth*; Gis /mi/ =, /me/ =, *word, speech; opening.*

Other Cush attestations: Saho Afar /af/, Or Konso /afan/, Sid /afo/, Iraqw /afa/ *mouth (etc.)*. In Berb, the labial has been nasalized, pre-nasalized partly in Gur too (also Ǝza /amf/); and possibly in Chad where, however, the phonological problems have not been fully sorted out (the relevance of the above entries is therefore not assured either, but resemblance with Sem entries is in some cases so close that attestation of the root in Chad is hardly in doubt). It is hard to accept that this purely nominal, common Semito-Hamitic root would have been derived from the exclusively Eg verbal root /wpy/ *separate, judge, arbitrate, open*, although it does occur in a well-known formula for "opening the mouth" in a figurative sense.

P’: Ug /p’it/ (pl. /p’at/) *corner, edge; forehead; temple*; Aram /på(’)t/ *corner (of the cornfield), hair on temples*; Syr /pa(’)t/ *face, forward or opposite part; side; edge (of beard, sword)*; Akk /pāt/, /patt/ *edge, side*; /pūt/ (pl. /pāt/, /pūtāt/) *forehead, frontal side*; Soq /fio/ *front side*; ?G&z /(lä)fe (wälä)fe/ *here & there, to this & that side*; Har /fīt/ *face, front side*; Ch /yift/, /yəft/, Sdd =, /ift/, Wol /uft/ =.

Arab /f’w/, /fi’at/ seem semantically too remote (Irvine); likewise, the only semantic justification for connecting this root with the preceding one as its fem., that both may mean *edge (of a sword)* seems coincidental, the edge of a sword being both a kind of side and also a cutting instrument like teeth in the mouth (also occasionally called "mouth", see above).

P’R: ?Eg /pry/, /pyr/, /ptr/, /pdr/ *bandage.*

The spelling varr. suggest a LW in Eg itself; but the word is attested, although in late Eg only, anterior to the great influx of Can LWW into Eg (Baer); whether meaning fits is questionable (id.). Also the fact that the Hbr noun is attested in texts from the time of and soon after Babylonian exile does not seem favourable to the assumption of borrowing from Eg, and the proliferation of use and meanings of the Hbr verb do not look like having been based on a LW meaning "bandage", either. The root could underlie the name of the territory, /p’rn/ and thus belong to old Can stock, although not attested elsewhere.

PGL: Aram /pigguʷl/ *(sacrifice rendered) unfit by improper time or place of consumption*; ?Arab /fǧl/ *grow thick, soft, flaccid.*

The Aram entry is loan from Hbr.

PGM: ?Ug /(l)pgm pgm/ ?; Aram /pgm/ *damage, injure, reduce*; Syr /pgm/ *mutilate; (moon) be reduced, eclipsed*; Arab (syr.) /fğm/ *+D indent, blunt (a knife).*

PG&: Phoen /pg&/ *supplicate; discharge (a vow)*; Aram /pg&/ *meet (by chance), befall, concern*; /pig&/, /pga&/ *accident, misfortune*; Syr /pg&/ *meet (by chance), happen, befall, concern*; ?Amor /pg&/ *chance upon(?)*; Arab /fğ&/ *afflict, distress*; /fağī&at/ *misfortune*; /fğ'/ *+Qt, L fall upon (unexpectedly); surprise*; Mhr /fg&/ *be frightened.*

The meaning appears to be basically neutral (cf. Section A no. 1313), but is mostly used with negative connotation. For the Amor entry, /pqx/ could be read.

PGR: Ug /pgr/ *monument, stela; offering (for the dead)*; ?(pl.) /pgrm/ *name of a month*; Aram /pgr/ *D disturb, demolish, destroy*; /pigr/ *corpse*; /bgr/ *grow thin, weak*; /pkr/ *be shattered; D demolish, destroy*; Syr /pagr/ *corpse; host (in Eucharist)*; /bgr/ *grow infirm*; ?Amor /pagir/ ?; Akk /pagr/, (late Bab) /paggar/ *body, corpse, carcass*; Te /fgr/ *languish, finish, end, go out, die.*

Arab /fğr/ seems semantically too remote (Irvine); and so the Eth root related to it. NB. the phonological variation in Aram-Syr.

PGʃ: -

Appears to be root var. of /pg&/ above.

PDV: Ug /pdy/ *random, redeem*; Amor =; Akk /padū/, /pedū/ *spare, set free*; Arab /fdy/ *(+L) ransom, redeem, set free*; ESA /fdy/, /fdw/ *acquire, redeem*; /fdyt/ *ransom*; Mhr /fdV/ *recover (s.th.)*; /fədē(')/ *ransom*; Soq /fede/ *redeem, deliver*; G&z /fdy/ *owe, repay (debt), restore, compensate, reward*; Te /fdV/ *(re)pay, requite*; /fäda/ *payment, ransom, requital*; Har /fiğa/ *wages*; Ch /fäğä/, Sdd /-ğğä/, Wol /-ğe/ *accomplish; get rid of the tapeworm.*

The Gur meanings may have evolved from a ritual of ransoming (cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 229). Om /fayd/ (etc.) *count* could perhaps be loan from Eth with semantic shift.

PDR: Aram /pidr/ *(fat) dung, manure*; Arab /fdr/ *(cooked meat) grow cold; be(come) foolish, stupid; (stallion, camel) lose interest, be(come) impotent*; /fudurr/ *fat, plump (boy)*; /fidrat/ *a piece of (cold) meat (etc.); a lump (of dates etc.).*

Eg /pdr/ "fat" appears to be an error of translation (Baer).

PWG: Aram /pwg/ *grow faint, lose courage; evaporate; weaken*; Syr =; *be/grow cold*; Arab /fwğ/ *(musk) spread its perfume; (day) be cool; D cool o.s., take fresh air.*

PWX: Ug /ypx/ *witness*; Aram /pwx/ *blow, breathe*; Syr =; *rest, be quiet; disperse, (odour) spread; smell* (tr.); /pawx/ *odour, effect*; Arab /fwx/, /fyx/ *(pot) boil; (wound) bleed; (perfume, troops) spread* *(o.s.)*; /fwχ/ *(wind) blow, (heat) abate; +A fart*; /fyχ/ *(perfume) spread; A turn aside (from)*; /fx/, /fχ/ *breathe heavily, snore; (snake) hiss; (odour, perfume) spread*; ?Bil /fĭug/ *blow, breathe, rest, refresh o.s.*; /fĭgŭā/ (pl. /fĭuχ/) *breath, rest*; /fĭugŭt/ *breath, life, soul, spirit, daemon.*

For further attestations in Cush see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 118. The root is onomatopoeic, so independent origin in more than one place is possible. Cf. the root /npx/ above.

PWK: ?Syr /pk/ *pound, crush.*

On the assumption that the Hbr entry does mean originally a powdery substance; even so, Arab /fk/ seems semantically too remote (Irvine). /fūk/ (etc.) is evidently LW in Eg.

PWL: Phoen /p'l/ (Eg), /pl/(?) *beans*; Aram /po^{w}l/, /-ly/ *broad bean*; Arab /fūl/ = ; G&z /ful/ *bean, chick-pea*; Te /ful/ (coll.) *peanuts*; Bed /fūl/ *bean*; Bil /bal-dångŭā/ = ; ?Chad: Geji/Gyaanzi /bali/, Buli (Myamzah) /bal/, Sokoro /baiō/, /bay/, Barein /biya/ = ; Eg /pr(y)/ = ; Cpt /φel/ =.

The /b/ of the first two Chad entries is glottalized. The word is a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

PWC: Arab /fyΛ/ *be abundant, overflow, spread (out)*; /fc/ *tR be dispersed* (Guillaume).

PWQ: Ug /pq/ *drink; marry(?); produce (offspring)*; Aram /pwq/ *R shake, jolt*; Syr /pwq/ *hiccough, sob*; Arab /fwq/ + *Qt sob, gasp, die; overcome, surpass; A recover*; /fyq/ *give up the ghost.*

Characteristic of all entries is unsteady or alternating movements or developments, including movements high up, cf. the root /nwp/ above.

PWR: Syr /pūrt/ *fury, rage, ire*; Arab /fwr/ *(pot) boil fiercely; (water) spurt; (wine) ferment.*

Used figuratively in Syr.

PWR II: Aram /pu^{w}r/ *lot*; (pl.) *Purim-festival*; Syr (pl.) /pūråye/ = *; lots*; Akk /pūr/ *lot.*

LW from Akk.

PWʃ: ?Ug /pʃ/ *spurt, jump*; ?Aram /pwʃ/ *increase.*

PZ: Ug /pδ/ *gold*; Aram /pizz/ =.

Probably a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

PZ(Z): Aram /pzi^{y}z/ *rash, impetuous*; Syr /pz/ *dance (with pantomimic gestures)*; /pazzīz/ *light, agile*; Arab /fδ/ *be apart, thrust back; R contract o.s. for leaping*; /fz/ *be startled, excited, scared off; +A startle, frighten away*; ?Ch /fuzz barä/ *walk quickly.*

Phonological split in Arab.

PZR: Aram /pzr/ *D scatter*; /bzr/ *D =, strew*; /bizr/ *seed*; /bdr/ + *D strew, scatter; tread (olives)*; Syr /bazr/ *flax seed oil*; /bdr/ *strew, scatter, disperse; D disperse, dissipate; (wine) inebriate*; Arab /fzr/ *separate, disperse, break, crumble; break asunder*; /bzr/, /bδr/ *sow, scatter.*

NB. the phonological splits; cf. the root /bzr/ above. There could have been some other interchange of root varr. between Aram and Arab too.

PX: Aram /pax/ *trap*; Syr = ; Arab /faχχ/ =, *snare, net*; Eg /pχ/, /pχ'(t)/ *(cleft) log; trap*; Cpt /paʃ/ *trap, snare.*

A *Kulturwort*, considered by Vycichl to be of Semitic origin; but there is no plausible Sem etymology for it, whereas Eg /pχ'/ *split* would agree well with a certain kind of trap. Baer accepts Eg origin for the word.

PX II: Eg /pχ'/ *split; metal, wooden plate; stone slab.*

LW from the same Eg root as the preceding entry, but probably borrowed separately and therefore better kept apart in Hbr.

PX III: -

Probably differentiated from /pxm/ (below).

PXD: Aram /pxd/ + *D be afraid*; Akk (Ug) /paχād/ *be frightened, tremble.*

The Akk entry is loan from WSem, the Aram one possibly from Hbr.

PXZ: Aram /pxz/ *swell (up); be heedless*; Syr /pxz/ *D, A be/make lascivious, wanton*; /paxz/ *lewd, wanton, lustful*; Akk (NAss, NBab) /paχāz/ *be insolent*; Arab /fχz/ *boast falsely, magnify o.s.*; Mhr /fh$/ *boil.*

NB. the phonological varr. in Mhr. The Akk entry is loan from Aram (vS).

PXM: Phoen /pxm/ *coal*; Ug /pxm/ *(glowing) coal; kind of gem (carbuncle?)*; Syr /paxm/ *(char)coal*; Akk /pēmt/, /pēnt/, /-nd/; /pett/, (M/NAss) /pe'ett/ = ; Arab /fax(a)m/, /-xīm/ = ; /fxm/ *be intensely black*; Soq /fxam/ *charcoal*; G&z /fxm/ *(live) coal, charcoal*; Te /fäxäm/ *charcoal*; Har /fēxama/ *(coal, iron) be red-hot*; Ch Sdd /fem/, Wol /fim/ *embers.*

Cf. the root /px/ III above. The noun may be regarded as a *Kulturwort*; for some Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 232.

PXT: Aram /pxt/ *reduce*; /pxi^{y}t/ *little, less; harmful*; /paxt/ *pit, trap*; Syr /pxt/ *(+D) perforate, hollow out*; /pext/ *pit, ditch*; ?Akk /patāχ/ *pierce, perforate.*

The meaning of the Akk entry is rather marginal, apart from the transposition; and I do not find an Arab /fxt/ (or /fχt/) *dig* confirmed.

P7: -

Perhaps based on Gr πους, ποδ-.

P7D: -

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; perhaps connected with Gr τοπαζοσ/-ον/-ιον (with transposition).

P7M: ?Aram /pa77i^{y}m/ *perfumed(?).*

P7R: Phoen /p7rt/ *dismissal(?)*; Ug /pi7r/ *split, gap*; Aram /p7r/ *farewell; send off, set free*; Syr /p7r/ *leave, depart, die; end, cease, be dissolved, fail*; Amor /p7r/ *solve; redeem*; Akk /pa7ār/ *open, dissolve, set free, lay bare, set out; redeem*; Arab /f7r/ *cleave, split; start (with); create; break fast*; /fa7r/ *crack*; Mhr /f7r/ *(+L, Qt) break fast*; G&z /f7r/ *make, create, invent, fabricate*; Te /f7r/ *create*; /fä7ir/ *fresh; unleavened (bread)*; Har /f7r/ *break fast; A feed*; Ch /fä7ärä/, Sdd /-77-/ *create; lie*; Wol /afe7ärä/ *break fast*; /iffə77əral/ *be born.*

The second Wol entry is my recording. Eg /ptr/ *see, notice, inspect* seems to have a different basic idea.

P7ʃ: Aram /pa77i^{y}ʃ/ *hammer*; Syr /pa7ʃ/, /p7eʃ/, /p7oʃ/ *flat-nosed*; Arab /f7s/ *be flat-nosed; (blacksmith) flatten (iron)*; /fi77īs/ *sledgehammer*; Te /'äf7äs/ *flat-nosed.*

The Te entry appears to be loan from Arab. Eg /pds/ seems to represent different semantic background; the Syr (Arab-Te) meaning being due to outward similarity.

PYL: Aram /pi^{y}l/ *elefant*; Syr /pīl/ =; Akk /pīr/, /pīl/, /pēr/ =; Arab /fīl/ =.

A wandering word of unknown origin.

PYLY: Aram = Hbr; Syr /piyalē/ =.

LW from Gr.

PYS: Aram /pays/ *lot.*

PYS II: Aram = Hbr; Syr /pys/ *A (etc.) persuade*; ?Soq /fe'es/ *ask (for).*

LW from Gr (cf. πεισαι, πεισις). The Soq entry is semantically plausible and also phonologically possible, but without a connecting link outside NWSem must be considered uncertain.

PK(V): ?Syr /pk/ *R ooze, issue forth.*

The Syr entry is quoted from K-B^{3}. The root being onomatopoeic, neither Ug /bk/ *goblet* (if confirmed) nor Eg /pg'/ *bowl* is directly comparable, cf. /bq(q)/ above.

PL: Aram /pilpl/, /-pält/ *pepper*; /pl/ *R strew (with)*; Syr /pelpl/ *pepper*; Arab /fulful/, /filfil/ =; /fl/ *R season with pepper*; Mhr /fəwfēl/ *pepper*; G&z /päpäre/, /bärbäre/ =; Te /bärbäre/ =; Sdd Wol =; Som /filfil/, /barbari/ =; Tu /efəleli/ *onion.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin (hardly original in Sanscrit either); the verb denominative everywhere it occurs.

PL(L): Aram /pl(l)/ *R discuss, dispute*; Akk /palāl/ *supervise.*

Ug /pl/ and Arab /fl/ seem hardly related. The Hbr tD-stem, understood as submission to divine justice, is comparable to the root /npl/ above.

PL’: ?Phoen (Poenulus 1017) *pal(u): miraculous?*; ?Ug /ply/ *be fine, wonderful (?)*; Aram /plV/ *A make wonderful*; /pil’(a)t/ *riddle*; Syr /pel’et/, /ple(’)t/ =, *parable, symbol*; Arab /fa’l/ *good omen, augury*; (syr.) *superstition.*

Transposition in Arab. The Ug entry is semantically ambiguous and phonologically deviant, the Phoen one textually uncertain. Ebl /pá-ła-um/ *inspection.*

PLG: Phoen /plg/ *district*; Ug /plg/ *creek, canal*; Aram /plg/ *divide; share in; deviate*; /pilg/, /pe^{y}läg/ *part, half*; Syr /plg/ *separate, divide, halve*; Akk /palg/, φαλαγ *ditch, channel, canal*; Arab /flǧ/ *split; till (the ground); (+D) share, allot*; /falǧ/ *half; division*; Mhr /flg/ *L make separation (between teeth)*; /fəlēg/ *stream, watercourse*; ?Soq /filigoh/ *way, road*; G&z /fäläg/ *valley, ravine, creek, torrent, river*; Te (pl.) /’äflag/ *ravine*; /fäläga/ *disobedient*; Tu /əbləg/ *halve; divide, share, participate equally*; Eg /png(’)/ ?; Cpt /pålq̣/ *separate, decide, liberate; terminate, die.*

The Soq entry is semantically marginal; the Eg one occurs only in late Eg magical texts and is of uncertain meaning, but has to do with cutting; it is probably loan from Sem (Baer); the Cpt one is probably its descendant (id.); /pg’/ *spread out* is based on a different idea.

PLGS: Aram /pallgi^{y}s/ *semi-mature sheep.*

LW from Gr (with semantic shift).

PLGʃ: Aram /palqt/ *concubine*; Syr /plq/ =.

The vocalism of the Syr entry is uncertain. The word is a kind of *Kulturwort* of unknown origin. Cf. Arab Npr f. /bilqīs/.

PLV: Aram /plV/ *split, open; D search through, remove*; Syr /plV/ *search through; remove (lice)*; Akk (NAss) /palū/ *search through*; Arab /fly/ *study, scrutinize; (+D) louse (head)*; G&z /fly/ *separate, divide*; Te /flV/ =; Har /fila/ *long comb with 1-2 teeth*; Bil /fälanā/ =; /fäl/ *comb, divide (the hair).*

The noun may be considered a *Kulturwort*, but the root seems to be original in Cush too; for further attestations in Eth Cush see Leslau, Gur III p. 231 and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 120. The Akk entry is loan from Aram (vS).

PLX: Aram /plx/ *break (through); work (upon); serve*; Syr =; *worship, venerate; perform military service; till (the ground)*; Amor /plχ/ *fear*; Akk /palāχ/ *fear, respect, venerate, serve, worship*; Arab /flx/ *cleave, plough, till (the ground)*; /falx/ *slit, crack*; /flχ/ *slit*; /fl&/ *split, cut*; Tu /əfləh/ *split (lengthwise)*; Eg /p’χ/ *scratch(?)*; /pχ’/ *split*; Cpt /pålh/ *wound, injure, -ry.*

The origin of the /-h/ of the Tu entry is not clear. Phonological split in Arab.

PL*7*: Ug /pl7/, *D* /pu-la-7u/ *save, rescue*; Aram /pl7/ *escape; D remove*; Syr /pl7/ *escape, fall off, go forth, riot; D rescue, remove, expose (claws)*;

Akk /balā7/ *live, stay alive*; Arab /flt/ *escape; (+A) let loose, set free; L overtake*; /fl7/ *overlook; L overtake*; /flc/ *escape; D save, deliver*; Mhr /flt/ *escape, run away*; Te /flt/ *vanish.*

NB. the phonological varr. in (Akk) Arab Mhr Te; in addition, the root appears cognate with /ml7/ above (q.v.). The Eth root /fl7/ *separate (etc.)* seems too remote semantically.

PL7R: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

PLYN: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

PLM: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

PLMS: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

PLN: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

PLS: —.

The etymology tentatively suggested in K-B^3 is so vague as to be guesswork.

PLSLS: Aram /psi^{y}ly/ *kind of bean.*

LW from Gr.

PLC: ?Arab /fl7/ *L meet unexpectedly; A surprise*; ?Te /flc/ *kick out.*

PLʃ: Ug /plθt/ *wallowing (in dust)*; Aram /plʃ/ *tD wallow*; Syr /plʃ/ *dig, break through, open*; /pålʃat ('urxåt)/ *crossroads*; Akk /palāʃ/ *break through, in*; ?Arab /fls/ *D rend asunder*; ESA /fl$/ *D expel, force to migrate*; Soq /fls/ *expose*; (f.) /fileseh/ *devoid of branches*; G&z /fls/ *migrate, pass through, wander (away), secede, be exiled, die*; Te /fls/ *emigrate, be expelled.*

The Arab entry is on the authority of K-B. NB. the phonological varr. of the sibilant; the Ug Aram meaning is rather specialized, but separating them from the rest would not remove the variation.

PNG: ?Akk /pannig/, /pennig/ *kind of cake.*

A wandering word (of Hittite origin?).

PND: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat.

PNDQY: Aram = Hbr; Syr /puttqåy/ =; Arab /funduq/ *inn, caravan-serai.*

LW from Gr.

PNV: Phoen /pn/, φανε, φενη, φανη *face, front side*; Ug /pnm/ *face; inside(?)*; Aram /pnV/ *turn, go away; (+D ps, tD) defecate*; Syr /pnV/

turn, return; be converted; see again; Amor /pny/ *turn towards, face*; Akk /panū/, (OAss) /panā'/, (late Bab) /penū/ *turn to; precede*; /pān/ *front side*; (pl.) *face*; Arab /fny/ *be transitory, perishable; pass, fade away*; ESA /fnw/ *F send*; Mhr /fōnəh/ *earlier, before*; Soq /fini/ *go (towards); Qt be content*; /fane/ *way, road*; (+/fene/) *face, surface*; G&z /fnw/ *stretch, send, dismiss*; /fnot/ *way, road, course, orbit, side, mode*; Te /fnV/ *depart, vanish, perish*; Har /-fōñ/ *to(wards)*; Wol /fone/ *go towards*; Bed /fir/ *face*; Som /fōl/ =; ?Chad: Kot(oko) /f(e)ne/ *breast* (Müller); Eg /yfn/ *turn around* (Vycichl).

Also reported in Cush: Agau /feni/ *face* (Müller); Or /fulā/ = (Cohen no. 380); Quara /fanā/, /fanōt/ *way, road*. The latter, however, are likely to derive from Sem. Eg /pn&/ is hardly comparable, as the final pharyngal has no parallel elsewhere. Wol /n/ could be prepalatalized (Leslau).

PNQ: Aram /pnq/ *D ps be pampered; tD pamper o.s., be self-indulgent*; Syr /pnq/ *D pamper, spoil*; Arab /fnq/ *D, L = ; habituate to luxury; A, tD live in luxury*; ?Soq /fenoq/ *wait, hope (for)*.

Expectation is often mental anticipation of better future.

PNQS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /penqīdt/, /-ītt/ = πινακιδιον.

LW from Gr.

PS: Phoen /ps/ *tablet*; Ug (pl.?) /psm/ *qualification for a garment*; Aram /pisst/ *hand, foot; piece (of bread)*; Syr /passt/ *palm (of hand), sole (of foot); folio (of a book) (?)*.

PS(S): Aram /ps(s)/ *R dissolve, pluck apart*; Akk /pasās/ *annul; Dt, N disintegrate, fall apart*.

PSG: Aram /psg/ *divide, finish; break through*; /pisg/ *piece*; Syr /pasg/ *deformed stone*; ?Akk (NAss) /passuk/ *remove*.

The limited occurrence of the Akk entry suggests borrowing, but there is no evident source.

PSD: Aram /psd/ *damage, ruin, destroy*; Arab /fsd/ *be disordered, corrupt, vicious*.

PSX: Aram /pisx/ *passover (lamb, festival)*; Syr /psk/, /pecx/ =; Akk /passu'/, /pe-/ *limping*; Arab /fsχ/ *disjoin, dislocate (hand etc.); be weak (bodily & mentally)*; /fasχ/ *disjunction*; /fasīχ/ *unable to manage his business*; ?/fsx/ *make long strides*; Tu /făskăt/ *be sacrificed; sacrifice*; /tăfaske/ *(sacrificial) victim*; /afəsku/ *early spring*.

In Cush: Saho /fasīkī/ *passover (festival)*; but this is evidently loan from Sem. De Foucauld compares his Tu entry to Lat *pascha* (itself from Hbr-Aram through Gr); it is not clear whether this is meant to suggest borrowing, but if so, I find it extremely unlikely because of the wide differences in meaning. If there has been borrowing, one way or other, it must have taken place in prehistoric times; on the other hand, the semantic background being essentially the same, either that or original cognation seem the only plausible alternatives, the former perhaps more probable because of the Tu

/k/. The last Arab entry may rather derive from the meaning, *be wide* which seems to be more fundamental.

PSL: Phoen (pl.f.) /pslt/ *hewn (stones)*; Ug /psl/ *carver, sculptor*; Aram /psl/ *(+D) hew (out); (+A) declare/make unfit*; Syr /psl/ *hew (out)*; Arab /fsl/+*Q ps be inferior, ignoble, vile*; /fasl/ *base, ignoble.*

The latter Aram meaning is borrowed from Hbr.

PSPS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /psyp(')ws/ =; Arab (syr.) /fusayfisā'/, /-sat/ *mosaic-work.*

LW from Gr.

PSQ: Aram /psq/ *split, cut off, terminate, cease; determine, establish*; Syr =; ?Akk /pasāq/ *cut?*; ?Arab /fsq/ *be(come) ungodly, wicked, profligate, pervert.*

The Arab entry, if related, has developed one-sidedly.

PSQ7R: Aram = Hbr; Syr (pl.) /pswq7yr's/ *cooling vessels.*

LW from Gr.

P&V: Aram /p&V/ *bleat, low, cry*; Syr /p&V/ *bleat*; Arab /f&y/ *foam with rage; tD be wicked like viper*; /'af&a^{y}/ *viper*; G&z (coll.) /'äf&ot/ =; Te =; Har /xiffiñ/ =; Wol /umfäňňe/ =.

The Har Wol entries seem phonologically remote, but secondary nasals are not uncommon in South Eth; for the Hbr Aram verb, the Arab one provides the semantic clue: the basic meaning is emotionally triggered reaction, and a viper is apt to trigger such reaction. Eg /xfʿw/, /-'t/ is hazardous phonologically.

P&L: Phoen /p&l/ *do, make*; (Pu) (af) *fel*; (nact) *(li)ful =; felioth: work, product*; /myp&l/ *work, employment*; Ug /b&l/ *do, work, make*; Aram /p&l/ *work*; /po^{w}&(a)l/ = (n.), *yield, property; worker*; Syr /p&l/, (n.) /p&ål/ *work*; ?Akk /ʃupēl/, /-ell/, (OAss) /-a"ul/ *exchange, transform, turn into opposite, annul*; Arab /f&l/ *do, act, perform*; ESA /f&l/ *make, prepare; worker*; ?G&z /mäb&(ä)l/, /ma&bäl/ *(iron) instrument, tool*; Te /f&l/ *weave (mat etc.); make mischief*; Wol /bəl/ *work, action*; /bəlätäňňe/ *worker.*

The Akk entry is evidently causative, meaning mostly causation of a process or course of action which is combinable with the meanings in other languages. On the other hand, the G&z entry (or entries) may be in the *Kulturwort* category and so their originality is not assured; but the first form is supported by the Wol entries (cf. Ug too) and vice versa, as the Cush root tentatively compared by Leslau is not close semantically. The root form with voiceless labial appears to have developed one-sidedly in Eth (where preserved), cf. Te.

P&M: Phoen /p&m/ *foot; time, occurrence*; Ug /p&n/ *foot*; /p'amt/ (pl.) *times, occurrences*; Akk /pēm/, /pēn/ *thigh*; Mhr /fɛ̄m/ *foot, leg.*

The original 3rd rad. seems to be /m/ everywhere, being the earlier attested one in Akk and now found in Mhr too; /-n/ may be result of partial dissimilation after the initial labial, where attested; and as "time, occurrence" is a natural extension of the meaning, "step", cf. a similar case under /rgl/ below, the /'/ too may be secondary in Ug. Ebl /pá-a-tù/ *foot* shows total assimilation.

P&NX: -

Based on the second part of Joseph's Eg name (Section A no. 1406).

P&R: Ug /p&r/ *give, proclaim (a name)*; Aram /p&r/+*D defecate*; Syr /p&r/+*D, tD open mouth, gape, yawn*; Arab /fγr/+*A open (the mouth)*; /fuγrat/ *mouth (of a river)*; /mafγarat/ *hollow in a mountain; broad plain*; Soq /fa&er/ *plain, field.*

The Soq meaning has developed further from one branch represented in Arab too. Eg /pχ'/ is closer to /plx/ above.

PC(C): Aram /p&&/+*R smash, break asunder*; Syr /p&/ *cut down, pound, smack, whip, wound, slaughter, kill*; Arab /fΛ/ *break (a seal, teeth etc.)*; /fiΛΛat/ *silver*; Mhr /fcc/ *press, squeeze (a boil etc.) open*; /feΛΛāt/ *silver*; Soq /foΛΛa/ =; Te /f¢/ *R, RL crush, smash*; Har /fä¢a/ *grind (flour)*; Ch /fä¢ä/, Sdd /-¢¢ä/, Wol /-¢e/ =.

I do not see evidence for a final /-y/ in the Eth root. The root is cognate with /npc/ above, cf. also /pwc/, /pcx/, /pc&/. The word for silver has become a *Kulturwort*; for Mhr it is quoted from Leslau, Soq p. 339 (Johnstone does not have it).

PC(V): Phoen (NPu) /pc'/ *make an offering, discharge (a vow)*; Aram /pcV/ *(stay) open; (+D) rescue, free*; Syr /pcy/ *D rescue, liberate*; Arab /fcy/+*L separate (from); D free (from)*; /fac(iy)yat/ *release, deliverance*; /fΛw/ *be wide, empty; A go forth; communicate (a secret)*; G&z /fcy/ *tL whistle*; Te /fcV/+*L* =; Har /afē¢a/ =; Sdd /af^{w}a¢¢ä/ =.

The primary meaning appears to be opening one's mouth, although this has been generalized in Aram Arab and particularized in Phoen (on which cf. the expression, /mib7å' $påtayim/ Nm 30:7 etc.) and Eth where the semi-onomatopoeic sound of the root may have assisted in the establishment of the meaning; if the root /cp(p)/ is connected, it must be secondary because of more limited distribution and better onomatopoeic resemblance. The Cush root tentatively compared by Leslau is onomatopoeically weak and no transitional form exists between the forms above and Ch /fəq^{w}änä/ evidently related to it. Phonological split in Arab.

PCX: Aram /pcx/ *be bright, sparkle; D brighten*; /pacx/ *open, unwalled place; village*; Syr /pcx/ *be glad, rejoice*; /pcīx/ *glad, sparkling, serene*; Akk /pecū/, /pacū/, (Ass) /paci/ *white, shiny*; Arab /fcx/+*A (dawn) appear; (+tD, tL) be eloquent; A be clear, evident*; /fΛx/ *disclose (misdeeds); L revile*; /faΛax/ *dawn*; Mhr /fcx/ *speak clearly*; ?G&z /fcx/ *break off/down, smash.*

The primary reference seems to have been to the dawn, cf. the fact that it occurs in both Arab root varr.; from it, the two seemingly distinct meanings of brightness and being parted (split, then also breaking off) are derivable. The latter is also comparable with /pc(c)/ and /pc&/.

PCL: Aram /pcl/ *split*; Syr =; *open (one's way), pass through; spread (one's wings)*; Arab /fcl/ *set apart, distinguish; set a limit (between)*; Te /fcl/, /fn¢l/ *separate.*

Cf. the root /bcl/ above.

PC&: Ug /p¢γ/ *bruise, wound (?skin etc.)*; Aram /pc&/ *split, break asunder*; Akk /pa'āc/, /pāc/, /pēc/ *break open, asunder; crush*; Arab /fc&/ *squeeze (dates), pull out; Qt exact (one's due)*; /fxΛ/ *split, cut (melons) open.*

NB. Ug vs. Arab; transposition in Akk (Arab); Cpt /påǧ¢/ deviates both phonologically and semantically. Cf. the roots /pc(c)/ and /pcx/ above.

PCR: Arab /frΛ/ + *A*, *Qt prescribe, give laws.*

Cf. the root /prc/ below.

PQ(Q): Aram /pqq/ *stop up*; Syr /pē(')q/ *mute, stammerer, babbling*; /pqq/ *D stammer, babble*; Akk /piāq/, /pāq/ *be narrow (mouth, eye etc.).*

Basically biradical, in Akk developed into a hollow root, cf. also the first Syr entry.

PQD: Phoen /pqd/ *commission, appoint*; /mpqd/ *overseer, administration; tower*; Ug /pqd/ *give orders*; Aram /pqd/ *preserve; D order, command; commission, appoint*; Syr /pqd/ *inquire, desire, inspect, muster, visit, take care, punish, order, command, appoint; consider worthy*; Amor /pqd/ *order*; Akk /paqād/ *give in trust, charge; trust, charge (with), commission, appoint; inspect, muster*; Arab /fqd/ *lose, miss, want; Qt seek*; (syr.) *St* =, *visit*; ESA /fqd/ *lose, be missing; loss*; Mhr /fqd/ *miss; Qt look whether s.th. is missing*; Soq /foqad/ *fail to find*; G&z /fqd/ *inspect, muster, seek, want, desire, need*; Te /fqd/ *remember; present (with)*; Har /fqd/ *tL take care (of), nurse*; Ch /fäqädä/, Sdd /-qq-/, Wol /-'-/ *permit, allow.*

?Ebl /pu-KU-tum/ *be consigned.*

PQX: Aram /pqx/ *open (eyes), enable to see; D expose; make intelligent, open-minded*; Syr /pqx/ + *D blossom*; ?Amor /pqx/? *open*; Arab /fqx/ *(whelp) open its eyes, begin to see; (tree) blossom*; ESA /fqx/ *open, release*; Har /fkx/ *be bright, bloom, blossom*; /fäkax/ *bright(ness); blossom*; ?Som /fäkax/ *open (eyes).*

On the Amor entry cf. /pg&/ above. The Som entry is quoted from Leslau, Har p. 62; as Reinisch does not have it, it may be a locally limited borrowing. Gur /fäqa/ seems semantically deviant. Cf. /pq&/ and /ptx/ below.

PQL: Aram /puql/ *seed-pod of flax*; ?/pugl/ *radish*; ?Akk /pugl/ *radish*; ?Arab /puǧ(u)l/ =.

A radish is easy to peel; it may also belong to the *Kulturwort* category.

PQS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /pwqsys/ *red dye.*

LW from Gr.

PQ&: Aram /pq&/ *split, burst open*; Syr =; *dissect, -solve*; Arab /fq&/ *(misfortune) crush; D burst (into words); (flower) burst open*; /fq'/ +*D slit (a pimple); put out (an eye); D burst (a pomegranate) open; hull (a nut); tD, N (cloud, pustule) burst*; Soq /faqax/ *split*; /faqx/ *half*; G&z /fq&/, /fq'/ *split, break asunder; mug, wound*; Te /fq&/ *split, hit on the head*; Ch /fäqa/, Wol /fäqä/ *split (wood).*

Cf. also the root /pqx/ above.

PQR: Aram /pqr/ *be licentious; (+A) declare free, trespass, prostitute*; Syr /pqr/ *rave, be insane*; Arab /fqr/ *be poor, destitute*; ESA /fqr/ *make presents? ask for favour?*; Mhr /fqr/ *be poor*; ?Soq /fiꝗeher/ *field, plain*; G&z /fqr/ *A love, hold dear, be pleased (to), prefer, desire, lust (for)*; Sdd /afäqqärä/, (n.) /fəqər/ *love.*

Love and sexuality are so intimately related that there is nothing strange about one and the same root providing terms for both. Ownerless property is free, former owner of such property poor.

PR(R): Ug /pr/ *break (an agreement); (young) bull*; /prt/ *(young) cow*; Aram /prr/ *A annul, invalidate*; Syr /pr/ *go away, flee*; /pa(')rr/, (f.) /parrt/ *lamb*; Akk /parār/ *disintegrate, be confused, lose energy*; (late Bab) /parr/ *lamb, young sheep*; Arab /fr/ *examine (horse's) teeth; tD laugh; Qt smile (showing teeth); R cut, break, mangle; champ (the bit)*; /furār/, /farīr/, /farūr/ *lamb(kin), kid, wild calf*; /furfur/, /-ūr/ *lamb, kid*; Mhr /fōr/ (pl. /fəhārīn/) *young bull*; Soq /fa&har/ =; G&z /frfar/ *bread-crumb, piece of bread*; Te /fr/ *R gnaw apart; (wood) be reduced to powder*; Har /firäfära/ *crumble*; Sdd /fəräffärä/ *crumble (bread)*; +Wol /fəfar/ *bread-crumbs*; ?Ch Wol /fəräfärä/, Sdd /-ff-/ *be worm-eaten.*

The primary meaning appears to be to split or set apart, a meaning which agrees well with the cloven hooves of the animals involved; in Eth, the divisions have proliferated in agreement with the reduplicating stem.

PR(R) II: Arab /fwr/ *(cooking-pot) boil fiercely.*

PR': Akk /parū/ *onager; mule*; ?(syn.l.) /pa]-ra-χu/ *(wild?) ass*; Arab /fara'/, /-ā'/ *wild ass*;

The second Akk entry, if correctly supplemented is loan from WSem.

PRD: Aram /prd/ *part, separate, divide; D, A disperse, drive to flight*; Syr /prd/ *flee*; Akk /parād/ *frighten*; (late Bab) *separate o.s.*; Arab /frd/ *secede; be single, alone*; /fard/ *single; odd (number)*; /frz/ *separate, set apart, divide*; Mhr /frd/ *panic, run away*; Soq /ferod/ *flee*; (pl.) /firhedeten/ *vagabond*; G&z /frd/ *tL separate from a.o.*; Te /frd/ *judge; tD be condemned; tL part company (as enemies)*; /farday/ *judge* (n.); Har /frd/ = (vb.); /fərdi/ *judgment*; Ch /fän(ä)dä/, Sdd /färrädä/, Wol /-r-/ *judge*; Gur /fərd/ *judgment.*

The basic meaning is separation; fleeing is an efficient means of separating oneself; judging is a way of separating quarrelling parties.

PRDS: Aram /pardeʸs/ *garden, orchard*; Syr /pardays/ =, *paradise*; Akk (late Bab) /pardēs/ *(walled) garden*; Arab /firdaws/ (pl. /farādīs/) *garden, fruitful valley, paradise.*

A *Kulturwort* of Old Persian origin.

PRV: Phoen /pr/, (NPu) /pry/ *fruit*; Ug /pr/ =; Aram /prV/ *sprout*; Syr /prV/ *be fertile*; ESA /fry/ *cultivate*; G&z /fry/ *be fertile*; *blossom, bear fruit*; /fre/ *blossom, fruit, produce, offspring*; Te /frV/ *produce, bear fruit, multiply*; /fre/ *blossom, fruit; product* (math.); Har /fəri/, /firi/ *(seed of) fruit*; Ch /afʷänä/, Sdd /afärra/, Wol /afere/ *bear fruit*; Ch /fəre/, Sdd /frəyä/, /fre/, Wol /fre/ *fruit*; Wol /fre/ *seed*; /fəre/ *testicles*; Bed /firi/ *sprout, grow, bud; bear fruit, offspring; offspring, parent*; /fār/ *bud*; Bil /frī/ *bear fruit, multiply*; /fir/, (n.unit.) /ferā/ *fruit*; Tu /afăra/ *sheltered place of permanent vegetation*; Eg /pry/ *ascend, emerge, sprout, be born/begotten*; /prt/ *seed, offspring, fruit, grain*; Cpt /peire/ *emerge.*

Additional Cush attestations: Saho /faray/ *bear fruit*; /firē/ *fruit*; Quara /ferā/ =; Konso /feraa/ *harvest*; and cf. Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 125; Cohen no. 367. Although the word for fruit may belong to the *Kulturwort* category, the root seems to be original in most branches of the phylum.

PRWR: Aram /parwår/ *forecourt, suburb, district.*

LW from Old Persian.

PRZ: Arab /frz/ *separate, set apart*; /farz/ *plain between two hills.*

Root var. of /prd/ above.

PRX: Aram /prx/ *blossom up; (boil etc.) burst open*; Syr /prx/ *fly; (ulcer) burst up, spread; (Gospel) be disseminated*; /pr&/ *sprout* (Barth); Akk /per'/, /perχ/, (OAkk, OAss) /par'/ *sprout, offspring*; /parāχ/ *ferment*; Arab /frχ/ *D swarm; (plant) sprout; (+A) (egg) hatch, (hen) have chicks*; /farχ/ *chick, offshoot; base man*; /frx/ *be glad, rejoice*; Mhr /frγ/ *hatch; L grow up, (flower) open up; Qt bloom; Lt (gun) fire by itself*; G&z /'äfrχät/, /'äfχärt/ *bird's young* (pl.); Te /frx/ *rejoice*; Ch /ãfraχʷä/ *pregnant (cattle)*; ?Bed?Tu?Hsa (cf. /prV/ above); Berb: Rif /afruγ/, /-uχ/, (f.) /θafruχθ/ *infant*; Sus /afrůχ/ *young boy*; Shilxa /afruχ/ *boy*; Hsa /furē/ *flower (of tobacco; etc.)*; Eg /prχ/ *spread out, blossom up*; Cpt /pårʃ/ *spread out.*

The Gur entries are so close to this root both phonologically and semantically that borrowing from Cush hardly seems plausible; there might have been some influence, particularly semantically; but the root could have been original in Cush too, but fallen together with /prV/ (cf. Bed). Phonological split in Arab, cf. Te; voicing of the final rad. in Mhr (Rif). The Eg entry could be loan from Can (Baer).

PR7: ?Phoen /pr7/ *caretaker(?)*; Aram /pr7/ *break through, separate; enumerate*; /prå7/ *special, particular, detail*; Syr /pr7/ *disjoin, disperse, dissipate; open up, gape*; Akk /parā7/ *tear off/apart; remove*;

Arab /fr7/ *precede; (+D, L, A, tD, tL) act hastily, apart (from others); N be dissolved*; Sdd /färrä7ä/, Wol /-r-/ *be little, small*; Wol /fur7/ *some, little, few.*

Appears to be cognate with /prc/ below; cf. /prd/ too.

PRK: ?Phoen (pl.) /prkm/ *guardians of curtain (?)*; Aram /prk/ *break up, crush; desiccate; refute*; Syr /prk/ *rub, grind, pound*; Akk /parāk/, (NAss) /-āχ/ *settle, position o.s. aslant, intervene, cause difficulties, bar*; Arab /frk/ *pick out, husk (grain); rub; (spouses) hate o.a.*

PRKL: Aram = Hbr; ?Syr /purkål/ *band, chain*; /prkl/ *tie, imprison; complicate.*

LW from Lat (via Gr).

PRM: Aram /prm/ *split, cut to pieces*; Syr =; *D dissect, lacerate*; Arab /frm/ *mince, chop (tobacco, meat); D, L, Qt, St (menstruating woman) stuff up (her vagina).*

PRNS: Aram /prns/ *maintain, support*; /parnås/ *manager*; /-st/, /-suʷt/ *maintenance, support*; Syr /prns/ *distribute, provide, take care; set in order; administrate*; Arab /farnasat/ *good management (of household)*; /firnās/ *chief (of the village); brave; lion.*

Based on a LW from Gr.

PRS: Ug /prs/, /pr$/ *a measure of mass* (=$\frac{1}{2}$?); Aram /prs/ *divide, split; estimate*; Syr /prs/ *divide*; /parst/ *cloven hoof; foot, sole*; Amor /prs/ *divide, break off*; Akk /parās/ =; *decide*; Arab /frs/ *break (the neck), sever (the spinal cord)*; G&z /frs/ *A ruin, destroy*; Te =; Wol =; Tu /əfrəs/ *break, cut off*; ?Eg /pns/ *cut off (bull's head)*; ?Cpt /φors/ *cut (throat etc.); break (ground).*

Semantic generalization in Eth; for the Eg-Cpt entries to be relevant, dialectal differentiation must be assumed (cf. Vycichl, Cpt p. 164). NB. the sibilant var. in Ug. Ebl /parīsu/ *half measure (of volume).*

PRSQ: Aram = Hbr; Syr /prsyq/ *peach*; Arab /firsiq/, /-ik/ =.

LW from Gr.

PR&: Ug /pr&/ *first; chief (?)*; Aram /pr&/ *lay bare; Q ps let hair grow*; Syr /pr&/ *lay bare (head); dissolve (hair)*; Arab /fr&/ *ascend (a mountain); +D descend (a valley); have abundant hair*; /far&/ *summit, chief; sprout; (woman's) hair*; ESA /fr&/ *D, F elevate, bring uppermost; crop, first-fruits; lightning; great importance*; /tfr&/ *(roof-) top*; Mhr /fr&/ *win (a game); ascend; Qt, Lt separate, hold apart (combattants)*; /far'/, /fɛrə'/, /-&/ *brave*; Soq /firfor/ *summit.*

The primary meaning appears to be growth, then abundance, height etc.

PR& II: Aram /pr&/ *pay; tQ be rewarded/punished, obtain retribution*; Syr /pr&/ *obtain/pay retribution*; ESA /fr&/ *(pay) tribute.*

PRC: ?Phoen (NPu) (pl.) /prcm/ *a coin*; Ug /prc/ *open*; Aram /prc/, /pr7/ *break through*; Syr /parc/ *sportive, lascivious*; Akk /parāc/ *break through*; Arab /frc/ *cut, slit, pierce*; /frΛ/ *cut, incise, excavate*; /furΛat/ *opening, gap, breach (in a wall, river bank etc.)*; Te /frc/ *(animal) kick out*; Har /fr7/ *(wound) burst*; Ch /fän7ä/, Sdd /färrä7ä/, Wol /-r-/ *(eye etc.) burst (open); be blind*; Eg /prθ/, (Dem.) /prğ/ *separate*; Cpt /pårğ/ *divide, separate.*

Meanings specialized (differently) in Eth, somewhat generalized in Eg-Cpt. NB. the sibilant variation, and cf. the root /pr7/ above.

PRQ: Ug /prq/ *break (open)*; Aram /prq/ *detach (o.s.), redeem, rescue; D take/tear off; separate, counter, redeem*; Syr /prq/ *remove, rescue, free, redeem; depart*; Akk (late Bab) /pirq/, /piʃq/ *redemption*; Arab /frq/ *(+D) separate, set apart, divide*; ESA /frq/ *tear off, save, deliver; tD leave, escape(?)*; Mhr /frq/ *distribute (guests); Qt be separated, dispersed*; Soq /faraq/ *decide*; G&z /färaqi/ *redeemer, saviour*; Te /frq/ *perforate; difference, quarrel* (n.); /färqa/ *free will*; Ch /fəräqa/, Wol /fr-/ *split, tear off, separate, extract, remove*; ?Chad: Log(one) /peraka-ze/ *disperse o.s.* (Müller after Lukas).

The Akk entry is loan from Aram (vS).

PRQD: Aram /prqd/ *tQ bend backwards, fall on one's back*; Syr /prqd/ *fall on one's back.*

PRQL7: Aram = Hbr: Syr /paraqlē7/ *paraclete.*

LW from Gr.

PRʃ: Aram /prʃ/ *separate o.s., withdraw; pronounce clearly*; Syr =; *separate, divide, remove, decree, recognize*; Akk /parās/ *separate, decide*; Arab /frθ/ *scatter* (Guillaume); /frs/ *perceive intuitively; be skilled (in horsemanship etc.); tD stare (at), perceive, discover*; /firāsat/ *insight, diagnostics*; /faras/ *horse*; ESA /frs/ =; (pl.) /'frs/ =; *cavalry, horsemen*; Mhr /fərhayn/ *horse, mare*; G&z /färäs/ =; Te /färäs/ *horse, horseman*; /fars/ *knight; bold, brave*; Har /färäz/ *horse*; Gur =; Sdd /färäs/ =; Wol /faras/ =; Bil /färdā/ (pl. /färiğ/) =; Chad: Ron /puri/, /-iʃ/, /piriʃ/, /buri/, /mbiri/ (etc.) =.

Further attestations in Cush: Saho Afar /faras/, Sid /faraʃo/ *horse*, and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 244. The word for horse has become a *Kulturwort*; its occurrence in Hbr is not provable, and as the number of passages in which it is possible is rather small and consists of stereotyped formulas, complete non-attestation is assumed here. That the word for horseman is conceived as deriving from this root can also be plausibly assumed, cf. K-B^1; a horseman can also be conceived as skilled, cf. Arab. On the relationship between separation, distinction, understanding and hence, skill cf., e.g., the root /byn/ above. Cf. also /prs/ above.

PRʃ II: Aram /part/ *excrement, dung*; Syr /pert/ =, *mud, mire*; Akk /parʃ/ *contents of stomach, bowels*; Arab /farθ/ *contents of a ruminant's stomach*; Mhr /farθ/ *undigested food in a killed animal's stomach*; Soq /fort/ *excrement.*

PRʃ III: -

Etymology obscure.

PRʃ/S: Aram /pr$/ + *D spread out*; /prs/ = ; *live in tents*; Syr /prs/ *spread (out), stretch (o.s.)*; Akk /napruʃ/ *fly, flee*; ?/rapāʃ/ *be/grow broad, wide; expand o.s.*; Arab /fr$/ *(+ D, A, Qt) spread (carpet etc.)*; /far$/ *carpet, mattress*; ESA /frʃt/ *field*; Mhr /fr$/ *spread (o.s.)*; ?/frź/ *separate one's animals from the common herd*; Te /frʃ/ *L spread; cover with carpets*; /fraʃ/ *carpet, mat.*

To fly is to expand one's wings; the existence of this N-stem in Akk makes the assumed transposition for the primary stem somewhat doubtful; but as the articulation basis of /n/ (apart from the nasalization) is essentially the same as that of /r/, the retention of the original order in the N-stem may be dissimilatory, and the fact that /rapāʃ/ does not have other N-stem supports this. Separation of one's animals from the common herd is a kind of expansion too, but semantically, /prs/ might be closer. ESA /mfr$t/ seems to have the very opposite semantic background to this root; and whatever the exact meaning of Ug /(d)prʃʿa/, the context does not favour its derivation from this root. Ebl /pár-su-um/ *flying (scorpion).*

PRʃZ: -

Expansion of the preceding root.

Pʃ/SV: Aram /pisyoʷn/ *spreading, extension (of a spot in skin etc.)*; ?/psV/ *step (?flatten?)*; Syr ?/prsy/ *denude, expose*; Arab /f$w/ *(news, fame) spread; (secret) be disclosed*; ESA /fʃʿ/ *spreading, contagious(?)*; Soq /fiʃi/ *be abundant, extensive*; Te /fs/ *swell, spread*; /fʃ/ *discharge (copiously)*; Wol /afäsäsä/ *spill (out), leak*; + Ch Sdd /fäsäs/ *heavy rain, flood, torrent*; Sdd /fäsaʃ/ *liquid*; Bil /fäd/ *sow*; Tu /əfsi/ *disperse*; Eg /pʃʃ/ *spread out.*

Semantic shift in Eth. The ESA /ʿ/ may be a secondary glide. NB. the variation in the sibilant. The first Aram entry is loan from Hbr. For more Cush entries see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 116.

Pʃ7: Aram /pʃ7/ *extend, stretch (out); stretch o.s. out; straighten; explain; recite simply*; Syr = ; *be/go straight (ahead)*; Akk /paʃā7/ *wipe off, delete*; Arab /bs7/ *spread, stretch; draw (sword); be simple, frank; D unfold, spread (carpet, clothes); N stretch, entertain o.s., brighten up; Qt stretch (one's arms) along.*

Semantic shift in Akk; NB. the voiced labial in Arab.

PʃL: Syr /pʃl/ *turn round (& round)*; ?Arab /fasl/ *vine-cuttings*; /fasīlat/ *offset (of a palm-tree).*

Pʃ&: Ug /pʃ&/ *going astray, transgression, sin; rebellion*; Aram /pʃ&/ *transgress, apostatize*; Syr /pʃ&/ + *tD be torpid, numb (with fear); act foolishly*; Arab /f$x/ *stray*, (syr.) *apostatize*; /f$χ/ *treat wrongfully, cheat*; /f$γ/ *assail (with whip); A be worthless, good-for-nothing; tD be slothful; wear a coarse raiment; hide o.s. among the tents*; /fsq/ *transgress, stray from justice* (Guillaume).

Appears to be cognate with /p$&/ of MT. NB. the Arab varr.

PʃR: Aram /pʃr/ *melt, dissolve, ruminate; dispel (a charm, enchantment); interpret, explain*; /ptr/ *interpret, explain*; Syr /pʃr/ *smelt, liquefy, dissolve, resolve, solve, interpret; melt, (winter) end*; Akk /paʃār/ *break, up, dissolve, solve, dispel, interpret, explain*; Arab /fsr/ *examine, disclose; (+D) explain*; Mhr /fsr/ *L explain.*

Cf. the root /ptr/ below.

PʃT: Phoen /pʃt/, (ζερα)φοιστ *flax*; Ug /pθt/ =, *linen.*

PT(T): Aram /pitt/ *(piece, loaf of) bread*; Syr /pt/ *break (bread)*; /pett/ *piece (of bread)*; Arab /ft/ *crush, crumble*; /fatt/ *crumbling, fissure*; (+/futt/, /fitt/) *dispersed (family, tribe)*; /futāt/, /fatītat/ *(bread-) crumbs, (wood-)chips*; Mhr /ftt/ *crumble*; Soq /enfetit/ *shatter, smash into pieces*; G&z /ftt/ *break (asunder; bread etc.); assign (portion); donate*; Te /frtt/ *crumble*; Ch /fətäfätä/ *crumble (bread).*

Structural modifications in Eth.

PTG(L): -

A *Kulturwort(?)* of unknown origin. The final /-l/ could be a nominal afformative.

PTGM: Aram = Hbr: Syr /petgåm/ *word, sentence, verse, thing.*

LW from Old Persian.

PTV: ?Phoen (Pu) /pt'/ *youth?*; Ug /pt(V)/ *test? copulate (with)?*; Aram /ptV/ *be wide; D seduce*; Syr /ptV/ *extend, be propagated*; /paty/ *wide, loud*; Arab /fty/ *be youthful, brave, generous*; /fata^{n}/ *youth, young slave; youthful, brave, generous*; G&z /ftw/ *wish, desire, lust (for)*; Te /ftV/ *love, wish; be lucky*; Wol /fätti/ *wide*; /fetätä/ *be wide, broad.*

The Arab-Eth root /ftn/ *test, seduce (etc.)* may be an extension of this one.

PTX: Phoen /ptx/ *open*; Ug =; Aram /ptx/ =; *start, introduce (topic); find a way out*; Syr /ptx/ *open; cause to see; conquer (a city); pronounce with /a/*; Amor /ptx/ *open*; Akk /petū/, /patū/, (OAkk, OAss) /patā'/ =; Arab /ftx/ =, *begin, conquer, reveal*; /miftax/, /-āx/ *key*; ESA /ftx/ *open, conquer; decide, judge; decision, decree*; Mhr /ftx/ + *L open*; G&z /ftx/ =, *loosen, untie; judge, decide*; Te /ftx/ *open, loosen, untie*; /mäftx/, /-xi/ *key*; Har /ftx/ *untie, untwist, unload, set free, divorce*; /mäftāx/, /-čāx/ *key*; Ch /fäta/, Sdd /-tta/, Wol /-tä/

untie, untwist, loosen; comb; Bed /fetah/ *open*; Bil /fätah/ = ; *explain, decide*; ?Chad: Sokoro /fitifiti/ *open (door)*; ?*/pt/ *go out.*

For the Chad entries, meanings are plausible, but total loss of the final /-x/ must be assumed; in the second, copiously attested entry, there is no likelihood even of a vowel after /-t/; and as the first entry could be based on that root, attestation of our root in Chad must be deemed unlikely. The Bed Bil entries are likewise without further support in Cush and are so close to their Sem counterparts both semantically and phonologically that they are probably loans from Sem.

PTX II: Phoen /ptx/ *engraving; inscription(?)*; Aram /pittu^{w}x/ *engraving*; Akk /patāχ/ *pierce, perforate*; Arab /fat(a)χat/ *stoneless ring*; ESA /ftχ/ *engrave*; Eg (Hell.; Dem.) /ptx/ *carve, fashion*; Cpt /påth/ = ; *engrave.*

Despite late attestation, Baer accepts the Eg-Cpt entry as probably genuine. Some *Kulturwort* development, however, may be involved. Akk /patāq/ *build, fashion* is hardly closer than the above entry. ?Ebl /ba-du-u_4/, /-u_9/ *decorated.*

PTK: Aram /ptk/ *mix together, join*; Syr = ; *enclose (a gem)*; Arab /ftk/ *act rashly.*

PTL: Aram /ptl/ *D twist, pervert, distort*; Syr /ptl/ = ; Akk /patāl/, /petēl/ *twist, wind (around); (+D) wrap*; Arab /ftl/ *twist (rope etc.)*; /fatīl/ *twisted (thread); rope (of palm fibres); wick*; ESA /ftl/ *cement, mortar (?)*; Mhr /fətaylət/ *wick*; G&z /ftl/ *twist (together) (thread, rope)*; Te /ftl/ *twist; plot*; Har /ftl/ *A spin*; Sdd /fättälä/, Wol /-t-/ = ; *plait (hair)*; Tu /tefətilt/ *wick*; /taftəlt/ *kind of lamp*; ?/əftəl/ *confuse, annoy, bore*; ?Eg /pꜣr/ *thread (?).*

Semantic shift in ESA (if correctly interpreted) and Te Tu. The Eg entry may be loan from Sem, and so the Tu nouns.

PTM: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr; NB. the final nasal.

PTN: -

Etymology obscure.

PTN II: Ug /bθn/ *serpent, dragon*; Aram /pitn/ *otter, viper*; Syr /patn/ = ; Akk /baʃm/ *(mythical) venomous serpent*; Arab /baθan/ *Coluber Baetaen Forsk.*

A wandering word of unknown origin.

PTQ: Aram = Hbr; Syr /petq/, /pe7q/, *tablet, cube*; Arab /bi7āqat/ *letter, billet, card, label.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin (hardly original in Gr or Lat either).

PTR: ?Phoen /ptr/, (NPu) /pytr(&)/ *interpreter?*; Aram /ptr/ *interpret, explain*; /pitr(o^{w}n)/ *interpretation, explanation.*

A root var. of /pʃr/ (q.v.).

PTʃGN: Aram /patʃagn/, /parʃagn/, /-ʃgan/ *copy*; Syr /parʃagn/ =.
LW from Old Persian.

צ

CB: Aram /cibb/ *covered wagon*; Akk /cumb/, (lx) /cubb/ *wagon wheel; kind of (Elamite) wagon*; Eg /ǧbw/ *part of wagon.*

A *Kulturwort* of Akk(?) origin.

CB II: Aram /cabb/ *kind of lizard*; Syr /&abb/ =; Arab /Λabb/ =; /Λb/ *cleave to the ground.*

A wandering word, as it seems, of Arab origin.

CB’: Phoen /cb’/ *force(s), workers(?)*; Ug /cb’/ *army, soldiers; ?(sun)set*; Akk /cabā’/, /-bū/ *go to war*; /cāb/, (Mari) /cabū/, (late Bab) /cabb/ *man, people, soldier(s), workers*; Arab /c’m/ *lead (troops)*; /cb’/ =; *(+A) (star) rise*; /Λb’/ *gather* (?Kopf); *(hunter) crouch*; ESA /cb’/ *wage war*; /Λb’/ =; *war, battle; warrior(s)*; (pl.?) /Λby’/ *incursion(?)*; /sb’/ *go on a journey (esp. military campaign)*; /sb’t/ *(military) undertaking, campaign*; /msb’/, /tsb’t/ *expeditionary troops*; G&z /cb’/, /Λb’/ + *tL go to* / *wage war*; /cäb’/ *war, incursion*; Te /cb’/ *go to war, fight*; /cäb’it/ *campaign; warrior, army*; Ch /7äbänä/ *quarrelsome, -lling.*

NB. the variation of the sibilant; in Arab, nasalization of the labial with transposition also. Eg /sby/ *enemy* is too equivocal; Bil /ʃab/, /ʃib/, /ǧibā/ *(make a) raid* look like borrowings from Sem.

CBV: Aram (Bab) /cb’/ *swelling*; Arab /cb’/ *(tooth, nail) grow; (star) rise.*

The Aram entry may be based on Hbr. Akk /capū/ (var. /-b-/? T. Frymer-Kensky, V.T. 34 p.20) is closer to /cb&/ below (q.v.).

CBV II: Aram /cbV/ *want, wish*; Syr /cbV/ *be pleased (with), like, want, love*; Amor /cb’/ *desire*; Akk /cabū/, /cebū/ *wish, want*; Arab /cbw/ *incline (to), long (for)*; /cb’/ *change one’s religion*; ?Soq /’eΛbe/ *leave, permit; abandon.*

Semantic shift in Hbr and (if indeed related) Soq, where also sibilant var. Hbr meaning may have been influenced by the next entry.

CBV III: Ug /¢by/ *gazelle*; Aram /7aby/ =; (Sfire) /cby/ =; Syr /7aby/, /7bīt/ =; Akk /cabīt/ =; Arab /¢aby/, (f.) /-yat/ =.

A wandering word of unknown origin.

CB7: Ug (du.) /mcb7m/ *tongs*; Amor /cb7/ *seize*; Akk /cabāt/, (Ug) /-7/ =, *take (hold of)*; Arab /Λb7/ *hold fast; maintain (order); make accurate*; Mhr /źb7/ *take (hold of)*; /məźawbə7/ *shelter*; G&z /Λb7/ *take & hold fast*; Te /cb7/ *seize, take hold, hand down; take care (of),* *attend (to)*; Ch /7äbä7ä/, Sdd /-bb-/ *take (hold of), grasp, seize, hold.*

NB. the phonological variations; cf. also the root /cbt/ below.

CB&: Aram /cb&/ *immerse, moisten, dye*; /cib&/ *colour(ed)*; Syr /cb&/ =; /ceb&/, /cub&/ *colour*; Akk /capū/ *moisten, immerse, soak, dye*; Arab /cbγ/ *immerse, soak, dye*; /cib(a)γ/, /-bγat/, /-bāγ/ *dye, sauce*; /cabbāγ/ *dyer, liar*; /Λab(u)&/, /Λib&ān/ *(male) hyaena*; Mhr /sbγ/ *dye*; /cəbēγət/ *indigo-dyed dress*; Soq /cb&/ *paint, variegate*; /Λab&ah/ *hyaena.*

The word for hyaena has become a wandering one and suffered many phonological and structural variations (particularly if all those mentioned in K-B^{3} are accepted as cognate); but its derivation from this root (as the multicoloured one) is nevertheless plausible. NB. phonological variation also otherwise.

CB& II: Ug /'ucb&/ *finger, claw*; Aram /'äcb&/, /-ba&t/ *finger*; /cib&/ =, *toe*; Syr /ceb&/ =; Arab /'acbu&/, /'i-/, /'u-/; /'acbi&/, /'i-/, /'u-/; /'icba&/, /'u-/ *finger*; /cb&/ *point out (with finger)*; ESA /'cb&/ *finger*; Mhr /ψəba'/ =, *toe*; Soq /'ecbax/ *finger*; G&z /'äcba&t/ =, *toe, ring*; Te /¢b&t/ (pl. /'ä¢ab/) *finger*; Har /a7ābiñña/ =, *toe*; Ch /atebä(t)/, Sdd /a7abät/, /-bit/, Wol /ən7abit/, /-ā-/ *finger(, hand)*; Bed /gība/ *finger*; Bil /¢ibi&/ =; ?Chad: Zime (Batna/Lame) /udōba/ *finger*; Eg /ğb&/, (Dem.) /db&/, /tb&/ =; Cpt /tēēbe/ =.

In the Chad entry, the labial is glottalized; so, if genuine, the glottalization has shifted. The Sdd Wol varr. are my recordings. An Akk */icbitt/ does not seem to exist. Cohen's (no. 310) Berb and most Cush entries seem too remote phonetically; Bil may have been influenced by Te.

CBR: Ug /cbr(t)/ *group*; Arab /cbr/ *heap up*; Syr /cbr/ *be confused, stupid; chatter, babble*; Akk /cabār/ *make confused noises; ?bend, twist around*; Arab /cbr/ *bind, constrain, withhold*; (syr.) *D ballast (a ship)*; /cubrat/ *lump, heap*; /cābūrat/ *ballast*; /cabīr/ *mountain; superposed clouds*; /Λbr/ *pile up (stones); stitch (book leaves)*; Mhr /cbr/ *be patient, give respite, do without*; Soq /cabehen/ *heap*; /cebor/ *wait patiently; do a good deed*; /caber/ *delay; curdled milk, yoghurt.*

The primary meaning seems to be heaping up things without much regularity; in Syr Akk, the connotation of confusion has become prevalent; in Mhr Soq, temporal irregularity is also evident, mainly in its consequences. Eth /Λmr/ (etc.), however, seems to presuppose different semantic background.

CBT: Aram /cibt/ *tongs; union, association*; ?Syr /cebt/, /cept/ *ornament*; Akk /cibt/ *grasping, taking hold (of)*; Arab /Λbθ/ *grasp, clasp.*

Appears to be an offshoot of the root /cb7/ above.

CG: ?Arab /Λğw/ *remain (in a place)* (Guillaume).

Cf. the MT root /ycg/.

CD(D): Phoen /cd/ *side*; Aram /cidd/ = ; /cdd/ *D, A turn aside*; Syr /cd/ *(+A) look, stare (at)*; /ced/, /ce(')d/ *at, to, until*; Arab /cd/ *shun, shrink (from), avert (from)*; /cadd/, /cudd/ *side (of valley etc.)*; (+/sadd/, /sudd/) *mountain, high cloud*; /cadd/ *face, front (=palm?) of hand.*

The primary meaning, *side*, largely neutralized in Syr and somewhat in Arab. Akk /cadd/ is semantically too remote. Amm (sf.) /cdh/ *its side*.

CDV: Aram /cdV/ *ambush, capture*; Arab /cdy/ *L dissemble (with), beguile.*

CD&: Aram /cid&/ *temple; hair on temples*; Syr /ced&/ *temples, jaws, root fibres*; Arab /cudγ/ *temple; hair on temples*; /cdγ/ *incline (to).*

CDQ: Phoen /cdq/ *just, legitimate*; (NPu) f. /cdyq&/ *pious*; Ug /cdq/ *right, virtue*; Aram /cdq/ *be just; acknowledge as just*; (Palm) /zdq/ *just*; Syr /zåd(e)q/ =, *right, proper, due, obligatory*; /zdq/, /cdq/ *D justify (etc.)*; Amor /cdq/, /$dq/ *be just*; Arab /cdq/ *tell the truth, fulfil (a promise), fight gallantly; D hold trustworthy; L befriend; tD justify o.s., give alms; tL rely on e.o.*; ESA /cdq/ *be truthful, just, (+H) grant, bestow; Qt be faithful (with); right, due, proper; justice, truth, reality*; Mhr /cadq/ *truth*; /sdq/ *tell the truth; f believe*; /sədawqi/ *truthful, credulous*; /sədayq/ *neutral*; ?Soq /cdq/ *penetrate*; G&z /cdq/ *be just, true; tell the truth; right, just, justice, truth, welfare*; Te /cdq/ *be righteous, excellent, god-fearing; justice, good deed*; Sdd /7adiq/ *bread shared at the monthly assembly.*

The Mhr entries may be largely borrowings from Arab; however, NB. the sibilant varr. in Aram-Syr Amor.

CHB: Aram /chb/ *quarrel: A = ; enrage*; Arab /chb/ *be redhaired, (horse) chestnut*; /cahab/, /cuh(ū)bat/ *golden/chestnut colour*; ESA /chbn/ *shiny (like gold)*; Mhr /chwV/ *N become fawn, cream-coloured*; /cəhwēw/ *fawn, cream-coloured*; Soq /ca&bab/, ?/Λabeb/ *white.*

Originally root var. of /zhb/ above; in SAr, shifted both phonologically and semantically (the connotation of shining prevalent); for Aram, the semantic link is the angry blush.

CHL: Ug /chl/ *grow bright, glow*; Aram = ; *shout joyfully*; Syr /chl/ *neigh; shout loudly (with lust etc.)*; Arab /chl/ *neigh*; Mhr = ; Soq /ceyle/ *gaiety.*

The sound of neighing being usually bright and gay, there is no need to divide the root in two (cf. Is 10:30, literally: *brighten your voice*).

CHR: Ug /¢r/ *top*; Aram /chr/ *be clear*; /7hr/ *be noon-time*; /7e^{y}h(a)r/ *noon; midday wind; clear sky*; Syr /7ahr/ *noon*; Akk /cēr/ *back, topside; steppe, open country*; Arab /Λahr/, /Λāhir/ *mountain peak*; /¢hr/ *appear, come forth, be obvious; know (a secret); have the upper hand; be strong-backed; have a back-complaint; D, A come (at) noon*; /¢ahr/ *back, upper or outward part, (ship's) deck, (mountain) peak*; /¢uhr/ *noon*; ESA /¢hr/ *H declare, proclaim*; /¢hrn/ *declaration*;

/b¢hr/ *upon*; Mhr /¢ahr/ *noon*; /¢ār/ *upon*; /źāhər/ *(camel's) back; help, support*; /źōhər/ *(what is) visible, evident*; Soq /cwr/ *carry*; /7har/ *upon*; /7aher/ *go, depart*; G&z /cwr/ *carry (a burden), support, sustain; tolerate*; Te /cwr/ *carry, endure*; Ch /¢orä/, /7-/; Sdd /7orä/, /7äwwärä/, Wol /7äwärä/ *carry (a burden), support*; Berb: Shilxa /dhar/ *back*; Tu /əΛhər/ *be noble, magnificent, superb, proud, arrogant*; Chad: Sumray /tar/ *back* (Müller after Lukas).

Hollow root var. in Ug (Mhr Soq) Eth. NB. the different sibilant varr. and cf. the root /zhr/ above. Semantic shift (to figurative use) in Tu; for the last Soq entry, the semantic link is to *load (upon shoulder, beast)*.

CWD: Phoen /cd/ *game*; Ug /cd/ = ?; *hunt*; /mcd/ *provisions*; Aram /cwd/ *hunt, fish, ambush, capture*; Syr = ; Amor /cyd/ *hunt, nourish*; Akk /cād/ *turn round (& round); Qtn = ; hunt (around)*; Arab /cyd/ *(+ tD, Qt) hunt, chase, fish*; /cayd/ *prey*; /cayyād/ *hunter, fisherman*; /zwd/ *supply o.s. with provisions*; ESA /cd/, /cyd/ *hunt; (ritual) hunt; game*; Mhr /cyd/ *Qt fish*; /ceyd/ = (n.); /cəyyōd/ *fisherman*; Soq /code/ *fish* (n.); /zuwād/ *provisions for a journey*.

NB. the sibilant var. in Arab Soq.

CWV: Syr /cawt/ *voice, sound, conversation*; /cwt/ *hear*; Arab /cawt/ *voice, sound*; /cwt/ *(+ D, A) emit a sound, cry*; /wcy/ *D appoint (a tutor, trustee); bequeath*; Mhr /wcV/ *make one's testament; ʃ ask for / obtain advice*; G&z /cwy/ *speak* (Leslau); /cäwat/ *exclamation(s)*; Eg /wǧ/ *command; hand over*.

Expansion by a final /-t/ in Syr (Arab) G&z; on the sense cf. the roots /'mr/, /qwl/, on form /&wt/; transposition in (Arab) Mhr Eg. Eg /ǧt/ is rather periferal in meaning and with one radical only, too hazardous. Gur /¢wt/ is secondary.

CWX: Ug /cx/ *shout; invite*; Aram /cwx/ *(+ D) shout, call, invite*; Syr /cwx/ *shout*; Akk /c(i)āχ/ *laugh*; Arab /cyx/ *cry loudly; (cock) crow*; /cayx/, /ciyāx/ *cry, crowing*; /cayyāx/ *clamorous*; Mhr /cyx/ *A shout*; /cayx/ *voice, sound*; G&z /cw&/ *call, shout, invite*; Te /cw&/ *call, shout*; Wol /i¢ohan/ *shout*.

The pharyngal voiced in Eth. The root is of onomatopoeic origin; cf. /ʃw&/, /ʃ/syx/ below. The Wol entry is my recording. Eg /ǧwy/ is phonetically defective.

CWL: ?Ug /mclt/ *(water from) depths?*

Root var. of /cl(l)/ II (q.v.).

CWM: ?Ug /¢m/ *fast(?)*; Aram /cwm/, (n.) /co^{w}m/ = ; Syr /cwm/, (n.) /cawm/ = ; (vb.) *abstain*; Arab /cwm/, (n.) /cawm/, /ciyām/ *fast*; Mhr /cwm/, (n.) /cawm/ = ; Soq /ciyom/, (n.) /ciyām/ = ; G&z /cwm/, (n.) /com/ = ; (vb.) *abstain*; Te /cwm/, (n.) /com/ *fast; Lent*; Har /somän(a)/ *fast*; Ch Sdd /7omä/, (n.) /7om/; Wol /əcumna/, /somänä/ *fast*; Tu /u¢am/, (n.) /ə¢um/ = .

In Cush: Or /sōmi/ =; and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 547. However, as a designation of a widespread religious practice, the whole root belongs to the category of *Kulturwörter*.

CWP: Aram /7wp/ *reach up, overflow; drown*; Syr /7wp/ *be lighter, float, sail; inundate; stray, wander*; Arab /7wf/ *overflow; (+D, tD, St) go round, wander around*; /Λfw/ *abound; (tank) overflow*; /fyΛ/ = (Guillaume).

Arab /7awf/ *raft of water-skins* may be a loan from Syr (Fraenkel), but whether the same is true of the verb (in the sense of overflowing) is not clear, as it overlaps with the meaning of the Syr verb also otherwise. Cf. the other Arab vb. too. Dolgopolsky's (p. 123) Cush Om entries seem too remote.

CWQ: Ug /cq/ *f grasp; oppress*; Aram /cwq/ *be worried*; /&wq/ =, *be oppressed; be narrow*; (Deir Alla) /qqn/ *constraint*; Syr /&wq/ *be afflicted, worried, loathe*; Akk /s(i)āq/, *be/grow narrow*; Arab /Λyq/ *be narrow, strait; D straiten, put in straits; L treat harshly*; /Λīq/, /Λayq/ *sorrow, anguish*; /maΛīq/ *glen, mountain-pass, difficulty*; G&z /7wq/ *be narrow, compressed.*

NB. the sibilant varr. Gur /¢əqä¢äqä/ etc. seems too marginal semantically.

CWQ II: -

Root var. of /ycq/ (q.v.).

CWR: Aram /cwr/ *wrap up, together; besiege; D fold*; /caw(w)r/ *neck*; Syr /cawr/ =; /cwr/ *be giddy*; Akk /cawār/ *neck*; Arab /cwr/ *incline, lean; (+A) incline, break, demolish; N be bent, demolished*; /cawr/ *river bank*; ESA /¢wr/ *column; D besiege; (+F) construct with columns*; /t¢wr/, /tcwr/ *columnar support*; /cwrt/ (pl.) *dam.*

NB. the ESA var. Cf. also /cwr/ III and /cr(r) / below.

CWR II: Syr /&yårt/ *compensation, fine; rival*; Arab /Λwr/ *starve*; /Λawr/ *vehement hunger*; /Λūrat/ *poor, wretched*; ?Te /cwr/ *endure.*

Appears cognate with /cr(r)/ II below; on Te cf. /chr/ above. The Hbr Q verb could belong to the preceding root.

CWR III: Aram /cwr/ *form, fashion; paint*; Syr /cwr/ *form, fashion, represent, portray*; /cūrt/ *image, figure, species; text*; Arab /cwr/ *D shape out, picture, paint*; /cūrat/ *shape, image, manner*; ESA /cwr/ *image, figure*; ?/cyr/ *(D?) put in order*; Mhr /cawrət/ *idol, picture.*

Cognate with /ycr/ above; cf. also /cwr/ above and /cr(r)/ below.

CWR IV: (Phoen cf. Section A no. 1381.) Ug /γr/ *mountain*; Aram /7u^{w}r/, /7awr/ =; *open field*; Syr /7ūr/ =; Amor /cūr/ *rock*; Mhr /cāwər/ =, *stone*; ?Soq /caire/, /ceyreh/, /zaireh/ *knife*; Berb: Sus /a¢ru/ *stone, rock*; Shilxa /azru/ *stone.*

NB. the sibilant varr. The Soq entries are relevant on the assumption that the word has been preserved from the Stone Age; cf. /cr(r)/ III below.

CX(X): Aram /cxx/ *shine, glow; R polish*; Syr /cx/ *be hot*; /caxxīx/ *hot, glowing, shiny*; Arab /cx/ *be right, proper, sound, healthy, true; R be clear, obvious*; /cxw/ + *A (sky) be(come) clear, cloudless; wake up; recover (from intoxication, folly)*; /Λxw/ *bask in sunshine*; ESA /cxx/ *renovate; H make sound; whole, sound*; /cx/ *soundness, integrity, health*; Mhr /cxx/ *recover*; /cəx/ *alive, healthy*; Soq /cyx/ *clear up, shine*; /cax/ *morning*; /caix/ *light(ing)*; G&z /cxw/ *(sky) be(come) clear; recover (from intoxication), be sober*; /Λäxay/, /-äy/ *sun*; Te /cx/, /ch/ *clear,brighten up*; /cäxay/ *sun*; Ch /¢et/ =, *sunlight*; Eg /xğ/ *(be) white, shiny; morning; silver; palace; shrine*; Cpt /hat(e)/, /haat(e)/ *white; silver.*

Basically biradical, occasionally expanded by a (semi)vowel at the end; transposition in Eg-Cpt. NB. the sibilant varr.

CXN: Aram /cxant/ *unclean, stinking matter*; Syr /caxn/ *unchaste, lewd, sordid*; Arab /znχ/ *(oil) be rancid*; /snχ/ = ; /Λanχat/ *stench*; /χnz/ *(meat) stink*; Eg /χnʃ/ *stink*; Cpt /ʃnoʃ/ =.

Unusually many transpositions, but with emotionally charged meaning this may be understandable. NB. the sibilant varr. On the other hand, this kind of word need hardly be borrowed from another language.

CXQ: Ug /cxq/, /¢xq/ *laugh*; Aram /x'k/, /xwk/, /gxk/, /dxk/ = ; Syr /gxk/ = ; Amor /cxq/ = ; ?Akk (cf. /cwx/ above); Arab /Λxk/ = ; *ridicule; (monkey) grin*; Mhr /źxk/ *laugh, mock; ʃ joke*; Soq /Λaxak/ *laugh*; G&z /$xq/, /sxq/ =, *ridicule*; Te /sxq/ = ; *be good-looking*; Har /sēxaqa/ *laugh*; /saxaq/ *laughter, smile*; Ch /daqä/, Sdd =, /da'ä/, Wol /saqä/, /sa'ä/ = ; ?Chad: Mandara /dzak-a/ =.

In Cush: Afar /sahaq/ =. The root is of onomatopoeic origin and although such items are rarely borrowed, in the case of often used ones like this, foreign influence is conceivable, and with only isolated occurrences outside Sem, probable. The phonological varr. are largely dissimilatory; the Akk entry agrees better with /cwx/ above. Cf. /ʃxq/ II below.

CY: ESA /cy/ *(merchant) ship*; Eg /ğ'y/ *cross (the river)*; /ğ't/ *(river) boat*; (Dem.) /ğy/ *boat, ship*; Cpt /ğoy/ =.

LW from Eg.

CY(V): Aram /cwV/ *dry up*; Syr /cwy/ = ; Akk /cuā'/ *dry*; /cēt/, /cīt/ *glow (of sun, moon, stars), heat*; Arab /cwy/ *dry up*; /¢iyat/ *putrefying corpse*; /¢ayyān/ *wild jasmine*; (+ /¢ayy/) *honey.*

Phonological split in Arab; all the entries are characteristic of desert and savannah. On the other hand, Cpt /ğaye/ appears to derive from Eg /ğ&(y)/ (Vycichl) and has nothing to do with the present root.

CYB: Aram /ci^{y}b/ *tuft, tassel; twig*; ?Syr /cīb/ *slice (of meat).*

CYN: Aram /cyn/ *D make recognizable.*

On possible more original connections see K-B^{3} s.v. /ciyyu^{w}n/.

CYC: ?Ug /cc/ *salt (mine; crystal?* coll.); Aram /ci^{y}c/ *frontlet (of the High Priest); plate; kind of gem; fin; wing(?)*; /ci^{y}ci^{y}t/ *lock (of hair); tuft, tassel*; (Bab) /cyc/ *splendour*; Syr /cūcīt/ *lock (of hair); tassel; tendril; spark*; Akk /ciccat/ *kind of flowery ornament*; Arab /cīc(iy)at/ *(cock's) spur; (bull's, gazelle's) horn*; Te /cäco/ *a shrub (Myrsine africana)*; Eg /ğğ/ = /ği-ği/ *blossom.*

The Akk Eg entries are loans from WSem. The primary meaning appears to be blossom, and flowery or ornamental connotation is present throughout; therefore Akk /cīcīt/ *a movable part of the loom* hardly belongs here.

CYR: Arab /cyr/ *befall, become; return to the encampment*; /cīr/ *result, issue*; /macīr/ = ; *place of arrival*; Eg /ği-ir/ *courier.*

The Eg entry is transcription of the WSem word. The background of Aram /&i^{y}r/ *watcher* seems essentially different (agst. R. Murray, Or 53 p. 303 ff).

CL(L): Ug /¢l/ *shade; cover, security (?)*; /m¢ll/ *shelter, house*; Aram /7ll/ *D cover, shade, obscure*; /7ull/, /7lål/ *shade, shadow; cover*; Syr /7ll/ *D shade; cover, roof (house, bridge)*; /7ellål/ *shade, shadow; image*; Amor /cll/, (n.) /cill/ *shade, protect(ion)*; Akk /cullul/, (NAss) /ca-/ *cover, roof over*; /cill/ *shade, shadow, shelter, protection*; Arab /¢l/ *D, A shade*; /¢ill/ = (n.), *shadow, shelter*; ESA /¢ll/ + *H cover, roof over*; /¢l/ *protection, -ctor*; /¢lt/ (pl. /¢llm/) *covered room/tomb*; /m¢llt/, /mh¢ll/ *roof*; Mhr /¢ll/ *A make shade*; /mə¢allet/ *sunshade*; G&z /cll/ + *D shade, obscure, blind; protect; make shade, expand (tent etc.)*; /clalot/ *shade, shadow, shelter; image; darkness; protection*; Te /cl/ *cast shadow; A shade; sit in the shade*; /clal/ *shadow, shade, darkness; parasol*; Har /¢āya/ *shade, shadow; luxury*; Ch /7ərar/, Sdd /7əlal/, /-ale/, Wol /¢al/, /7əla/ *shadow, shade*; Bil /caläl/, (n.) /-lā/ *shade*; Chad: Ron (Sha) /cela/ (f.) =, *shadow.*

Further in Cush: Saho /cilāl/, /si-/, /se-/, /de-/; Sid /¢āle/ *shadow*; according to Leslau (Gur III p. 618) also Or /¢āya/. I, however, have recorded different words for Or (/gādittu/ *shadow*, /gaddisa/ *shade*); /¢āya/ may therefore be locally limited and probably borrowed from Sem rather than vice versa. Bil Saho entries also look like borrowings from Sem, and as Leslau does not mention Sid, my recording might be a local borrowing from Gur. This leaves Ron (Sha) as the only non-Sem attestation possibly original. Ebl /zi-lum/ *shade, umbrella.*

CL(L) II: ?Ug /mclt/ (cf. /cwl/ above); Aram /cll/ *grow clear, percolate*; /cli^{y}l/ *clear , empty*; Syr /cl/ *purify; D = , percolate*; /clīl/ *pure*; Akk /calāl/ *stretch o.s., lie down, sleep*; Arab /cl/ *clarify (a beverage)*; /micallat/ *strainer, filter*; ?ESA /cll/ *pave (with stones)*; G&z /cll/ *swim, float*; Har /7ll/ *be filtered, pure*; Ch /7änärä/, Sdd /7ällälä/, Wol /7äl-/ = .

Found also in Cush (see Leslau, Gur III p. 617), but apparently borrowed from Eth. The primary meaning seems to have been purification of liquids; as in the process, dregs may sink and settle down on the bottom, sinking and settling down may have developed secondarily from it; and some impurities being lighter than the liquid, floating, swimming etc. likewise; the ESA entry, however, is semantically marginal.

CL(L) III: Ug (du.) /mcltm/ *cymbal*; (pl.) /mclm/ *cymbalist*; Aram /cll/ + *R hit (cymbals etc.) together, jingle*; Syr /cl/ *(ears) tingle, ring*; Arab /cl/ *clash, (+R, tR) resound*;?ESA /cll/ *D proclaim*; Te (pl.) /cänacl/ *cymbal, rattle, sistrum*;?Eg /ǧ'ǧ't/ *harp* (?Calice no. 369).

The ESA entry is semantically somewhat remote. The root is onomatopoeic.

CLV: Aram /clV/ *roast*; Akk /celū/ *kindle the incense*; Arab /cly/ *heat, roast (meat etc.)*; G&z /clw/ *roast*; Som /sol/ = ;?Berb /sli/ =.

Found also in Or: /sol/ = (Zaborski); however, the sibilant suggests borrowing from Sem, as also in Som Berb. Whether and how Chad */s(w)r/ *fry, burn* might be related is not clear. Eg /ǧ'/ *kindling stuff* seems too remote anyway.

CLX: Aram /clx/ *(+D) split; (+A) succeed; A lend success*; Syr = ; Arab /clx/ *be sound, honest, just; A set aright*; ESA /clx/ *prosper; (+H) make successful; peace, prosperity; pious*; Mhr /clx/ *be fat; H change for the better; arrange a truce*; /calx/ *truce; safe-conduct*; Te /slx/ *be excellent, turn out well; L reconcile; A be strong, brave; tD profit.*

The Te entry can hardly be other than loan from Arab, although it has developed independently to a considerable extent.

CLX II: Aram /clo^{w}xi^{y}t/ *a small flask*; Syr /clōxīt/ *phial; narrow-necked bottle or jar*;?Akk /saχχar(r)/ *small sacrificial bowl*; Arab /caxn/ *basin, plate, dish*; Mhr /cäxən/ *dish*; /cəxlīt/ *basin*; Soq /caxen/ *bowl*; G&z /caxn/ =, *dish, phial*; Te /cäxäl/ *pan, bowl, (clay) pot; helmet*;?Eg (Dem.) /ǧxrt/ *kind of receptable*; Cpt /ǧlahts/ *a large receptacle.*

An old *Kulturwort* of unknown origin, borrowed twice into Hbr from different sources (cf. MT).

CLM: ?Phoen /clm/ *statue(?)*;?Ug /¢lmt/ *image?*; Aram /calm/ =, *statue, idol*; /7lm/ + *D beat, oppress, take advantage (of)*; Syr /calm/, /clem/ *image, idol*; /7lm/ *oppress, inform, slander, deny, deprive*; Akk /calām/ *be/grow dark, black*; /calm/ *dark, black; image, figure, statue*; /culm/ *black spot, wood; dark cloud, face; anger, fury*; Arab /canam/ *idol*; /¢lm/ *be dark, obscure; wrong, oppress*; /¢ul(u)mat/ *darkness*; ESA /clm(t)/ *statue, effigy*; /clym/ *statuette*; /¢lm/ *dark, black; west(?); statue*; /¢lmt/ *image, statue*; Mhr /¢lm/ *be unjust (to), oppress; H go dark; A, Qt take camels out at night*; Soq /7lm/ *darken, obscure*; /7elim/ *have supper*; /7elom/ *oppress*; G&z /clm/ *be/grow dark, black, obscure, dim; (sun, moon, stars) be eclipsed*; Te /clm/ *be dark, black, empty, deceitful*; /clmt/ *grow dark, gloomy*; /¢lm/ *be blue, dark-coloured*; /7lm/ *deceive, betray*; Har /¢ēläma/ *be dark*; /¢ilma/ *dark(ness)*; Sdd /¢illämä/, Wol /¢el-/, /7əläme/ *be dark, black*; Ch /a¢ranämä/, Sdd /a¢lallämä/, Wol /-lämä/ *be dusk*; Ch /7änäma/, Sdd /¢ällāma/, Wol /¢ilmä/, /¢elma/ *darkness*; Bed /duluma/ = ; Bil /¢aläm/ *grow dark*; Om: Caf /7um/ *grow dark, obscure*; /7umō/ *darkness, night*; Tu /əΛləm/ *injure, offend unjustly; oppress*; Chad */dlm/ *black, darkness.*

Possibly a secondary root, based on /cl(l)/ above, cf. Dolgopolsky p. 113f, 199. The lst Wol entry is my recording. The Tu entry is loan from Arab (Prasse), and the Bil one may have been influenced phonetically by Sem. Arab /clm/ seems to mean primarily to *mutilate, maim* (rather than to *fashion*) and as the Aram vb. is apparently denominative, there is no plausible separate etymology for the word for *image, statue (etc.)*. It is thus still best derived from the dark reflexion in water, metal mirror and the like, or the shadow. It is true that early phonological splits must be assumed, but these are inevitable in any case, as similar splits are found within single languages without semantic parallels, cf. ESA Te Ch Wol.

CL&: Ug (pl.) /cl&t/ *side-cuttings, ribs (of beef)*; Aram /7l&/ *A limp; tQ be lamed*; /&il&/ *rib*; Syr /'el&/ *rib, side*; /7åla&t/ *swamp, morass*; /7ullå&/ *deep sleep*; Akk /cēl/, /cīl/, /cell/, /cill/ *rib, side*; Arab /Λl&/ *be sturdy; incline (towards); be crooked*; /Λil&/ *rib; side (of triangle); square root*; /Λila&/ =, *slope, trap, bough*; /¢l&/ *limp, walk haltingly*; /¢al&/ *defect*; ESA /mΛl&/ *sloping wall/terrace*; ?/¢l&/ *(pay a) fine*; Mhr /¢l&/ *be crippled, limp*; /źl&/ *marry below/outside one's tribe*; /źāla'/ *rib*; /źəl&ayn/ *gecko*; Soq /Λalx/ *side (part), rib.*

As limping means swaying sideways, there is no sufficient semantic reason to divide the root in two.

CLP: Aram /clp/ *swing (a whip)*; Syr /clp/ *whip, wound, cleave*;?Arab /clf/ *boast, threaten; (cloud) thunder without giving rain.*

CLQ: Aram /clq/ *split*; /culqt/ *scab, incrustation; scar.*

CM: Aram /cm(m)/ *R squeeze, tie up; veil*; Syr /camm/ *deaf-mute*; /cmm/ *tD be constrained, prohibited*; Arab /cm/ *stop (a flask); (ear-hole) be obstructed; (+A) grow deaf*; ?/cammat/ *veil*; G&z /cm/ *be deaf*; Te /cm/ *squeeze together, suck out; be deaf.*

The primary meaning appears to be tying up. The last Arab entry is on K-B's authority.

CM': Ug /γm'/ *be thirsty, exhausted*; /¢m'/ *D (ps?)* =; Akk /camū/, (Ass) /camā'/ *be thirsty*; Arab /cā'im/ *thirsty*; /c'm/ *drink much water*; /¢m'/ *be thirsty*; /¢im'/ *thirst, earnest desire*; ESA /cm'/ *drought*; /¢m'/ *be/grow thirsty*; /¢m'n/ *thirst*; /m¢m'/ *non-irrigated (land)*; Mhr /¢m&/(!) *be thirsty*; /¢awma/ *thirst*;?/7ayme/ *be thirsty*; Soq /7eme/ =; G&z /cm'/ =; Te =; (n.) *thirst; dryness*; Ch /7äma/, Sdd /7ämma/, Wol /7emä/ *be thirsty*; (Ch) *(small river) dry up*; Ch Sdd /7əmat/, Wol /7əmi/ *thirst.*

NB. the Ug Arab ESA Mhr varr. The last Mhr entry is quoted from Leslau, Soq p. 205. ?In Cush: Or /Λēbow/ *be thirsty* (Cohen no. 444, after Cerulli).

CMD: Ug /cmd/ *tie, harness; pair, yoke (of oxen etc.)*; Aram /cmd/ *tie, hold together; harness, order, train*; Syr /cmd/ *tie, bind (together); bandage; veil*; Amor /cmd/ *bind, harness*; Akk /camād/ *tie, bind (together), join; harness*; Arab /Λmd/ *bandage; anoint & bind (the* *head)*; ESA /Λmd/ *harness, join; yoke, pair (of oxen/camels?)*; Soq /Λumdeh/ *bait*; G&z /Λmd/ *tie, harness, yoke*; Te /cmd/ *harness; start (battle); pair (of oxen); post, peg*; Har /7md/ *harness, yoke*; /7indi/ *pair (of oxen)*; Ch /dämädä/, (+Wol) /7äm-/, Sdd /7ämm-/ *yoke, harness*; Ch /7ənd/, Sdd =, /7əmmad/, Wol /7əmd/ *pair (of oxen)*.

NB. the sibilant variation. The Phoen /smrt/ (/smdt/?) appears both textually and semantically uncertain; Eg /dmğ/ — apart from the assumed metathesis — appears to have different semantic background.

CMX: Phoen /cmx/ *offspring*;?Ug /cmχ/(?) *sprout(?)*; Aram /cmx/ *sprout*; /cimx/ = (n.), *growth, pustule*; Syr /cmx/ *light, shine; germinate*; /cemx/ *splendour; sprout; suburbia*;?Arab /Λmχ/ *(+D, tD, N, Qt) anoint, perfume (o.s.) copiously*.

Arab /Λm'k/ is phonologically hazardous.

CMQ: Phoen (coll.) /cmq/ *raisin(s)*; Ug =; Aram /cimmu^{w}q/ =; /cmq/ *shrink, shrivel*; Arab /cāmiq/ *hungry, thirsty* (Guillaume); Te /7mq/ *squeeze, wring out*; Har /¢mq/ =; Sdd /¢ämmäqä/, Wol /a7ämäqä/ =; Soq /7ämmäqä/, Wol /7ämä'ä/ *brew beer*.

I do not find a G&z /cmq/ confirmed. Connection of the Eth root for baptism with this one may be folk-etymological.

CMR: Aram /&amr/, /&(a)mar/ *wool*; (Eg) /qmr/ =; Syr /&amr/ =; *monk's clothing; herbal growth, chaff*; Soq /camhir/ *chaff*; G&z /Λämr/ *wool, woollen garment*.

CMR II: Aram /cmr/ *heat up*; /cmi^{y}rt/ *inflammatory fever*; Syr /cmår(t)/ =.

Appears to be separate from the preceding item. Akk /cemēr/ *be swollen*, however, seems to have different background again.

CMT: Ug /cmt/ *slay, annihilate*; Aram /cmt/ *contract, condense; (+D) assemble*; Syr /cmt/ *D silence; tD (lips) be closed*; Arab /cmt/ *stay silent; D, A =; silence, hush up*; G&z /cmt/ *A extinguish, annihilate*; ?Ch /¢ämätä/, /a¢¢am-/ *reflect, think, remember past things*.

The meaning of the Ch entry is rather marginal, but derivable from the others, cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 182.

CN(N): Aram /cnn/+*tQ be/grow cold*; /cinnt/ *cold*; /cinn/ *earthenware vessel* (A. Cohen, AJSL 40 p. 179).

CN(N) II: ?Arab /cwn/ *keep, preserve; tD, tL guard o.s.*; ?G&z /cwn/ *protect, defend; tQ defend, fortify o.s., seek refuge*; Te /can/ *a small thorn bush*.

The primary reference may have been to a thorny hedge constructed to protect the settlement or encampment against wild beasts.

CN(N) III: -

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin (?).

CNX: ?G&z /nΛχ/, /ncχ/ *throw, thrust down/away, break (down), destroy.*

CNM: Aram /cunnåm/ *rock*; Syr =; *hard stone*; Arb /cnm/ *(slave) be strong, (smell) be offensive.*

CN&: Aram /ci^{y}&/ *hidden, preserved; disciplined, obedient*; Syr /cnī&/ *cunning, astute*; Aram /cn&/ *work skilfully; tend, train (a horse etc.)*; ESA /cn&/ *fortify; tD St fortify o.s., H besiege; fortification; artisan, craftsman*; /mcn&t/ *fortress*; Mhr /cn&/ *Qt be forced to behave*; G&z /cn&/ *be/grow firm, hard, strong, brave, robust, prevalent*; Te /cn&/ *be strong, firm, noble, difficult, stubborn, expensive*; Ch /7äna/ *be expensive, precious*; /7əra/ *expensive*; Sdd /a7änna/, /a7nanna/ *comfort, reassure.*

The primary reference appears to be to training, education; this may be hard or benign, and may lead to submission, stubbornness, reassurance or increasing strength and positive firmness.

CNP: Aram /canp/ *tree-top; fringe, tassel*; /micnapt/ *(High Priest's) head-dress*; Syr /macnapt/ =; *mitre*; /mcannap/ *mitred*; Arab /cinf(at)/, /canifat/ *fringe (of a vestment).*

CNQ: Aram /ci^{y}no^{w}q/ *iron collar*; Syr /zanq/ *rope, bridle*; /znq/ *tie up*; Akk /sanāq/, (late Bab) /senēq/ *test, inspect, examine, control; arrive, enter*; Arab /zināq/ *halter, shackles, necklace*; /znq/ *shackle (a mule)*; /$nq/ *pull the bridle; strap (a water-skin); tie (a beast) to an elevated peg*; (syr.) *throttle, hang*; Har /a¢¢ēnäqa/ *oppress, annoy*; /¢inqi/ *misery, trouble, anxiety*; Ch /a¢¢änäqä/, Sdd /a¢¢innäqä/, Wol /a¢¢enäqä/, /-ä'ä/ *oppress, trouble, distress, annoy*; Gur /¢ənq/ *trouble, anxiety.*

NB. the sibilant varr. Arab /Λnk/ *be narrow (etc.)* could also be related, but its meaning is functionally more remote.

CNR: ?Ug /cnr/ *pipe?*; Aram /cinno^{w}r/ *water-pipe, spout, duct*; /cantr/ *pipe, duct.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin (?).

C&D: ?Ug /cγd/ *(D?) raise(?)*; Arab /c&d/ + *Qt, tD, tL ascend; D climb (a mountain), (+A) descend (into a valley); A journey.*

C&V: ?Ug /c&/ *bowl*; ?Aram (Eg) (pl.) /c&yn/ *plate, bowl*; Arab /cγw/ *lean, incline (towards).*

C&N: Ug Aram Syr (see /7&n/ above); Akk /cēn/, (OAkk) /cān/, (NAss) /ce'ān/ *load (up, with)*; Arab /¢&n/ *leave, depart*; ESA /¢&n/ *travel, go (in pursuit)*; Soq /7a&an/ *depart*; G&z /c&n/ *load (with)*; Te /c&n/ *load; make to mount/embark; rob*; Har /7a'ana/, /7āna/, /7ēna/ *load*; /7u'un/, /7ūn/ = (n.), *burden*; /7ān/ *quintal*; Ch /¢arä/, Sdd /¢anä/, Wol /7anä/ *load, saddle*; Bil /¢&n/, /¢'n/ *load; mount.*

For further Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 182, and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 167; however, these may be loans from Sem (Leslau). The primary meaning is loading; this often takes place preliminary to travelling. Cf. the root /7&n/ above.

C&P: Aram /&iʸp/ *veil, wrapper*; Syr /ʿ&p/, /&p/, /&yp/ *fold, duplicate*; Akk /ecēp/ =; *twine; multiply*; Arab /Λ&f/ *be feeble, weak; exceed manifold; D, L, A double, treble, multiply, fold*; Mhr /ź&f/ *be feeble, weak*; G&z /&cf/, /&Λf/ *duplicate, fold*; Te /&cf/ + *L* =; *(fold the stomach=) starve*; Ch /a7äfä/, Sdd /a77-/ *fold.*

Appears to be cognate with /&7p/ above.

C&Q: Aram /c&q/ *cry*; Arab /c&q/ *(thunder) rumble*; /ca&aq/ *shout, yell; death*; ESA /c&q/ *shout, proclaim; S make a proclamation; implore; St intercede*; Mhr /c&q/ *call, cry, shout*; Soq /ca&aq/, /z-/, (n.) /ʃec&iqoh/ *cry*; Eg /ğ&q/ *cry.*

Root var. of /z&q/ above. The Eg entry is loan from Sem (Baer).

C&R: Phoen /c&r/ *least*; Ug /cγr/ *small, young*; /sγr/, /$γr/ *junior, assistant*; Aram /c&r/ *D despise, ridicule, torment*; Syr /c&r/ *be slandered; D slander, dishonour; rape*; Akk /ceχēr/, (OAkk, Ass) /caχār/ *be/grow small, young, little*; Arab /c&r/ *(head) be small*; /cγr/ *be small, younger (than), vile, despised*; /caγīr/ *small, young, mean*; ESA /cγr/ *small, unimportant*; G&z /c&l/ *slander, curse*; /c&r/ *be tormented, in pain*; Te / c&r/ *work, toil, take pains*; Sdd /a77a7arä/ *struggle.*

Being small and despised often leads to suffering and struggle; there is thus no sufficient semantic reason to divide the root. For a root var. see /z&r/ above; NB. the Ug Arab phonological varr. The Sdd stem appears to be AtF.

CP(P): Aram /cpp/ *R twitter*; Arab /cafcafat/ *sparrow's cry*; /cufcuf/ *sparrow*; ?Soq /ΛafΛef/ *move repeatedly, throb.*

Of onomatopoeic origin, and so more than one independent creation possible.

CP(P) II: Aram /cpp/ *R ps be scarce; tR press (together), be short (of)*; Syr /cappūp/ *iron collar*; Arab /Λaff/ *straitened, destitute*; /Λaffat/ *crowd*; G&z /cb(b)/, /Λb/ *be/grow (too) narrow, strait, tight*; Te /cb/ *be narrow, afflicted, sick*; Har /7bb/ *be narrow*; Ch /7äpäbä/, Sdd /7äbbäbä/ =.

I cannot confirm the Cush entries of Leslau (Gur III p. 609) from my materials, nor others to support them; and as their phonological resemblance is rather vague, it may be incidental. The primary meaning seems to be being hard pressed; our Hbr entry represents then reaction to it.

CPD: Syr /cepd/ *strap, band (for book-binding)*; Akk /nacpac/ *sternal extension*; Arab /cfd/ *bind, fetter*; Soq /caf7a7/ *tapering backwards.*

NB. the glottalized alveolar in Soq.

CPV: Phoen (NPu) /cp'/, ζωφ(α-) *seer*; Ug /cp/ *look, view*; Aram /cpV/ *tQ, D look out*; Akk /cubbū/, (Ass) /cabbū/ *look (at a distance), observe, test, inspect*; Arab /cfw/ *(sky) be clear*; G&z /sfw/ *tD expect, hope (for)*.

NB. the Akk G&z varr.

CPV II: ?Phoen (Pu) /cp't/ *(senatorial) tunic (?)*; Ug /cpy/ *plate, overlay (with metal)*; Aram /cipp/ *overlay, plating*; G&z /cf/ *R pave (a road) with stone.*

Cohen's (no. 355) Arab Cush Eg entries derive from different roots.

CPX: ?Aram (imperial) /cpx/ *kind of receptacle*; Syr /cpīxt/ *plate, platter*; Akk /ʃapāχ/, /ʃabāχ/ *scatter wide*; Arab /cfx/ *thin, flatten; D beat (metal) into plates, sheets*; /cafx/ *flat surface*; Soq /cefxa/ *rag*; /caf&eh/ *bowl*; /caflaxah/ *pot*; G&z /sfx/ *extend (o.s.), expand, dilate*; Te /sfx/ *spread, stretch*; Sdd /säffa/ *be wide*.

The primary meaning seems to be being flat and wide; NB. the Akk Soq Eth variations. Arab ESA /sfx/ seems semantically too remote.

CPN: Phoen /cpl/ *north side*; Aram /cippu^{w}n/ *north*; Akk (Am) /capān/ *hide*.

The Akk entry is loan from Can. Cf. the root /7mn/ above.

CP&: ?Arab /cf&/ *tap, slap (on the neck/face)*; ?G&z /cf&/ *slap (the face etc.)*; ?Te /cf&/, /¢f&/ *slap (the face), box (the ears)*; ?Har /7əfit/ *slap* (n.); ?Ch /täfa/, Sdd /7äffa/ *slap, clap (hands)*; ?Ch /tifä/, Sdd /7əffi/, Wol /7əffe/ *slap* (n.).

The actions described in these entries resemble snake's attacking movement, but too vaguely to be considered definitely connected.

CPR: Phoen /cpr/, (NPu) /cypr/ *bird*; Ug /cpr/(, /&cr/) = ; Aram /cipp(a)r/ = ; Syr /ceppr/ = ; Akk /cibār/(, /iccūr/) = ; Arab /cfr/ *whistle*; /cāfir/ *a whistling bird*; /cufāriyyat/ *oriole*; /cafrā'/ *bile, gold, yellow dye; eggless locust*; /&ucfūr/ *bird*; Mhr /cfr/ *H whistle*; Soq /'icferoh/, (ac) /cafirote/ *bird*; Ch /gəmbura /*kind of bird*; Som /ʃimbir/ *bird*; Konso /xampirtēta/ = ; ?Eg /črp/ *kind of goose*.

Further Cush attestations: Or /ʃimbirro/, /si-/ = ; Rendille /cimbir/ = (Mukarovsky); Saho Afar /kimbirō/ = . Also in a Saharan language: Tubu /kebri/ = (Mukarovsky). The word is evidently an ancient wandering word of unknown origin, but presumably from the southern Red Sea area, as it has hardly spread outside Sem Cush; verbs, where attested, are denominative and semi-onomatopoeic.

CPR II: Aram /cpr/, (n.) /cpår/ *plait*; Arab /Λfr/ *plait (hair), twist (rope)*; /Λafr/ *plait, girth*; /Λafīr/ *plait; strap of girth*; /Λafīrat/ *lock of hair*; Mhr /cəfrīr/ *flower*; Soq /cafrir/ = .

NB. phonological variation not parallelled by the semantic one.

CPR III: Aram /7upr/ *fingernail, claw, hoof*; Syr /7epr/ = ; *growth over corner of eye; rock, crag*; Amor /cupr/ (?) *fingernail*; Akk /cup(u)r/ *finger-/toenail, claw, hoof*; Arab /¢ifr/, /¢ufur/, /¢ufar/ *fingernail, claw, clutch, spur*; /¢ufar/, /¢afarat/ *eye disease, esp. cataract*; Mhr /7ayfēr/ *fingernail, claw*; Soq /7if(h)er/ *finger-/toenail, claw, hoof*; Te = ; Har /7ifir/ *fingernail, claw*; (slang) *money*; Ch Sdd Wol /7əfər/ *fingernail*; (Sdd) *claw*; Wol /7afrət/ *claw*; Ch /¢af^{w}ärä/, Sdd /-ffä-/, Wol /-fä-/ *scratch (with claws)*; Bil /¢iffer/ *finger-/toenail, claw, hoof*; Tu /etăfăr/ *front part of foot*; /tifΛənt/ *toe.*

In Cush also: Quara /7effer/ *fingernail, claw*. Cf. also Dolgopolsky p. 129 (for Om too) and Leslau, Gur III p. 178, and NB. phonological variation between the noun and the (denominative!) verb in Gur. For Berb, the case is less evident; the latter Tu entry is quoted from Cohen no. 351. The Mhr entry is quoted from Leslau, Soq p. 207 (Johnstone does not have it). The second last Sdd meaning and last Wol entry are my recordings.

CPRD&: Aram /&urd&ån/, /'u-/ *frog*; Syr /'urd&/ = ; ?Akk /muca''irān/, /-cār-/ = ; Arab /Λifdi&/, /Λafda&/, /Λu-/, /Λi-/ = ; Mhr /ψəfdēt/ = ; ?Eg /&bnχ/ = (Rössler).

A wandering word of unknown origin.

CQL: -

Based on a misinterpreted passage.

CR(R): Ug /mcrrt/ *raiment, wrap(?)*; ?(pl.) /crrt/ *recesses(?)*; Aram /crr/ *fold, wrap (in); D bind together*; Syr /cr/ *collect, gather, condense, enclose*; ?Amor /carir/, /curar/ ?; Akk /carār/ *pack in*; /cerret/, /cerrat/, (NAss) /carrat/ *leading-rope, nose-string*; Arab /cr/ *tie up (purse etc.); cry, creak, squeak, roar*; ESA /cr/ *sluice*; Mhr /crr/ *tie tight*; /cərrayt/ *animal with tight nipples*; Soq /m(e)car/, /msar/ *neck-kerchief*; Eg /ğr/ *boundary; bundle* (Vycichl after Albright).

CR(R) II: Phoen (pl.) /crt/ *fellow-wives*; Ya (pl.sf.) /cry/ *my enemies*; Ug /cr/ *hurt, afflict; besiege*; /crt/ *enemy*; Aram /cart/ *fellow-wife*; /&rr/ *D object*; /&år/ *oppressor*; Syr /&arrt/ *fellow-wife*; ?Amor /carr/ ?; Akk /cerr/ *enemy, enmity*; /cerret/ *fellow-wife*; Arab /Λr/ *harm, injure; A = ; be polygamist; L oppose, contend (with)*; /Λarrat/ *fellow-wife*; ESA /cr(r)/ *H advance (on), attack*; /mcr/ *(military) expedition, troops*; /Λr/ *fight; war; enemy*; Mhr /źr(r)/ *harm, injure; ʃ believe to be bewitched*; Soq /Λer(r)/ *strike, beat*; G&z /Λrr/ *A be hostile, rebel; tL be hostile, start hostilities*; Te /crr/ *L anger, be rebellious; set ambush; tL be hostile*; Sdd /7ärä/ *'enemy'*; ?Tu /u¢ar/ *torment.*

NB. the sibilant varr. The root could be ultimately related to the preceding one. The Sdd entry occurs in an epithetical phrase apparently borrowed from Amh. Eg /ğrğry/ seems based on a different idea.

CR(R) III: Aram /crår/ *stone, pebble*; /7innår/ *stone, rock; hardening*; Syr /7arrān/ *rock, pebble*; ?Amor /cirr/, /curr/?; Akk /curr/ *obsidian,* *flint*; Arab /¢r/ *sharpen (stone)*; /¢irr/, /¢urar(at)/ *sharp-edged stone*; /mi¢arrat/ *flint*; ESA /¢r/ *stone casing (?)*; /¢rn/ *mountain*; ?Tu /a¢ər/ *make extreme efforts*; Cpt /ğår/ *sharpen, whet.*

Probably root var. of /cwr/ IV above.

CRB: Aram /crb/ *scorch, burn*; Arab /Λrm/ *burn (fire; with passion)*; ?ESA /crbn/ *name of the harvest month*; ?Mhr /¢rb/, /źrb/ *be ill, afflicted*; ?Soq /cerob/ *cut*; /cairib/ *harvest, late autumn / winter; north wind.*

Could be root var. of /crp/ below. NB. the Arab Mhr varr.

CRD: ?Aram /card/ *kind of bird.*

Apparently of onomatopoeic origin.

CRV: ?Ug /¢rw/ *a certain commodity*; Syr /carw/ *pine cone; cedar bark; muttee-pal (a fragrant resin)*; Arab /Λarw/ *kind of tree (of sweet odour, source of perfume material)*; ESA /Λrw/ *aromatic resin; incense burner; turum: kind of tree (Pistacia lentiscus).*

The Ug entry occurs parallel to /nbt/ *honey*. The second ESA entry is from the Roman author Plinius (see K-B^3). The word may be a *Kulturwort.*

CRX: Aram /crx/ *cry*; Syr =; *(snake) hiss*; Akk /carāχ/ *cry, lament*; Arab /crχ/ + *St cry (for help)*; ESA /crχ/ =; *H inform*; ?Mhr /cōrax/ *cry*; Soq /carax/ =; /co&eher/ *sob*; G&z /crχ/ *shout, cry, lament, implore*; Te /crx/ *cry, call*; Har /7rx/ *mention (name), call (witness); vocalize (consonants)*; Ch /7äna/, Sdd /7ärra/, Wol /7ärä/ *call, invite.*

The Mhr entry is quoted from Leslau, Soq p. 358.

CRK: Aram /crk/ *have need (of), necessity*; Syr /crk/ *be in need*; Arab /Λrk/ *be poor, destitute.*

NB. the sibilant variation; Ug /crk/, if it does exist, is too marginal in meaning.

CRM: Syr /crm/ *tear out, apart; dare*; Arab /crm/ *(rope) be broken.*

CR&: Aram /car&(a)t/, /cu-/ *leprosy*; Akk /cennett/, /-nnīt/, /-rnett/ *kind of skin disease*; Arab /car&/ *epilepsy*, (syr.) *headache*; G&z /crn&t/ *scurf, impetigo*; /cäl&/ *plague, leprosy* (Barth).

Appears to be based on a wandering word, with occasional phonological variation and shifts of meaning, but maintaining the connotation of scourge or plague.

CRP: Phoen /mcrp/ *smelter*; Ug /mcrp/ *crucible*; Aram /crp/ + *D purify*; Syr /crp/ =; Akk /carāp/ =, *smelt, burn; dye red*; Arab /cirf/ *pure, unmixed (beverage)*; /carīf/ *pure silver*; ?/¢rf/ *be fine, elegant, intelligent, skilful*; ESA /crf/ *silver; kind of aromatic gum*; Mhr /¢rf/ *run through all (one's) money*; ?/¢ərayf/ *skilled; physician*; Tu /a¢rəf/ *silver; money.*

An Eg entry was suggested by Vycichl (after Calice no. 366), but he does not mention it in Cpt (p. 333 sub /ǧūf/) and the meaning given is not the same. NB. the sibilant variation; however, the word for silver must be regarded as a *Kulturwort*. The last Arab Mhr entries, if relevant, represent a shift to figurative usage, in Arab parallelled by a phonological split. Bed /dōf/ Som /dūb/ (etc.) *roast* Eg /ǧ'f/ *burn* seem too hazardous phonologically. Cf /ʃ/srp/ below.

ק

Q': Aram /qå(')t/ *pelican(?)*; ?Arab /q'/ *R (raven) croak.*

Onomatopoeic?

QB: Aram /qabb/ *a measure of volume (ca. 21)*; /qebt/ *maw, rennett*; Syr /qabb/ *a measure of volume*; ?Arab (syr.) /qabb/ *shaft of a balance*; /k&b/ *(fem. breasts) grow, swell*; /ka&b(at)/ *cube, die; square house*; ?ESA /qb/ *a measure of volume (?)*; Mhr /qəbīt/ *small stomach of a ruminant (=maw?)*; G&z /qab/ *a measure of volume*; Te /qäbbät/ *full-stuffed goat-stomach*; ? Chad: Sura /kəpit/ *stomach* (Müller); ?Eg /qby/ *jar (also as a measure)*; /q'bt/ *breast, nipple*; ?Cpt /(e)kibe/ =.

The ruminant stomach, used as a container, could have given rise to the measuring unit; if so, it is hard to connect the first Eg entry with it; the second (=Cpt) is complicated by the second Arab entry. I do not find the ESA entry confirmed beyond K-B; in Arab, if relevant, sizable shifts in meaning (and sound) have taken place. Possibly in Cush too: Saho /qōb/ *waterproof basket*; and cf. Cohen no. 230*bis*; but the Hsa entry looks still more remote. The measure term has become a *Kulturwort.*

QB(B): Aram /qubbt/ *vault, tent, brothel*; Syr /qubbt/ *vault, tent, cupola; (holy) see*; Arab /qubbat/ *vault, tent, dome, pavilion*; /qb/ *D build a cupola, arch, dome; enter (a dome); bulge*; Te /qbbät/ *dome, cupola.*

The Te entry may be loan from Arab; in any case, the noun has become a *Kulturwort.*

QB(B) II: Phoen /qb/ *curse*; Syr /qb/ *shiver, shudder; tD = ; be in high fever*; Arab /qb/ *(animal) gnash one's teeth; (+D) (herbs, fruit) dry up*; /qbb/ *be emaciated*; Te /qb/ *despise, revile, ignore, be sick*; /qbba/ *disgrace*; /qbbät/ *disease, ailment.*

Illness and other misfortunes were often regarded as effects of a curse.

QBV: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QBL: Ug /qblbl/ *sandal strap*; Aram /qbl/+*D receive, obtain, accept, obey*; Syr /qbl/ *meet, oppose, accuse; invoke; D accept*; ?Amor /qbl/ ?; Akk

/qabl/ *battle, fight* (n.); /qitbul/ *(Qt) fight*; Arab /qbl/ *meet, receive, accept*; ESA /qbl/ *receive; (D?) lease; H grant prosperity; Qt start fight; St invoke*; /qblt/ *fight*; Mhr /qbl/ *accept*; Soq /qobol/ *be content; comfort*; G&z /qbl/ *D meet, happen; receive, accept, admit*; Te /qbl/ *D accept; L cross over; tL meet; A return, be converted*; /&qbl/ =; /qabl/ *returning, former*; /qäbl/ *opposite (side), distance*; Har /täqēbälä/ *receive, accept, join; A hand over*; Ch /täqäpärä/, Sdd /-qibbälä/, Wol /-qeb-/ *receive, accept; A hand out/over*; Bed /gābil/ *receive, accept*; Bil /qabilā/, /qiblā/ *before, in front of; the five intercalary days*; /qabqabil/ *opposite e.o.*; Tu /əγbəl/, /əqbəl/ *accept, agree*; /aγbəl/ *abdominal fat(ness) (of humans)*.

The Bed Bil entries could perhaps be regarded as loans, although borrowing of adverbs and prepositions is highly unusual and even of verbs not common; the second Tu entry is no doubt loan from Arab, and the first one might be its adaptation to Tu phonology (cf. Prasse, Chronologie p. 517); but the third one can hardly be regarded as a loan, and as the meaning agrees with the basic one of our root to *be opposite, before, in front (of)*, the probability is that our root is original in Tu which strengthens the case for its originality in Bed Bil (and other Cush; cf. Cohen no. 227) too; the root may thus be common to Sem Cush Berb.

QBL II: Aram /qbl/ + *D complain, lament*; Syr /qbl/ *bewail; ?accuse*; Soq /qbl/ *swear*.

Appears contaminated with the preceding root in Syr; in Soq, meaning intensified.

QB&: Aram /qb&/ *fasten, fix, establish*; Syr /qb&/ =; *found, penetrate*; ?Arab /qb&/ *hide one's head (in one's skin, clothes); N (bird) enter (its nest)*.

The words for goblet, hat etc. seem at best folk-etymologically connected.

QB& II: Aram /qb&/ *rob, defraud*; ?Arab /qbΛ/ *seize, grasp; receive (money)*; ?ESA /qbΛ/ *a branch of military forces*.

LW from Aram (if Arab ESA entries relevant)?

QBC: Ug /qbc/ *gathering, assembly*; Arab /qbc/ + *tD (locusts) swarm*; /qibc/ *heap (of sand); crowd*; /qabīc(at)/ *heap (of soil)*; ?/qbΛ/ *contract, constipate; receive (money)*; ?/qābiΛ/ *tax-collector*; ESA /mqbΛt/ *abundance of water* (CIH 947 l. 2); and see the preceding root; Mhr /qbź/ *look after, round up (animals)*; /qəbōź/ *herd (of camels)*.

Aram-Syr /qb&/ does not agree with the meaning, *gathering* which appears to be basic for this root.

QBR: Phoen /qbr/ *bury; burial, grave*; Ug =; Aram /qbr/ *bury*; /qabr/ *grave*; Syr =; Akk /qebēr/, (n.) /qabr/ =; Arab /qbr/, (n.) /qabr/ =; ESA /qbr/ *Qt be buried; grave, tomb*; Mhr /qbr/ *bury*; /qōbər/ *grave*; Soq /qebor/ *bury*; G&z /qbr/ *bury*; /mäqbärt/ *grave*; (pl.) /mäqabr/ =; *cemetery*; Te /qbr/ *bury*; /qäbr/ *tomb*; Har /qbr/ *bury;*

AL cover live firebrands with ashes; /qäbri/ *grave, tomb*; Ch /qäpärä/, Sdd /qäbbärä/, Wol /-b-/ *bury*; Ch /mäqabər/, Sdd =; /mäqbar/, Wol /qäbər/ *grave, cemetery.*

The Sdd entry identical with the Ch one is my recording. Cohen's (no. 232*bis*) Cush entries, as far as relevant, may be Sem in origin; Hsa /kabari/ certainly so.

QBR II: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat.

QD: -

Probably a little used *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

QD(D): Ug /qdqd/ *(crown of) head*; Aram /qådqd/ *vertex, summit*; Akk /qadād/ *bow deep down*; /qaqqad/, /kaqq-/, (lx) /qadq-/ *head, upper part; capital*; Mhr /qdd/ ʃ *shave one's head.*

As the lowering of the *head* in particular is the central purpose in doing obeisance, it is natural that designations for both may be derived from the same root. Eg /ǧ'ǧ'/ is closer to /gl(l)/.

QDX: Phoen /qdx/ *D(?) kindle, light*; ?Ug /qdxm/ *tinder? lighting device?*; Aram /qdx/ *be kindled; sprout up*; /qaddaxt/ *fever*; Syr /qdx/ *pierce, perforate; kindle, inflame; burn, flare*; Arab /qdx/ *strike fire*; /qaddāx(at)/ *flint*; ?ESA /mqdx/ *cup (for divination?* in CIH 972 too); Mhr /qdx/ *strike a light, spark*; Soq /qadax/ *pierce; produce fire*; ?G&z /dqx/ *bore, perforate.*

Fire may be produced by boring, but in the context of the G&z attestation this is hardly the case.

QDM: Phoen /qdm/ *former time*; /qdmt/ *first fruits*; Ug /qdm/ *advance; east wind; before, in front of*; Aram /qdm/ *visit; D approach; precede, go in front; do early*; /qadm/ *earlier, former, ancient time; eastern (side)*; Syr /qdm/ *precede; go/do first; arrive*; /qadm/ *first; front side, frontal part*; Amor /qdm/ *be in front*; /qadm(ān)/, /qi-/ *eastern*; Akk /qadm/ *former time; god*; /qudm/ *front side, before; founder, ancestor, god*; Arab /qdm/ *(+D, tD, St) precede, lead; (+A, St) advance boldly, venture (upon); be previous, old, ancient*; /qidm/ *antiquity*; ESA /qdm/ *precede, advance, approach; D lead, (+Qt) command; tD undertake (a project); H send in advance*; /tqdm/ *incursion*; Mhr /qdm/ *come, go before*; Soq /qedem/ *advance, lead*; /qadim/ *ram*; G&z /qdm/ *precede, go/come before, lead, start*; Te /qdm/ *D go on, forward*; /qädam/ *former, past*; /qädäm/ *before, in front, formerly*; Har /qdm/ *advance, precede*; /ēqäd/ *front (side); head, chief*; Sdd /qäddämä/, Wol /-d-/ *advance, precede.*

In Cush: Quara /qadäm/ *be before*; however, being the least used of three synonymous roots, it appears to be loan from Sem. Whether Saho /qam/, /kam/ is relevant at all is unclear.

QDR: Aram /qdr/ + *tD grow dark, black*; /qidr/ *cooking pot*; Syr /qedr/ = ; Akk (NAss) /qaddur/ *blackened (pot)*; ?/diqār/ *pot, jar (of clay, stone, metal; for oil, perfume, water, wine, medicine, food)*; Arab /qdr/ *cook (meat)*; /qidr/ *pot, urn*; /qδr/ *be filthy, defiled; (+D) soil, defile*; ?ESA (pl.) /'qdr/ *(Nn)-fold, a term of measurement*; Mhr /qādər/ *pot*; /qədēr/ *amount; (usually woman's) height*; Soq /qader/, /žadher/, /qodher/, /moqdihir/ *pot*; /muqdor/ *measure*; /meqde(y)-reh/ *nourishment*; ?G&z /qedr/ *a poisonous plant*; Te /qdar/ *pot, trough*; Berb: Sus /agdůr/ *pot, jar*; ?Chad: Pa'a /gadla/ *big pot*; Mus(ey?) /gedelan/ *cooking pot* (Müller after Lukas); Eg /qɗ/ *pot.*

The root is evidently built around the cooking pot which must be an ancient *Kulturwort* so that considerable phonological and semantic variation is possible; Müller compares also Ug /dkrt/ (which Gordon, however, takes for pl. and translates "jars"); Caf /qondō/ *clay pot* and /kondō/ *cooking pot* as well as some Chad words for eating and water pots deviating still more from our root.

QDʃ: Phoen /qdʃ/ *consecrate; holy; sanctuary*; (Carthage) /kdʃ/(?) *sanctuary*; Ug /qdʃ/ *holy; sanctuary; a class of priests; ʃ consecrate*; Aram /qdʃ/ *D consecrate, sanctify, purify, inaugurate, betroth*; /qudʃ/ *holy, holiness; sanctuary*; Syr /qudʃ/ = ; /qdʃ/ *D consecrate, inaugurate, sanctify; marry*; Amor /qdʃ/ *be sacred*; Akk /qadāʃ/, /qaʃād/ *be pure, purified; D purify*; Arab /qds/ *be pure, spotless, holy*; /quds/ *sanctity*; ESA /qds/ *celebrate mass; holy*; G&z /qds/ *D sanctify, consecrate, dedicate, inaugurate; perform divine service*; Te /qds/ *D sanctify*; Sdd /qiddäsä/ *perform the Mass*; /qəddus/ *holy*; (+Ch) /qəddase/ *Mass.*

NB. the Akk transposition; in the Phoen (Carthage) entry, /k/ seems clear, but /d/ is uncertain; however, the context seems to require a word for sanctuary. Cultic terms may belong to the category of *Kulturwörter*. Ebl /qá-dì-ʃum/ (=NÌ.GIG).

QV: ?Akk /kukkānīt/ *a garden plant*; Eg /k'k'/ *castor plant (Ricinus communis)*; Cpt /kiki/ = .

LW from Eg (Baer); if the Akk entry is relevant, a considerable phonological and semantic shift has taken place.

QHV: Aram /qhV/ *be blunt(ed), dull, faint, stale, acrid; menstruate*; Syr /qhV/ *be blunt(ed)*; Arab /qhy/ *have little appetite.*

Cf. the root /khV/ above.

QHL: Aram /qhål/ *congregation*; Syr /qhl/ *call together, assemble*; /qahl/ *crowd, multitude*; ESA /qhl(t)/ *assembly, council*; ?Som /qolo/ *group, clan, kin.*

Probably root var. of /qwl/ below.

QW: Aram /qaww/, /qiww/ *thread, cord*; Syr /qwe/ *woven (fabric)*; Akk /qū/ *hemp; thread, cord*; ?Soq /qā/ (pl. /'eqxa/) *cord.*

LW from Akk (and ultimately Sumerian).

QWV: Syr /qwy/ *D stay, persevere, expect*; Akk /qu”ū/, /quwwū/, /qubbū/, (Ass) /qa”ū/ *wait (for), expect*; Arab /qwy/ *be(come) strong, be able, prevail*; Tu /kuyəy/ *persevere in efforts.*

In Eth also, see Leslau, *Contributions* p. 46. The sporadic attestation may be due to the root having only one firm rad. in consequence of which it easily becomes unrecognizable or is replaced. In NWSem, however, presence of /w/ would be expected, and therefore the Ug form quoted in K-B^3 hardly belongs to this root.

QW7: Ug /q7/ *L loathe*; /q7t/ *loathing, disgust.*

Root var. of /qwc/ below.

QW7 II: Syr /qw7y/ *accumulate, heap up*; Arab /qaw7/ *flock of sheep*; /qaw7at/ *date-basket.*

QWL: Phoen /ql/, (sf.) κουλω, (NPu) /qwl/, /q’l/ *voice*; Ug /ql/ *voice, sound, thunder*; Aram /qål/ *voice, echo, news*; Syr /qål/ *voice, sound, noise, thunder, fame, tone, modulation, pronunciation, language*; Amor /qwl/ *speak*; ?Akk /qāl/ *pay attention (to); be quiet*; Arab /qwl/ *say, speak, think*; /qāl/, /qīl/ *talk*; /qawl/ *saying, speech*; ESA /ql/, /qwl/, /qyl/ *(tribal) leader, chief*; Mhr /qawl/ *speech*; /qəwōl/ *(ex tempore) singer*; G&z /qal/ *voice, sound, noise, thunder; talk, word, speech, fame, rumour, case, deed*; Te /qal/ *voice, speech*; Ch /qar/, Sdd /qal/, /qay/, Wol /qal/ *voice, sound, word, thing*; Bil /qāl/ *voice, speech*; Chad */kl/ *call(, name, shout, speak).*

Further Cush attestations: Afar Saho Quara /qāl/, Quara /kāl/ *word, voice*; Sid /kul/ *say* (Müller after Cerulli); /kāle/ *language* (my recording). However, all these may be loans from Sem, each one being one of two or more synonymous expressions, often apparently the least used one or locally limited (for Sid, I have recorded quite different words for saying and speaking); the same appears to be true of Bil. However, in Chad, */kl/ is the second most frequent root as reconstructed by Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, and as there is interchange between velar and uvular stops both in Sem and in Chad, connection is conceivable. Cf. also the root /qhl/ above.

QWM: Phoen /mqm/, *macom: (esp. sacred) place; a cultic functionary*; Ug /qm/ *rise (up, against)*; /mqm/ *place*; Aram /qwm/ *stand (up), stay, remain (valid)*; Syr =, *stay alive, be revived, erected, performed, instituted*; Amor /qwm/ *stand*; Akk (Mari) /qām/ *stand, stay*; (late Bab) /qamām/ *(hair) stand up, bristle*; /ʃuqammum/ *(come to) stand still*; Arab /qwm/ *rise; be revived, lively, evident*; ESA /qm/ + *tQ stand, witness; D erect, establish; H =; put in order*; /qwm/ *stand, base; people, community*; /mqm/ *place; power, potency; property*; Mhr /qawm/ *raiding-party*; G&z /qwm/ *stand (up, by), consist (of), stay, remain (valid), persevere, exist, originate, resist, assist*; Te /qym/ *be harvest-time*; Ch /q^{w}ämä/, (+ Sdd) /qomä/ *stand, stop*; Sdd /täqawwämä/ *oppose*; Wol /qan/ *stand*; /’a’an/ *cease*; Som /qōn/, /qūn/ *erect;*

standing posture; /qōmato/ *erect posture*; Tu /γaym/ *stop to rest (on a march etc.).*

The first Akk entry is loan from WSem. The Wol entries are my recordings; the latter is apparently A-stem.

QWP: Aram /tqu^{w}pt/, /-pat/ *solstice*; ?Syr /qwp/ *A pay attention (to); take care (of)*; ?Arab /qwf/ *track s.o.*

Cognate with the root /nqp/ above.

QWP II: Aram /qo^{w}p/ *ape*; Syr = ; Akk /uqūp/, /iq-/, /aq-/ = ;? Arab /qwf/ *prognosticate*; Chad: Kofyar (Bong), Goemai (Ankwe) /kāp/; ?Dera (Kanakuru) /gom/ *baboon*; Eg /gf/, /gyf/, /ga-fi/ *ape, monkey*; Cpt /ϥapi/ *ape.*

A wandering word of Sanscrit origin. Apes were often attributed ability to play a role in divination.

QWC: Aram /qwc/ *be fed up, feel disgust*; Arab /qz/ *loathe, shrink (from)* (Guillaume); Tu /akəʌ/ *loathe, detest.*

Syr /qn7/ deviates both phonologically and semantically. Cf. /qw7/ above.

QWC II: Akk /gicc/ *thorn (bush)*; ?Arab /qacāc/ *cytisus; Euphorbia canarica.*

QWC III: : Syr /qawct/ *lock of hair*; Arab /quccat/ =.

Aram /qwc/ *cut* may also be considered related, cf. the Arab verb; but the Aram root is not specifically connected with hair, nor are locks or curls usually termed clippings; and the whole root seems to be an offshoot of /qc(V)/ (below) anyway.

QWR: Phoen /mqr/ *fountain*; Ug /qr/ *spring, well*; /mqr/ *well*; ?Aram /qo^{w}r/ *cold*; Syr /måqōr/ *cistern*; Arab /qwr/ + *Qt cut a hole (in cloth, wall)*; /waqr/ *cavity (of the eye, rock)*; /waqīr(at)/ *hollow (in a rock)*; ESA /qwr/, /wqr/ *inscribe, carve in*; /mwqr/ *rock cistern*; ?Soq /kereh/ *spring*; G&z /wqr/ + *D excavate, hollow out*; Te /wqr/ *D chisel, cut (stone)*; Eg /qr(r)t/ *hollow space, cave, nether world, source of Nile.*

The primary meaning seems to be a hollow, whether natural or artificial, in the ground or rock, usually containing water; the derived verb would then mean cutting such a hole or cutting in a more general sense. The Aram entry is closer to the root /qr(r)/ below which could also be originally related, as water from a natural spring is usually rather cold; the Soq one is phonologically closer to /krV/, but a semantic shift is then required, as natural springs are not dug. The primary root seems to have been biradical, in NWSem expanded internally, in South Sem mainly externally. The Syr entry may be a borrowing (Brockelmann). Cpt /kūr/ is hardly connectable with this root.

QWR II: ?Arab /qwr/ *catch (game) by guile*; /qawr/ *new cotton; cotton-rope.*

QXT: Aram /qahyt/ *assembly*;

The meaning of the SamH hapax seems to have been derived from a noun akin to this one.

Q7(7): Aram /q77/ + *tL quarrel.*

Q7B: ?Aram /qi7b/ *a daemon (of ruin, destruction)*; Syr /q7b/ *D contend, incite*; Arab /qcb/ *cut off; (butcher) cut up (a sheep)*; /qu7ābat/ *a piece of meat.*

NB. the Arab varr.

Q7V: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

Q7L: Aram /q7l/ *cut, kill; D kill, massacre*; (Nerab) /k7l/ *kill*; Syr /q7l/ *cut, kill, slaughter; D massacre; cause to kill*; Akk (OBab) /qatāl/ *kill, slaughter (a sacrificial victim)*; Arab /qtl/ *kill, slay; allay (hunger, thirst), blend (wine with water)*; (syr.) *beat hard*; ESA /qtl/ *kill*; Mhr /ltγ/ = ; Soq /latax/ = ; G&z /qtl/ *kill, slaughter, massacre, execute, cut (off), expel, besiege, conquer*; Te /qtl/ *kill, inflict pain, scold, cheat*; Ch /qä7ärä/, Wol /qätälä/ *kill*; Tu /əγtəl/ *speak rudely, scold, shout after.*

Partial assimilation of the alveolar in Aram-Syr; the Hbr entry may be loan from Aram, and the Akk one from WSem. In Mhr Soq, transposition with phonological modification, perhaps with amalgamation of an original root, cf. Arab /ltx/ *strike*; semantic shift in Tu.

Q7L II: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

Q7M: Aram /q7m/ *tear off*; /qr7m/ *pluck off*; Syr /q7m/, /qr7m/ *cut off*; Arab /q7m/ *seize with teeth, cut off*; /qr7m/ *cut off; sever*; Soq /qr7m/ *chew*; Ch Wol /qərä7ämä/, Sdd /-77-/ *crush, cut up.*

Q7N: ?Ug /q7n/ *(artisan, maker of) small objects (=carpenter)?*; Aram /qu7n/ *weaker end, tail*; /qa7nuʷt/ *childhood, youth*; Syr /q7n/ *be minor, weaker, depressed, sad*; Akk /qatān/ *be thin, weak*; Arab /qa7an/ *tail-bone region*; /qatīn/ *thin, weak* (Barth); ESA /q7n/ *small; common people*; /q7nt/ *small cattle*; Mhr /q7n/ *grow thin*; Soq /qtn/ *reduce, make thin/small*; /qe7ehon/ *thin, small*; G&z /q7n/ *A make thin, fine, subtle*; Te /q7n/ *be thin, meagre*; /qä7n/ *smallness*; /qä7in/ (f. /qä77an/) *thin, fine, slender, high-pitched*; Har /q7n/ *be thin, lean*; /qä¢īn/ *thin, lean*; Sdd /qä77änä/, Wol /-7-/ *be thin, slim, meagre*; Sdd /qä¢¢ən/, Wol /qä¢in/ *thin, slim, meagre.*

Partial dissimilation of the alveolar in Akk Arab Soq. ?Ebl /qù-tá-nu-um/ *fine cloth.*

Q7&: Aram /q7&/ *cut off, shorten, fragment*; Syr = ; *preclude; decide, judge; desist, reject*; Arab /q7&/ *cut, suppress, curtail, abolish, prevent, cross*; Mhr /q7&/ *cut (off); breach (a contract); be thirsty, tired*; Soq /q7&/ *cut (off)*; Te =, *reduce*; Sdd /qä77a/ *make incisions.*

Cognate with /qc&/ below.

Q7P: Aram /q7p/ *pluck, tear off*; Syr /q7p/ *pluck off, gather, harvest, gain; take courage*; Akk /qatāp/ *pluck off*; Arab /q7f/ *pluck, snatch; (+D) scratch*; Mhr /q7f/ *earmark (an animal)*; Te /qä7äf/ *leaf, stalk, plant*; /q¢b/ + *L squeeze, pinch off*; Eg /qdf/ *pick (off, up), gather (fruit etc.)*; Cpt /kåtf/ *gather (corn, fruit, wood etc.)*.

NB. the Akk Te varr.

Q7R: Phoen /q7rt/, (NPu) /ktrt/ *incense*; Ug /q7rt/ =, *smoke*; Aram /qi7r/ *smoke, mist*; /q7r/ *A vaporize*; /&7r/ *smoke*; Syr /&7r/ =, *fumigate; (odour, fragrance) spread; (fume, dust, storm, ire, glory etc.) rise*; /&e7r/ *vapour, odour, incense*; Amor /qa7ar/ *smoke, incense*; Akk /qatār/, (n.) /qutr/ *smoke*; /quturt/ *smoke of burnt offering*; Arab /qtr/ *D fumigate o.s.; A perfume o.s.*; /q7r/ *D perfume (tD o.s.) with aloes*; /qu7r/ *aloes*; /qā7ir/ *gum, 'dragon's blood'*; /qi7rān/, /qa7irān/ *tar of juniper or savin-tree*; ESA /q7r/ *burn incense*; /mq7r/ *censer*; Soq /qa7rān/ *tar*; G&z /q7ran/ =; *pitch*; /qtr/ *burn incense, fumigate*; /qtare/ *incense, fragrance, spices*; Te /qätare/ =; /q7ran/ *tar*.

The more widespread nouns belong to the *Kulturwort* category; thus, the root may not be original in Eth. Cf. /&ʃn/ above.

QY': Akk /qā'/, /gā'/, /kā'/ *spit*; Arab /qy'/ *vomit*; /qay'/, /quyā'/ *vomit(ed food)*; Mhr /qy'/ *vomit*; Soq /qe'/ *cough, spit*; G&z /qy'/, (n.) /q(i)ya'/ *vomit*; Te /q'/, /q&/, (n.) /qäy'/ =; Tu /əqqəw/, /uqqu/ =; Eg /q'&/, /q&/ =; *spit*; Cpt /ka-bol/ =.

Of onomatopoeic origin; therefore more than one independent origin possible; so apparently in Cush, cf. Cohen no. 247.

QYN: Aram /qi^{y}nå'/ *metal-worker, (black)smith*; Syr /qaynåy/ *black-, goldsmith*; /qynn/ *work metal*; /qīnt/ *song, hymn, elegy; melody*; /qnqn/ *sing*; Arab /qyn/ *hammer, work (iron), fix, repair; D adorn*; /qayn/ *smith; slave*; /qaynat/ *songstress; housemaid*; ESA /qyn/ *craftsman(?); 'minister', administrator*; G&z /qnw/ + *D fix with spikes, nails*; /q(ä)not/ *spike, nail*; /qnw/ *tQ*, /qny/ *L, tQ sing, play, perform liturgical music*; /qana/ *tone, modulation, melody*; Te /qnV/ *L sing (a dirge etc.; ex tempore)*; /qana/ *tune, melody*; ?Berb: Shilxa /γunī/ *sing*.

The Berb entry could be loan from Arab (/γny/ *D*).

QYC: Ug /q¢/ *summer (fruit)*; Aram /qe^{y}7/, /qay7/, (Barr.) /kyc/ *summer*; Syr /qay7/ =; Arab /qay¢/ *midsummer*; /qy¢/ *(day) be hot; D, tD spend the summer*; ESA /qy¢/ *summer*; /qc/ *summer fruit*; /δqycn/ *name of a month*; Mhr /qay¢/ *summer (before rains)*; Soq /qiya7/ *summer*.

NB. the Aram ESA varr. Cf. the root /yqc/ above.

QYR: Phoen /qr/ *wall*; ?Ug =; Aram /qayyår/ *tar-merchant*; Syr /qīr/ *bitumen*; Akk =; Arab /qār/, /qīr/ *pitch, tar*.

A *Kulturwort*; of Sumerian origin, semantic shift in Hbr Phoen (Ug?), cf. K-B^{3}.

QYʃ: ?Arab /qys/ *strut, walk haughtily.*

QKL: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QL(L): Ug /ql/ *be inferior*; /qlt/ *levity, light esteem (?)*; Aram /qll/ *be small, decrease; A esteem lightly, ridicule; D alleviate; hurry*; Syr /ql/ *be light, quick; decrease, vanish; D alleviate; put to shame*; Akk /qalāl/ *be/grow light, small, little; D make small, esteem lightly, put to shame*; Arab /ql/ *be few, small, rare; A, St lift, uphold*; ESA /qll(t)/ *little, small amount*; Mhr /qǐl/ *Qt be little; ʃ consider s.th. little*; /qəl/ *sparseness*; /'əqlāl/ *smaller, less*; Soq /qel(l)/ *be small*; /qal/ *young*; /'eqelhel/, /&ig-/ *youth*; G&z /qll/ *be light, little, easy, tolerable, quick; D make lighter, easier; unburden; speed up; esteem lightly, spurn*; Te /ql/ *be light, easy, at ease*; /qälil/ (f. /qällal/) *light, easy, light-minded*; Har /qll/ *be thin*; Ch /qänärä/, Sdd /qällälä/, Wol /qäl-/ *be light*; Ch /qäri (qar)/, Sdd /qäll/, Wol /qäl/ *small, a (little) bit*; Ch /qʷərər/, Sdd /qällal/, Wol /qalle/ *light; humble*; Bil /qīl/ *be light, weak*; /qaläl/ *be light, minor, unimportant*; Tu /iγlal/ *be dressed in rags*; /γələlət/ *be very thin*; /eγələl/ *stalk (of corn).*

Further in Cush: Saho /qalal/ *be light* and (for Om too) Dolgopolsky p. 196. Some of them may be of Sem origin (Reinisch, Appleyard), but hardly all. The root may thus be common to Sem Cush Om Berb. The last Wol entry is my recording. The root /qlV/ II below is an offshoot of this one.

QL(L) II: Phoen (pl.) /qllm/ *type of vessel*; Aram /qall/, /qålål/ *(earthenware) jar*; Syr /qullt/ =; Arab /qullat/ =; Har /qulu'/ *gourd, bowl*; Sdd /qəl/, Wol /quli/ =; Bed /qillo/ =; Om: Moča /qillo/ =.

For further Cush attestations cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 474; Müller compares also Sdd /kolälit/ *jar*; and mentions Caf /qullō/ *milk jar*; the former might be more remotely related, the word being evidently a *Kulturwort* which may be borrowed more than once from different sources; while Leslau does not confirm the latter.

QLB: Arab /qlb/ *change, reverse, turn upside down*; ?Eg /qnbt/ *corner*, /ǧnb/ *(way) turn off, (nose) be curved* (Rössler).

QLB II: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QLV: Aram /qlV/ *roast, burn*; Syr /qlV/ *break up, kill; tD dry up, burn, be eager, vexed, angry; be broken(?)*; Akk /qalū/ *roast; burn*; Arab /qlw/, /qly/ *fry (meat)*; Mhr /qlV/ *cook, fry; irritate*; Soq /qele/ *roast, cook*; G&z /qlw/ *parch, roast*; /qly/ *(conscience) burn, reproach*; Te /qlV/ *roast (corn)*; Har /qala/ *roast, fry (meat)*; Ch /qʷänä/, Sdd /qollä/, Wol /qole/ *roast, parch (grain, coffee).*

Som /hallåu/ *intense heat* seems hardly related.

QLV II: Aram /qlV/ *be contemptible*; Syr /qlV/ *D, A despise*; Arab /qlw/, /qly/ *dislike, hate*; ESA /qly/ *disgrace*; Te /qlV/ *be proud, spurn.*

Root var. of /ql(l)/ above (with which Ug /qlt/ can be directly connected).

QLX: Aram /qlx/ *D throw away*; /qalx/ *(plant) stem*; Syr /qlaxlåx/ *fennel (Ferule communis)*; ?Arab /qlχ/ *uproot (a tree).*

QL7: Aram /ql7/ *accept, include; give refuge*; Syr /qallū7/ *greedy*; Arab /qulā7/, /qala7īy/ *dwarf; puny child, animal*; ?/qalt/ *reservoir* (Barth); ?Soq /qat/ *puddle of water (in a rockhole etc.).*

The primary meaning seems to be need for and/or providing special attention, basically in an emergency, then also more permanently. The Soq entry, however, is phonologically difficult even for that language.

QLYS: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QLMS: Aram = Hbr; Arab /qalam/ *reed, pen, handwriting, style*; ESA /qlm/ *kind of incense (Calamus aromaticus)*; Mhr /qəlēm/ *pen.*

LW from Gr.

QLS: ?Ug /qlc/ *mock(?)*; G&z /slq/ *tL have fun, joke, mock*; Ch /qanäsä/ =.

Gordon takes the Ug entry to mean 'restraint', with reference to Arab /qlc/; but the basic meaning of the latter may be contraction in the sense of concentration or reinforcement which agrees poorly with the Ug contexts. Either way, Hittite /kalleʃ-/ *call, invite* also seems remote semantically. Transposition in G&z.

QLS II: Aram /qls/ *D praise; dance*; Syr /qls/ *D praise, celebrate*; Arab /qls/ *sing & dance; D welcome.*

Could perhaps be based on Gr καλως or the Hittite verb quoted in the preceding note; but the former presupposes considerable semantic adjustment, and while the latter is semantically closer, the late attestation makes it doubtful.

QLS III: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QLS7R: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat.

QL&: ?Phoen /ql&/ *slinger(?)*; Ug /ql&/ *sling* (n.); Aram /qil&/ =; /ql&/ *A sling, fling*; Syr /ql&/ *expel; D sling*; /qel&/ = (n.); Arab /ql&/ + *D, A, Qt, St pluck, snatch off, dismiss*; /qal&(at)/ *shepherd's bag*; /miqlā&/ (syr.) *sling*; Soq /qalax/ *throw, abandon*; G&z /mäql&/ *sling*; ?Eg /qr&w/, (Dem.) /qr&/, /gl&/ *shield*; ?Cpt /ϭal/, /ϭl/ =.

The noun has become a *Kulturwort* and could be old enough to have undergone the semantic shift required for the Eg-Cpt entry to be connected;

on the other hand, particularly the Arab meanings are hard to reconcile with the assumption that the verb is denominative everywhere.

QL& II: Aram /ql&/ *weave, plait*; /qil&/, /qla&/ *sail*; Syr /q&īlt/ *(woman's) hair-band; carving*; Arab /ql&/ *A*, (n.) /qil&/, /qilā&at/ *sail*; G&z /ql&/ *reveal, open up, remove veil*; Te = ; /qal&/ *clear, fair (weather)*; /qälä&/ *sail.*

Transposition in Syr; semantic shift in the Eth vb.

QLP: Aram /qlp/ + *D peel off, detach*; Syr /qlp/ = ; Akk /qalāp/ = ; Arab /qlf/ *bark (a tree); circumcise; (+Qt) pull out (fingernail)*; /qilf/, /qirf/ *bark, rind (of fruit)*; /qalfat/, /qu-/ *foreskin*; /qirfat/ *bark*; Mhr /qlf/ *peel (dried fish, tree)*; /qəlēfūt/ *(tree) bark*; Soq /qalifoh/, /qalyof/ = ; /meqlefoh/ *peeled, bare*; G&z /qʷlfät/ *foreskin*, /qrf/ *peel off, lay bare*; /qraf/ *(tree) bark*; Te /qrf/ *peel off, detach*; /qäräf/ *peel, crust, bark, scales*; Har /qēräfa/ *peel off, bark (a tree)*; /qärfīt/ *peel, (tree) bark*; Sdd /qərfit/ *(tree) bark.*

Phonological split in Arab Eth.

QLP II: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qlpy(n)/, /qalpīt/ *urn.*

LW from Gr.

QLQY: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QLQNTS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qlqntws/ *vitriol.*

LW from Gr.

QLT: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QM: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QMX: Ug /qmx/, /qmχ/ *(wheat) flour*; Aram /qamx/, /qämax/ *flour*; Syr /qamx/, /qumx/ = ; Akk /qēm/ = ; /qemū/, /qamū/ *grind*; Arab /qamx/ *wheat*; /qmx/ *A (corn) form ears; (wheat) mature*; G&z /qämx/ *fruit, yield, produce (of field, orchard, garden)*; /qmx/, /qxm/ *eat, graze, devour*; Te /qomxay/ *honey-eating ant*; /qxm/ *roughly ground corn; swallow, devour*; Har /qmx/ *take a mouthful*; Ch /qämä/ *flour*; Wol /qamä/ *take flour into the mouth*; Eg /qmxw/ *kind of bread.*

Found in Cush too, cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 479 (twice); Cohen no. 246. The noun is an ancient *Kulturwort*, somewhat varying in meaning, but could be original in Eg (Baer); transposition in much of Eth. The Ug var. may be dialectal.

QM7: Aram /qm7/ *draw together, hold back; chain*; Syr =, *oppress*; /qrm7/ = ; ?Akk /qamād/ *be full (of trouble)*; (Am) *pack, hold (?weapons)*;

Arab /qm7/ *swaddle; shackle, pinion*; /qimā7/ *swaddling-clothes*; (+/qim7/) *ropes, shackles*; ?G&z /qm7/ *tQ subside, settle down*; Te /qm7/ *D bind together?*; /qmä7o/ *sheaf (of wheat)*; Har /qumu7 bāya/ *be coiled up*; Ch /aqma7ä7ä/, Wol /qəmä7ä7ä/ =; *be wrinkled, curled up.*

The second Akk entry appears to be loan from WSem, while the first and G&z ones are semantically marginal (at best).

QML-: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qymwly'/ *kind of alkaline (earth).*

LW from Gr.

QMS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qm'/, /qmws/, /qmwc/, /qåmūz/ *gum (arabic)*; Eg /qmyt/ *a resin of sweet odour, gum*; Cpt /komme/ =.

LW from Eg (via Gr).

QM&: Aram /qmi^{y}&/ *amulet*; Syr =; Arab /qm&/ *subdue*; ESA =.

The noun has become a *Kulturwort.*

QMP: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qmpwn/, /qnpwn/ *open place.*

LW from Lat.

QMC: Aram /qumc/ *handful*; /qmc/ *take a handful*; Arab /qmz/ *pick s.th. with fingers*; /qumzat/ *handful of dates*; /kmz/ *round s.th. with hand*; /kumzat/ *round heap of dates; sand-mound*; Eg /qǧm/, (Dem.) /gǧm/ *handful*; Cpt /ꝗaǧmē/ =.

The Eg entry is only late attested and could thus be loan from Sem (Vycichl), although this kind of words are rarely borrowed; here, a transposition is additionally involved. NB. the Arab varr.

QN: Aram /qanqann/ *jar*, (+/-nt/) *flask*; Arab /qinnīnat/ *glass bottle, flask.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown (onomatopoeic?) origin.

QN(N): Aram /qnn/ *D*, (n.) /qinn/ *nest*; Syr /qn/ =; (n.) /qenn/ =; *brothel*; Akk /qanān/ *nest*; (n.) /qinn/ =, *family*; ?Arab /kn/ *conceal*; /kinn/ *covert, place of concealment, house* (Kopf); ?Mhr /qənnawn/ *child; little, young*; ?Soq /qene/ *interior.*

QN': Ug /qn'/ *(be) zealous*; Aram /qn'/ *be jealous; D =, show zeal*; Akk (NAss) /qin'/ *envy*; Arab /qn'/ *be intensely red; (+D) dye red, black; (+A) (incite to) kill*; Mhr /qn'/ *be jealous*; Soq =; /qani/ *jealousy*; G&z /qn'/ *envy, be jealous; show zeal, imitate*; Te /qn'/ *be zealous, jealous; grudge*; /qn'(ät)/, /qän'ät/ *jealousy, envy*; Har /qñ'/ *be jealous, envious*; /qiñat/ *envy*; Sdd /qänna/, Wol /qänä/ *be jealous, envy.*

Connection with yellow colour appears questionable (cf. Arab). Syr /qene't/ appears to be loan from Hbr.

QNB: Arab /qnb/ *D trim, prune*; Arab /qnb/ *trim (a vine)*; Soq /qanbib/ *slender palm-tree.*

QNV: Phoen /qn/ *create, fashion*; (Byblos) /qn'/ *acquire*; (Pu) *(li ...)caneth* =; /mqny/ *seller*; /mqn'/ *cattle*; (NPu) /mqnt/ =, /mqn't/ *property*; Ug /qny/ *create, produce*; Aram /qnV/ *acquire*; Syr =, *accept, possess; prepare*; Amor /qny/ *create, acquire*; Akk /qanū/, /qanā'/ *reserve (for o.s.)*; (NAss) *acquire*; Arab /qny/ *create, acquire*; /qinyat/, /qu-/; /qinwat/, /qu-/ *property*; ESA /qny/ *acquire, have; H/S consecrate, dedicate; property, slaves*; Mhr /qnV/ *suckle, rear, look after; Qt grow up*; Soq /qenhoh/ *cattle*; /qaninhin/ *master, lord (God)*; /qene/ *take care, nourish*; G&z /qny/ *acquire, subdue, rule over, enslave*; ?Te /qnV/ *grow together*; Berb: Shilxa /γnu/ *be/grow rich*; Tu /ăγnu/ *be created, started; originate*; Chad: Warji /qən-/, Tsagu /qan/, Kariya /kən/, Miya /qən-/, Pa'a /kwan(g)/, Siri /kumu/, /yukung/, Mburke /kən-/, Jimbin /gən-/ *buy*.

To create is also to acquire (cf. German *schaffen*, Finnish *hankkia*, etc.; and M. Held in JANES 3 p. 46) so there should be no doubt about the unity of the root. The latter Akk meaning could be due to WSem influence; on Te cf. the last Mhr meaning.

QNV II: Phoen (Pu) /qn'/ *reed*; Ug /qn(m)/ *reed(s); shaft; bone (of arm) (?)*; Aram /qany/ *reed, stem, (measuring) rod, duct, pipe*; Syr =; *arm, penis, pen; unit of measurement*; Akk /qanū/ *reed; measuring rod; unit of measurement*; Arab /qanāt/ *pipe, duct; spear*; ?G&z /q(ä)not/ *spike, nail, sting*; Berb: Shilxa /aγanim/ *cane, reed(s)*.

The G&z meaning is marginal, but could possibly have developed from one like in Arab. The noun belongs to wandering words and in the end, *Kulturwort* category. Eg /qn(y)/ seems semantically far-fetched. Ebl /qá-nu-wu/, /|qá|-nu-um/ (= giʃ-gi).

QNX: Aram /qnx/ *D wipe off*.

QN7: Aram /qn7/ *be disgusted; (+A) insult*; Syr /qn7/ *be cautious, afraid*; Arab /qn7/ *despair*; Eg /qnd/ *be furious* (Rössler); Cpt /ꝗånt/ =.

Cf. the roots /qw7/ and /qwc/ above.

QNM: Aram /qunnåm/ *cinnamon*; Syr =; G&z /qnamom/, /qanmon/ (etc.) =.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown (Malayan?) origin.

QNS: Aram /qns/ +*D decree, fine, punish*; /qnås/ *penalty, fine*; /qens/ *(census-)list*; Syr /qynswn/ *census*.

(Based on a) LW from Lat (via Gr).

QNC: -

Probably based on Iob 18:2 (with 11:3); interpretation obscure.

QS(S): -

Found in post-biblical Hbr also.

QSM: Aram /qsm/ *practise sorcery, divination*; Syr /qcm/ =; Arab /qsm/ *distribute, dispose; A swear (by God), adjure; St exact an oath*; (syr.) *D exorcise*; ESA /mqsm/ *oracle (by lot); oracular shrine(?)*; Soq /qesom/ *give, allot*; G&z /qsm/ *St, StL practise divination, augury, sorcery*; /mäqs(ä)m/ *divination, augury, sorcery; oracle*; Te /qsm/ *D summon to court*; /qsm(ät)/ *lot, portion; oath.*

QST: Eg /gsty/ *(scribe's) palette.*

LW from Eg.

QST II: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat (via Gr?).

Q&: -

Etymology obscure (Dolgopolsky p. 179f unconvincing); frequentative formation to match the visual pattern? or quasi-onomatopoeic for prophylactic purposes (agst. evil spirits)?

Q&R: Syr /q&årt/ *scar, incision; mussel shell; inner shell of acorn; well bottom*; /mqa&&ar/ *concave*; Arab /q&r/ *sink (a well); empty (a cup); (+tD) be deep & hollow*; /qa&ar/ *bowl; hollow (in the ground); bottom; town*; Soq /qa&er/ *house, home, interior.*

The primary meaning appears to be a hollow space.

QP(P): ?Ug /qpt/ *basket?*; Aram /quppt/ =; *tub*; Syr /qoppt/ *bag, small sack; small owl*; Akk /qupp/ *chest, box*; /qappat/ *wicker-basket*; Arab /quffat/ *basket*; Mhr /qəffēt/ *small basket*; ?Soq /qafax/ *sieve of reed or straw*; G&z /qäfo/ *large basket, cage, bee-hive*; Te /qäfo/ *container for grain, granary*; Sdd Wol =; *beehive*; Bil /qaffō/ *granary.*

For further Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 473; Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 236. The word is a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; the first Hbr entry represents a semantic shift, as also Soq (if indeed related).

QP': Aram /qpV/ *coagulate, curdle; float (on top)*; Syr /qpV/ *float, be conveyed (to port); bring (ship to port); gather (fish on shore etc.)*; Arab /qf/ *contract, (+A) dry (up)*; ?/qf'/ *(plant) be rain-spoiled.*

QPD: Aram /qpd/ *Q ps be particular, sensitive, angry; A insult; tQ contract, be curtailed, grow angry*; /quppd/ *hedgehog*; Syr /quppd/ =; /qpd/ *bristle; tQ =; be wrinkled, contracted, convoluted*; Arab /qfd/ *have a flaccid neck, stiff pastern*; /qunfud/, /-uδ/, /-aδ/ *hedgehog, rat; beaver, otter*; /qrfd/ *be dried & shrunk*; ?Soq /kofid/, /kyo-/ *narrow*; G&z /q^{w}nfz/ *hedgehog.*

The primary meaning is contraction inwards. The noun is a wandering word.

QPX: Aram /qpx/+*D beat, wound, rob; D subdue*; Syr /qpx/ *beat, pound; afflict, confound*; Arab /qfχ/ *strike s.th. hard or hollow.*

QPL: Aram /qpl/ *D fold up*; Syr /qpl/ *uncover, roll off, veil; expel; depart, pass away*; /qupl/ *bolt, bar*; Akk /kapāl/, /qa-/ *fold up; D wrap (in)*; Arab /qfl/ *return (from a journey); preserve, store up; D lock up*; ESA /qfl/ *return home; group of travellers*; Mhr /qfl/ *close, lock up*; Soq /qfl/ *be shut; A shut*; /qafeleh/ *house on a mountain*; G&z /q^{w}lf/ *bar, bolt*; Te /qfl/ *D shut; L lock up, preserve*; /qlf/ *D shut, button up; button; hunger*; /qäläf/ *thin, fragile*; Har /aqōfäla/ *close, lock up*; Sdd /q^{w}älläfä/, Wol /qol-/ *lock up.*

Transposition in most Eth; preservation of the more original order may be due to Arab influence.

QPL*7*: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qaplū7/ *nail*; /qhp'lw7/ *kind of onion.*

LW from Gr.

QPNDRY: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qwpndyr'/ *short-cut.*

LW from Lat.

QPC: Aram /qpc/ *draw together, shut up*; Syr /qpīcūt/ *collection*; /qps/ *contract, curtail, collect, withdraw; decrease, recede, be contracted*; Akk /kapāc/, /-s/, /kabāc/, /-s/ *contract (o.s.), bend (inwards)*; Arab /qfc/ *put/tie together; tD conglobulate; tL be intertwisted*; ?G&z /qbc/ *collapse; be wrinkled, deficient.*

Dissimilatory loss of uvularity in SamH Akk; of dorsalization partially in Syr Akk; voicing of the labial in Akk (partially) ?G&z. Cf. the roots /qbc/, /qmc/ above.

QPC II: Aram /qpc/ + *D, tQ leap, jump*; /qpz/ = ; Arab /qfc/ *be lively, nimble*; /qfz/ *(gazelle) spring; D make s.o. spring*; Mhr /qfc/ *(male camel) leap and press down (a female).*

Phonological split in Aram Arab; Hbr (MT) /qippo^{w}z/ seems hardly related.

QC(V): Phoen /qct/ (pl. /qcyt/) *edge*; /(l)qct/ *exterminate*; Ug /qc/ *cut; cutting, slice*; Aram /qcc/ *decree, establish; (+D) cut off*; /qcV/ *break off, asunder*; Syr /qc/ *shave, shear; define, establish, reconcile, promise; impose (a fine)*; Akk /kacāc/, /g-/ *grind (off), whet*; Arab /qc/ + *D clip, cut off; R break*; /qcw/, /qcy/ *be far, remote; D cut (one's nails); A remove (far away)*; ESA /qcc/ *repay, settle*; /qcw/ *keep off (?a boundary)*; Mhr /qcc/ *chop; trick; A shave off (one's moustache)*; /qcV/ *(road) end*; Soq /qac(c)/, /qcy/, /qez(z)/ *cut*; /ʃeqce/ *have enough; come to an end*; /qezi/ *be cut*; /miqzehe/ *chisel(s)*; Te /qc/ *refuse food, have enough; be content, rich*; Har /qō¢a/ *cut, break, decide; have sexual intercourse*; /qā¢i/ *outside*; Wol /qo¢e/ *cut, decide*; /qu¢a¢e/ *(F) cut into pieces*; Berb: Rif /'qqec/, /ekkes/, /te-/ *cut (off)*; Tu /kəʌət/ *break (down, off), be broken*; /ekkaʌ/ *slightly overhanging rock*; Chad: Pa'a /kəsā/, Warji /gəts-/, Jimbin /kə'tl-/, Diri(yangi) /(a)kə'cu/ *cut (with a knife, machete)*; Kotoko (Mandague) /kasawwe/, Zime (Batna/Lame) /kas/ *break*; ?Eg /yqs/ *cut off* (Calice no. 10); Cpt /ȼåå ğe/ *cut, break (off).*

For possible Cush Om cognates cf. Dolgopolsky p. 66f. The root is semantically so coherent that it must be regarded as one single root despite the two structural varr., with and without final (semi)vowel both of which seem to have existed since earliest times. Dissimilatory loss of uvularity in Akk (Berb) Chad, of glottalization in (Soq Berb) Chad Eg; occasional voicing in Akk Soq. Vycichl considers the Cpt entry loan from Sem, but as these kind of words are rarely borrowed and the root is attested elsewhere outside Sem, it may not be unreasonable to assume dialectal variation in Eg-Cpt. ?Ebl /ga-za-um/ *steppe.*

QCB: Aram /qaccåb/ *butcher*; Syr = ; ?Akk /kacāb/ *be/grow minor*; Arab /qcb/ *cut off, up*; /qΛb/ *(+D,Qt) cut off (a branch); D prune (a vine); N (star) move on; Qt extemporize (a speech)*; ?ESA /qΛb/ *stick, rod*; Soq /qarΛeb/ *bite (off)*; ?Tu /γədəbbət/ *(make) resonate rhythmically*; ?Cpt /ꝗåğb/ *reduce; decrease; be humble.*

The ESA entry is semantically marginal; the Tu one agrees with a Hbr connotation, but seems to have locally limited attestation only and the 2nd rad. is non-dorsal. The Cpt entry has no Eg etymology and may be a Can loan (Baer, cf. Vycichl), although the meaning agrees better with Akk (in which, however, the 1st rad. is velar). Phonological split in Arab; internal augment in Soq.

QCV: Aram /qicwt/ *establishment, stipulation*; /qiccu^{w}t/ = ; *appointed time; definite amount*; Syr /qa(')dī/, /qaddī/, /qå(')cī/ *judge*; Arab /qΛy/ *judge, arbitrate; tL be at law; St ask for decision; St ps be appointed judge*; /qaΛa^{n}/, /-ā'/ *sentence, judgment, fate*; /qāΛi^{n}/ *judge, magistrate*; ESA /qΛ(V)/ *Qt be called up, conscripted.*

The Syr entries are loan from Arab. The root may be an offshoot of /qc(V)/ above.

QCX: ?Ug /qcx/ *black cummin (?)*; Aram /qacx/ = ; Arab /qizx/ *onion-seed; aromatics.*

A wandering word of unknown origin; the Arab root appears to be denominative. The Ug entry is quoted from K-B^{3}.

QCM: ?Arab /qacim/, /-īm/ *frail*; ?Soq /qecam/, (n.) /qacihim/ *fast.*

The meaning of the Hbr entry being uncertain, the comparisons are tentative.

QC&: Arab /qc&/ *(child) be stunted*; /qΛ&/ *tame, subdue; tD, N be chopped, scattered*; /quΛā&(at)/ *flour-dust; rubbish falling from a wall*; ESA /qc&/ *cut down, fell (wood)*; Mhr /qź&/ *bite through (a rope)*; ?Soq /qecax/ *stand fast*; /moqceh/, /mu-/ *figure, stature*; G&z /qc&/ *bend down, level, subject, humiliate*; /qΛ'/ *cut (cloth for garments).*

The Soq meanings are rather remote even assuming that they are resultative (figure cut, stump left standing). Phonological splits in Arab G&z; cf. also the root /q7&/ above.

QC& II: ?Ug /qc&t/ *bow? arrow?*; ?Arab (Chadr.) /qc&/ *cut crosswise* (Blau).

Either the bow or the arrow(-head) could be called (multi)angular. The other parallels compared in K-B^3 are better assigned to /q7&/ and the preceding root; although the present one also may be ultimately related.

QCP: Aram (Achiqar) /kcp/ *anger, fury*; Syr /qcp/ *be/grow sad, angry, furious, afraid; rebuke, blame, scold*; Akk /kacāp/, /kecēp/ + *D think, consider*; Arab /qcf/ *play, joke, revel; (camel) grumble, (thunder) rumble; tL, N (crowd) rush, push, dash together*; Soq /qΛf/ *bite (off)*; /qcf/ *cut*.

Phonological split in Soq; the meanings are understandable as resulting from angry mood. In Akk, the meaning has shifted in the more tranquil direction; velar 1st rad. in Aram also.

QCR: Phoen /qcr/ *harvest*; (pl.) /qcrt/ *ribs(?)*; Ug /qcr/ *short, failing (of)*; Aram /qcr/ *D shorten*; (Achiqar) /kcyr/ *harvest*; Arab /qcr/ *be short, (+D) fall short of, fail, miss, quit; shorten*; ESA /qcr/ *bring the harvest in* (?); Mhr /qcr/ *fall short, give short measure; Qt die young*; /qəcayr/ *low, short*; Soq /qcar/ *be little*; ?/qaΛar/ *break, shatter; Qt be bent*; G&z /χcr/ *be short, contracted, curtailed*; Te /x¢r/ *be short, small*; /xä¢¢er/ *short (speech), quick resolution, truth*; Har /x7r/ *be short, shrink*; /xa¢īr/ *short*; Ch /a7ärä/, Sdd /a77-/, Wol /an7-/; (Na) Ch /a¢ər/, Sdd /a¢¢-/, Wol /an¢-/ =.

NB. the Eth fricative vs. Asian uvular stop. The Akk /kacār/ (and its cognates) seems to agree better with the root /qʃr/ below; and as the exact meaning of the ESA entry can hardly be determined, harvest is most naturally derivable from this root.

QR(R): Aram /qrr/ + *L ps be cold; A = ; make cool*; Syr /qr/ = ; *be irritated, indifferent; freeze*; Arab /qr/ *be/make cool*; /qarr/, (Ns) /qurr/ *cold*; /maqarr/ *bottom (of a well)*; G&z /q^{w}rr/ *be/grow cold, freeze; (anger) cool down*; Te /qr/ *cool down, freeze*; /qrur/, (Ns) /qr/ *cold*; /qrar/ *ravine, watercourse*; Ch /qərärä/ *early morning*.

Leslau (Soq p. 388, Gur III p. 500) compares also Mhr /haqaraur/ *go in the morning*; Soq /qarere/ *tomorrow*; but according to Johnstone, Mhr /həq(ə)rəwr/ means to *go at midday*, hardly connectable with cool, and according to Leslau himself, the Soq entry too refers to the entire following day; although in the latter case, semantic shift is easily conceivable, and perhaps not impossible in Mhr either. Cpt /åğer/, /oꝗer/ is both structurally difficult and semantically marginal (cf. Vycichl s.v.).

QR(R) II: ?Aram /qarq&/ *earth, ground*; ?Akk /qaqqar/, /ka-/ = ; ?Arab /qarqar(at)/ *even ground*; ?Soq /qarqahar/, /-qeher/, /eq(a)her/ *dust, soil, brick*; /enqarqer/ *be dusty, ruddy*.

The Hbr and above entries are derivable from one and the same root assuming that the primary meaning is *level ground*, the Hbr verb being denominative in the sense of making level with the ground. The last Hbr entry could conceivably be connected with the preceding root too (cf. Arab there). Dissimilation in the second Hbr entry from which the Aram one may have been borrowed.

QR': Phoen /qr'/, (af 1.) *corathi: call, invoke, read*; Ug /qr'/ *call, shout, invite, sing*; Aram /qr'/, /qrV/ *call, shout, name, crow; read, recite*; Syr =; *invite; proclaim; blow (a horn etc.); study*; Amor /qr'/ *call*; Akk /qerū/, (Ass) /qarā'/ *invite, invoke*; Arab /qr'/ *read, study*; ESA /qr'/ *call upon; St proclaim, convoke*; Mhr /rqy/ *Qt read (Qur'an)*; (South) /qrV/ *read*; Soq /qare/ =, *recite*; Te /qr'/ = *(prayers)*; Ch /qäna/, Wol /qärä/ *read, study (Qur'an)*; Bil /qar'/ =; Berb: Fass /aγar/ =; Shilxa /γr/ =; *call out*; Tu /əγər/ =, *recite*; /ăγru/ =; *appeal (to), invoke*; Chad: Tsagu /qērun/ (n.); Kariya /kwār/; Miya /kwararə/; Mburke /gyar/ (n.); Jimbin /gwaral/ (n.); Ndam (Dik) /gəlā gurē/ *cry*; Hsa /kira/ *call.*

The root when used in the meaning of reading, recitation, study and the like has entered into the *Kulturwort* category; but the other Tu meanings suggest that the root may be original in Berb too as well as in Chad. However, as the root is of onomatopoeic nature, more than one independent origin is possible, and most Chad forms seem to suggest that this may indeed be the case.

QR'/V: Phoen /qrt/ *city*; Ug /qry/ *meet*; /qryt/, /qrt/, /qa-ri-tu[m/, (pl.) /qrht/ *town, city*; Aram /qrV/ *tQ happen to do*; Syr /qrV/ *(go to) meet, happen, be necessary; menstruate*; Arab /qry/ *receive as a guest; A live in a village*; /qaryat/ *village, borough*; ESA /qryt/ *(rural) settlement*; ?/qrw/ *(water) reservoir*; Soq /qeryeh/ *town*; G&z /qry/ *AL bring, offer (sacrifice)*; Tu /aγrəm/, /taγrəmt/ *town, village*; Chad: Hsa /garī/, Gwandara /geri/, Kirifi /giri/, Tsagu Pa'a Mburke Zar/Saya /gari/ *town.*

In Cush: Afar /garay/ *meet*; however, although there is no obvious source of borrowing, the possibility cannot be ruled out, as it has no support elsewhere in Cush attested. The Chad attestations are harder to explain away, unless a shift in meaning (from Arab *village*) is assumed throughout; and as the final /-m/ in Tu is unparallelled elsewhere, it seems definitely better to regard the root as original in Berb and therefore maybe in Chad too. The root appears to be originally biradical (cf. Phoen, Ug), but mostly expanded by a (semi)vowel, in Tu by a nasal at the end. Cohen's (no. 240) Cush entries, as far as relevant, seem to be LWW from Eth. Eg /qr(y)/ is hardly related, cf. Cpt /ꝗoile/; and /q'y/ has a quite different primary meaning, to *be high.*

QRB: Ug /qrb/ *approach; ʃ offer (a sacrifice)*; Aram /qrb/ *approach, touch; D bring close, reconcile, intercede; (+A) offer (a sacrifice)*; Syr /qrb/ *be/draw near, touch, fight; D bring close, offer, sacrifice; celebrate Eucharist; A litigate, fight, wage war*; Amor /qrb/ *be near*; Akk /qerēb/, (Ass) /qarāb/ =; *approach*; Arab /qrb/ *be close, near*;/&aqrab/ *scorpion; strap, thong*; ESA /qrb/ *be/draw near; vicinity*; /qrbn/ *offering, sacrifice*; Mhr /qrb/ *approach*; ?Soq /qariboh/ *outside,* *beyond*; G&z /qrb/ *be/draw near; be/grow short*; Te /qrb/ *approach; make friends; participate in Eucharist*; /qrban/ *sacrifice, Eucharist*; /mqrb/ *(women) be (made) pregnant; (child) be conceived*; /&ärqäb/(!), /'-/ *scorpion, crab*; Har /qrb/ *be presented; A present*; Ch /täqänäbä/, Sdd /täqirräbä/, Wol /qäräbä/ *be near/close, approach*; Eg /q'b/ *surroundings, circumference*.

Cf. the next root also.

QRB II: Ug /qrb/ *midst; (female) genitals*; Arab /qirb/ *entrails*; Akk /qerb/, (OAss) /qarb/ *midst, inside*; Arab /qalb/ *heart, mind, kernel, centre*; Mhr /qāb/ (pl. /qəlawb/) *heart, mind, intelligence, intention*; Te /qälb/ *wish, will*; (poet.) *heart*; Bil /qalbe/ = ; Eg /q'b/ *intestine, bowel*; /m q'b/ *in (the midst of)*.

In Cush also: Saho /garbā/ *inside (etc.)*; Afar /garbā/ *stomach, heart*; /qarbō/, /galabō/ *skin*. While the Te Bil entries are conceivable as borrowings from Arab, these are more difficult both phonologically and semantically, although Arab might have exerted some semantic influence. The last Afar meaning also suggests ultimate connection with the preceding root, forming as it does the connecting link between what is close and what is inside,cf. also the Eg meaning *circumference* (quoted at the preceding root), and verbs like /bw'/ (above) meaning both approaching and entering. The Arab Mhr (etc.) entries may have been phonetically influenced by the synonymous root /lb/ (above).

QRDM: Arab /qadūm/, (syr.) /-dd-/ *(carpenter's) axe*; Soq /qeddōm/ *hatchet*; Bil /gŭdub/ *axe, hoe*; Som /gudūmo/ =.

Ug /qrd/ Amor /qarrad/ Akk /qarād/ are phonologically not connectable with the above entries, and as they are semantically also (at best) marginally related to the Hbr entry, those above are certainly preferable, as /r/ is not uncommon as an internal augment. The etymology is obscure; the first Arab entry and Cush speak against /qd(d)/ as the root; in any case, the noun must be regarded as a *Kulturwort*.

QRX: Aram /qrx/ *grow bald*; Syr = ; ?Amor /qarix/(?) *bald*; Arab /qurxat/ *blaze (on a horse's head)*; /gr&/ *be bald*; Mhr /qrx/ *shave, cut (hair)*; Soq /grx/ *shave*; G&z /qrx/ = ; Sdd /qʷärrärä/ *grow bald*; Cpt /kerhe/ *bald*.

Erman-Grapow compare also Eg /ẖ&q/ = Cpt /hååk(e)/ *shave* which Vycichl (together with Dem. /ẖ&q/ *rub, pluck, shear*) connects with Hbr /xlq/ II (above). As the lack of /l/ in the Cpt form makes the latter equation doubtful (Baer) and Eg /&/ = Hbr /l/ is not normal either, the former would seem preferable but for twofold representation in Cpt. Perhaps the two roots are ultimately related? Cf. also /gr&/ above.

QRX II: Aram /qarx/ *ice*; ?/qrs/ *grow hard, shrink*; Syr /qarx/ *storm, -my*; ?/qrs/ *dry up; grow hard, cold, bitter*; Akk (NAss, late Bab) /qarχ/ *ice*; Arab /qurx/ *first water of a well*; ?/qrs/ *(water) be frozen; (winter) be severe*; ?Tu /γărăs/ *be congealed, frozen*; /aγəris/ *frozen water, ice, frost*; /əγarus/ *deep well*.

The meanings are so intertwined that semantically, the two alternatives look like varr. of one and the same root. The Akk entry may be loan from WSem.

QR7: Aram /qår7/ *small; bit*; Syr /qr7/ *gnaw (away), lacerate, scratch, cut open*; /qur7t/ *small piece of flesh*; Arab /qir7/ *leek*; /qur7/ *ear-drop, pendant*; /qr7/+*D chop (leeks)*; ?Te /qr77/ *chew (up), break into pieces.*

In Gur also, see Leslau, Gur III p. 503. As suggested there, may be related to /qrc/ below, assuming that the present root itself is coherent (which presupposes somewhat specialized development in Hbr and Arab).

QRM: Aram /qrm/ *form a crust, skin*; Syr /qrm/ *cover, roof, overlay; be overcast*; Akk /qarām/ *overlay (with)*; Arab /qrm/ *bark (a tree); cut the skin off (a camel's) nose*; /qarmat/, /qur(ā)mat/ *such skin*; /qirām/ *kind of curtain*; /miqramat/ *coverlet* (Guillaume).

The Arab meanings are either rather marginal or privative in relation to the rest.

QRM II: ?Aram /qurm/ *a certain plant.*

QRMD: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qarmīd(t)/ *brick, tile.*

LW from Gr.

QRN: Phoen /qrn/ *horn*; Ug =; Aram /qarn/ =; *corner; might; capital*; Syr =; *vase; annex; extremity; a measure; a plant*; Amor /qarn/ *horn*; Akk =; Arab =; *side (of head); (insect's) antenna; sunbeam; point (of blade), lock, plait (of hair); rope (of fibres); (mountain) peak; edge (of desert); best (of pasturage); time, age, generation*; /qrn/ *(+D, L, A) couple (2 entities in various ways)*; /miqran/ *yoke*; ESA /qrn/ *fight, guard* (n.&vb.); *(wage) war, rebel*; Mhr /qōn/ (pl. /qərūn/) *horn, peak, spur; hilt (of dagger)*; Soq /qan/ (pl. /qirihon/) *horn*; G&z /qärn/ =; Te /qär(n)/ =; /qrn/ *couple under one yoke*; Har /qär/ *horn*; Ch /qän/, Sdd /qär(r)/, Wol /qär/ =.

In Cush: Iraqw /xarmo/ *horn*; and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 494.

QRNS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qurnås/ *hammer; hammer blow*; Arab /qurnās/ *projecting part of a mountain.*

As it seems, LW from Gr.

QRS: ?Phoen (Pu) (pl.) /qcrt/ *leg-joints?*; Aram /qarsull/, /-rc-/ *ankle joint*; Syr /qurcl/ *ankle-bone*; Akk /kursinn/ =, *-joint*; ?Tu /eγăs/ *bone*; ?Eg /qrs/, /qys/, /q's/ = (Calice no. 89).

Used as a sacrificial term, the noun might have become a somewhat wandering word which could be responsible for the phonological variation; the Hbr verb agrees semantically so well that it is evidently connected, but need not necessarily be primary. The lack of /r/ in Tu is exceptional; the Eg entries I cannot verify.

QRS II: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

QRS7ML: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Lat.

QRSM: Aram /qrsm/ *bite, nibble.*

Cf. the root /krsm/ above.

QR&: Aram /qr&/ *tear up*; ?Arab /qrΛ/ *cut; sever (a bond); (mouse) gnaw (cloth)*; ?Cpt /kååre/ *cut down (a tree).*

The Arab Cpt entries are somewhat off the line semantically, Arab phonologically too, while Cpt is ambiguous in this respect. On the other hand, there is a Cush attestation in Saho /qara&/, /g-/ *tear/cut up* which does not have any obvious source of borrowing.

QRC: Ug /qrc/ *bite; mould*; Aram /qrc/ *pinch, nip*; Syr /qrc/ *bite, prick; wink (an eye)*; Akk /karāc/, /g-/, /χ-/ *pinch, nip*; Arab /qrc/ + *L pinch, sting*; Mhr /qrc/ *nip*; /qərōc/ *mosquito, bug*; /qrź/ *cut (hair with scissors)*; Soq /qeraΛ/ *cut, bite off; disappear*; /qocer/, /qesor/(!) *pinch, nip (off)*; G&z /q(ʷ)rc/ *incise, engrave*; /q(ʷ)rΛ/ *tear, cut off; shave (the head)*; Te /qrc/ *chop off; hew in; D shear, cut off*; /qr¢/ = /qrc/ *D*; ?Sdd /aqqarrä7ä/ *share*; (+Wol) /qurra¢/ *piece*; ?Cpt /kårğ/ *cut (down), break (off).*

Arab /qrΛ/ is semantically still farther away from this root than the preceding one, and the Sdd entries potentially so, particularly the verb; while the Cpt entry seems to deal normally with bigger objects than this root does on the average. Connection with early morning and related phenomena seems to require a sizable quantum jump.

QRQB: Aram /qurqbån/ *stomach (of birds, humans)*; Syr /qarqbån/, /qur-/ *(bird's) throat, crop*; Akk (pl.) /kukubān/, /ququ-/ *(pig's) stomach.*

As it seems, LW from Akk, although hardly directly; the Akk sg. itself appears to be a wandering word of unknown origin.

QRQS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qrqws/, /qurqs/ *circus; (circular) hook.*

LW from Lat (via Gr).

QRʃ: ?Ug /qrʃ/ *abode? couch?*; Aram /qurʃ/ *board, plank*; Akk /qarāʃ/ *cut up*; ?Arab /qr$/ *curtail; chew up*; ?Te /qrras/ *piece of bread*; ?Har /qōräsa/ *take/break off a bit, portion*; ?Sdd /qorräsä/, ?Wol /qär-/ *break bread.*

The Arab Eth entries are rather remote semantically; the Te one is on Leslau's authority.

Qʃ: Arab /q$/ *A scale off; recover from small-pox; R cure from scab.*

Qʃ(ʃ): Aram /qʃʃ/ *L, tL gather dry twigs (etc.)*; Syr /qʃ/ =; Arab /q$/ *(plant) be dry; (+D) pick up (refuse etc.); R pick up (wood) here &*

there; /qa$ī$/, /qu$ā$a^{y}/ *refuse, rubbish*; Mhr /q$$/ *dry (beef); take (goats) to a near pasture*; /q$&/ *be dry*; /qay$a/, /qā$ə'/ *dry, stale.*

Phonological shift in Mhr; NB. the sibilant varr.

Qʃ(T): Phoen (pl.?) /qʃt/ *bow*; Ug = (sg. & pl.; /-tm/ du.); Aram /qaʃt/ (pl. /-tån/, cs. /-tåt/; /-wån/); /quʃ7/ = ; *rainbow*; /qaʃʃåt/, /-7/ *bowman, archer*; Syr /qeʃ(a)t/ (pl. /qeʃtåt/) *bow, rainbow*; /qʃ7/, /kʃ7/ *shoot (with a bow)*; /qaʃʃåt/, /-7/, /kaʃʃå7/ *archer*; Akk /qaʃt/, /qalt/ *bow; archer*; Arab /qaws/ *bow*; Mhr /qəʃē7/ *rainbow*; G&z /qäst/ (pl. /'äqs(s)t/) = ; *bow*; Te /qäʃ (däbna)/ *rainbow*; Ch Wol /qäst/, Sdd /qəst/, /qäʃt/ *bow*; Bil /qist/ = ; Som /qanso/ = .

Further Cush attestations: Saho /qiste/ = ; Sid /qasta/ *arrow*; and cf. Cohen no. 249. The main noun is a *Kulturwort* of unknown (but apparently Sem) origin, basically biradical, but with the fem. afformative treated at times as a radical, and occasionally subjected to progressive assimilation at a distance; NB. the other varr. in Syr Akk Sdd Som too. Ebl /qà-ʃù/ *bow*.

Qʃ'/V: ?Phoen (Pu) κισσον *cucumber*; Aram (pl.) /qa77ay/ = ; Syr /qa77ūt/ = ; Akk /qiʃʃū/ = ; Arab /qiθθā'/, /qu-/ = ; /qθ'/ *A abound in cucumbers*; G&z /qätta/, (pl.) /q^{w}s(ä/a)yat/ *cucumber.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin. The Phoen entry is quoted from K-B^{3}; v. Soden has κισσου which, on the analogy of other entries, may indeed be more authentic.

QʃB: Arab /qbs/ + *Qt learn (from); (+ A) teach; catch (a disease); Qt borrow passages (from a book).*

Transposition in Hbr or Arab.

QʃV: Aram /qʃV/ *be hard, difficult*; Syr /qʃV/ *grow hard*; Arab /qsy/ *(heart) be hard, pitiless; L endure (hardship)*; /qasiyy/ *hard (stone, heart), difficult*; /'iqsa'anna/ *(wood) be dry, hard, (man) old, thin, (night) dark*; Mhr /qōsi/ *cruel*; Tu /aγsəy/ *be very thin & weak; starve (to death); be completely extinct; (animal) die without being properly slaughtered.*

QʃV II: -

Hard to combine with the preceding root.

Qʃ/SV: ?Ug /qʃ/ *goblet, jug (?)*; Aram /qåsu^{w}t/ *bowl*; Arab /qa$wat/ *basket (of palm leaves)*; (eg.) /qāsiyat/ *pot*; G&z /qä$ut/, /-s-/ *(water) jar, jug.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

QʃX: ?Phoen (Pu) /qʃxt/ ?; Arab /qsx/ *be hard; L treat harshly*; ESA /qsx/ *violence, harsh treatment.*

Root var. of /qʃV/ above?

Qʃ7: Aram /qʃ7/ *D straighten, correct*; /quʃ7/, /qʃo^{w}7/ *truth, straightfor-*

wardness, justice; Syr /quſt/ = ; Arab /qs7/ *act wrongfully, assess (a tax); (+A) act justly*; /qis7/ *just; equity*.

The contrary meaning in Arab may have arisen from the opposite point of view. Dissimilatory loss of dorsality in Syr.

Qſ7 II: Aram /qſ7/ *D prepare; tD prepare o.s., dress up*; ?/kſ7/ *A do well, prosper*.

Could be cognate with the preceding root.

Qſ/S7: Arab /qs7/ *(+Qt) assess (tax etc.), allot*; /qis7/ *portion, lot; measure (especially for grain = bushel)*.

The noun has become a *Kulturwort*.

QſR: Aram /qiſſart/ *girdle*; Akk /kacār/ *knot, join, assemble, fit together*; Arab /qsr/ + *Qt force, coerce*; /qcr/ *confine (s.o. in), restrict (s.th. to); entrust (s.o. with)*; ?Mhr /qθr/ *(love) turn hatred*; G&z /q^{w}cr/, /q^{w}Λr/ *tie, knot, bind together; look gloomy; hatch a counsel, plot (against), act treacherously*; Har /qā7ära/ *tie, knot, connect*; Ch Wol /qa7ärä/, Sdd /-77-/ = ; ?Eg /q's/ *tie, bind, fetter; band* (Calice no. 88).

Possibly in Cush too, cf. Dolgopolsky p. 84. NB. the sibilant variation; apparently also cognate with Aram Syr Arab /q7r/ *tie, bind*. The Eg entry presupposes transposition. ?Ebl /kí-sí-lu-um/, /-lum/.

QTDR: Aram = Hbr; Syr /qatedrå'/ *chair*.

LW from Gr.

ר

R': Ug /'irt/ *breast, core, inside*; Syr /ra(')t/, /rå(')t/ *lung*; Akk /ir(a)t/, (OAkk) /ert/ *breast, chest*; Arab /ri'at/ *lung*; /r'y/ *wound in the lungs*; Mhr /ryē/, /wəyē'/ *lung*; Berb: Rif /θura/, /θaruθ/ = ; Tu /tarut/ =.

Basically monoradical, with prothetic vowel in Ug Akk, and a postthetic one elsewhere; /'/ created as a glide.

R' II: -

Cf. the root /d'V/ above.

R'V: Phoen /r'y/ (sf.) *(his) eyesight*; Aram /re^{y}w/ *(outward) appearance*; Syr /rhV/ *observe; watch, lie in ambush (for)*; Arab /r'y/ *see; think, opine*; ESA /r'y/ *see, perceive, realize; Qt recognize; H show*; /r'/ *lo, behold!*; Mhr /rāy/ *opinion*; Soq /rey/ *view, idea*; /mere/ *mirror*; G&z /r'y/ *see, look, observe, watch, inspect, perceive, realize, understand, experience*; Te /r'V/ *see, experience, suffer; tQ appear; AtQ be prominent*; /rä'äy/ *vision, apparition*; /mär'it/ *sight*; /mära'it/ *mirror*;

Har /ri'a/ *see; A show; tL meet; be intimate (with e.o.)*; Wol /atere/ *show, guide, lead*; Bed /erh/ *see.*

Another Cush attestation; Iraqw /ar-/ = (Fleming) and cf. Dolgopolsky p. 170f (for Om too). Far away from Sem-speaking regions and sharing the prothetic vowel with Bed it also supports the originality of the latter. The root is thus common to Sem and Cush Om, though not attested in Akk. Eg /rχ/ *know* is phonetically difficult and semantically remote.

R'V II: -

Cf. MH /be^{y}t hår'i^{y}/ *crop, maw.*

R'M: Ug /r'um/ *buffalo*; Aram /r'em/, /re^{y}m/ =; Syr /raym/ =; *unicorn(?)*; Akk /rīm(t)/, /rēm/ *buffalo*; Arab /ri'm/ *white gazelle.*

A wandering word of unknown origin; cf. the root /rwm/ below?

R'M II: ?Ug /r'imt/ *pectoral ornament (?)*; ?Arab /ra'mat/ *bead (etc.), worn as amulet.*

R'ʃ: Mo (sf.) /rʃh/ *its elite*; Phoen /r'ʃ/, (Pu) /rʃ/ *head, chief, leader, promontory*; Ug /r'iʃ/ (pl. /-ʃt/, /r'aʃm/, /-ʃt/) *head, top; first*; Aram /re(')ʃ/, /re^{y}ʃ/ *head, chief, beginning*; Syr /rēʃ/ *head, extremity, beginning, chief, leader, first*; Amor /ra'$/(?) *head*; Akk /rēʃ/, /rāʃ/, (OAkk) /rā$/ =; *top, upper part, front, beginning, best; person, slave*; Arab /ra's/ *head, upper part, cape, chief; first*; ESA /r's/ *head, chief, top; self*; /rs/ *St be leader*; ?/ry$/ *order, decree*; Mhr /xərōh/, /-oh/ *head*; Soq /rey/, /re'/, /reh/, /rhe/, (sf.) /reʃ-/; (pl.) /ir'eʃ/, (dim.) /ru'eʃ/, /ru'aiʃ/ =; /r'ʃ/, /r'h/ *ask (for), demand; ʃ greet, embrace*; G&z /r's/ *head, self, top, chief, leader, front, beginning; chapter, summary; be chief, lead*; Te /rä'äs/ *head, self, leader, end, side, kind, sort, best, principal, first*; Har /urūs/ *head*; Sdd /äras/ *self*; Wol /əras/ *male (animal).*

The initial /x-/ in the Mhr entry is the petrified PTdt (Johnstone), implying previous existence of a prothetic vowel, cf. Har Gur. NB. the Mhr (Soq) /h/ (etc.) for the sibilant. Eg /wrs/ *headrest* is hardly related.

R'ʃ II: Aram /re^{y}ʃ/ *venom, poison*; Syr /rēʃ/ =.

RB(B): Phoen /rb/ *chief, lord; great, multitude*; /rbt/ (sf.) ρυβαοων (!) *lady*; Ug /rb/ *be great; great, chief, lord; rain*; /rbt/ *lady; myriad*; Aram /rbb/ *be great*; /rabb/ *great, elder, senior, chief, master, teacher*; /rubb/ *majority*; Syr /rb/ *be/grow great*; /yrb/ =; *grow numerous, rich, mighty, honoured*; /rabb/ *great, large, elder, chief, nobleman, teacher*; Amor /rabb/ *numerous*; ?Akk /rab/ *head, leader, overseer*; Arab /rb/ *gather, increase, complete; rule (over)*; /rabb/ *lord, master*; ESA /rb(b)/ *be lord (of); H seize, take hostage*; /rb/ *lord, master; (large) measure of volume*; /rbb/ *hostage; servant, slave; commoner?*; Mhr /rab/ *Lord*; Soq /reb(eh)on/, /ribehon/ *master, lord, commander*; G&z /rbb/ *stretch, expand*; Te /rb/ *pile up*; Har /arbäräba/ *(A) sprinkle, water*; Som /rōb/ *rain.*

Further Cush attestations: Or /roba/, Saho Afar /rōb/ =. As the chief function of the rain is to promote growth, it is certainly connectable with this root; cf. also the cognate /rbV/ below. The Mhr entry is a loan from Arab, perhaps also the Soq ones. The Akk entry (used in compounds only) could also derive from /rbV/. Hsa /rūwā/ *water* is more remote both phonologically and semantically and could have other etymologies. Cohen's (no. 423) non-Sem entries look too hazardous. Amm (pl.) /rbm/ *many*. Ebl /rí-bab/ *10,000*.

RBG: -

RBD: Arab /rbd/ *tie (camels), pack (dates); confine, shut up.*

RBV: Ug /'irby/ *locust*; /trbyt/ *interest*; Aram /rbV/ *grow (big, numerous, noble)*; Syr =; Amor /rby/ *be/grow large, plentiful*; Akk /rabū/, /-bā'/ *be/grow great, big, noble*; Arab /rbw/ *increase, ascend, grow up*; /ribwat/ *myriad*; ESA /rbw/ *raise, cultivate (?)*; /rby/ *support, nourish*; Mhr /xarbyēt/ *locust*; Soq /'ərbhiyoh/ =; Hsa /riba/ *multiply, repeat, exceed (manifold).*

Cognate with /rb(b)/ above; in the Mhr entry, the initial /x-/ is the petrified PTdt (Johnstone); in the Hsa entry, the labial is glottalized. Ebl /rí-ba/ *myriad.*

RBV II: -

Root var. of /rmV/ below (q.v.).

RBK: Aram /rbi^{y}kt/, /-kå'/ *flour mixed with oil and hot water*; Akk /rabāk/ *prepare kind of soup, concoction*; Arab /rbk/ *be entangled; mix, make (soup)*; /rabīkat/ *dates mixed with butter & dried curd (and water).*

RB&: Aram /rb&/ *lie down, (house) collapse; copulate.*

LW from Aram; cf. /rbc/ below.

RB& II: Phoen /rb&/ *quarter*; Ug /mrb&t/ =; /rb&/ *fourth*; Aram /rib&/, /rub&/, /rbi^{y}&/ *quarter*; /rbi^{y}&å'/, (f.) /-&e^{y}t/ *fourth*; /mrubba&/ *quadrate*; Syr /mrabba&/ =; /rub&/, /rbī&/ *quarter*; /reb&/ *a measure of volume*; Akk /rebū/, /ra-/, (Nuzu etc.) /ru-/ *fourth; quarter*; /rubbu'/ *make fourfold*; Arab /rb&/ *make, complete four*; /rub&/ *quarter*; /rābi&/ *fourth*; ESA /rb&/ *take a quarter (of booty); quarter; fourth*; /rb&t/ *squared stone*; Mhr /rōba'/, (f.) /rəbayt/ *fourth*; /rəbayt/, /-a't/ *quarter*; /mərbā/ *canine teeth*; Soq /mrebe&oh/ *molar tooth*; ?/ribe&eh/ *cutlet*; G&z /rāb&/ *fourth; quarter*; /rb&/ *D make four; multiply/divide by four*; Te /rb&/ *D sharpen, point*; /rbbu&/ *quadrangular, pointed, sharp, strong*; /rab&/ *fourth*; /rb&/ *quarter*; Har /xarättāñ/ *fourth*; Ch /arbätänä/, Sdd /arätännä/, /arat-teleñä/, Wol /aratäññe/, /-ttaña/ =; Ch /arbačänä/, Sdd /rub/, /ärub/, Wol /aratäññe/, /-ttät/ *quarter.*

The Sdd Wol alternatives not mentioned by Leslau are my recordings. The difference in meaning between the last Mhr and first Soq entry is perhaps due to a difference in the method of counting. The root is based on the numeral for 4 for which see Section C.

RBC: Ug /trbc(t)/ *enclosure, courtyard*; Aram (cf. /rb&/ above); Syr /rb&/ *lie down (of quadrupeds, lion upon prey etc.)*; Akk /rabāc/ *lie down (of animals, reptiles, people), lie in ambush (witches, daemons)*; Arab /rbΛ/ *(animal) cower, crouch (over)*; /rbc/ *lie in wait (for)*; ESA /mrbΛ/ *sheep-fold, pen*; Mhr /rbź/ *(animal) lie down, crouch*; Soq /rabaΛ/ *lie down (in ambush), rob, steal*; /rib(i)Λ/ *crime, sacrilege, villainy*; /reb(b)eΛ/ *evildoer.*

Phonological split in Arab; semantic shift in Soq. Cf. the second last root above (and the next one below?).

RBQ: Aram /ribq/ *stall; fattening*; Syr /råbåqt/ *threshing (of grain, by oxen)*; Arab /rbq/ *tie (animals) fast in a cord by loops round their necks*; /ribq/ *cord with loops*; /ribqat/, /rabqat/ *loop.*

Attention is concentrated in domestic animals, as primarily in the preceding root also.

RGB: Aram /rigb/ *clod of earth*; Syr /rgåb/ *mire (in a well).*

RGZ: Phoen /rgz/ *disturb*; Aram /rgz/ *tremble, shiver; (+A) be angry, furious*; Syr /rgz/ *be/grow angry, furious*; Arab /rğz/ *recite, compose verses; Qt =; (+tD) (sea, thunder) rumble*; /rağaz/ *trembling of camels' knees; short metre of poetry*; /rğd/ *Q/D/A ps quiver, tremble*; Mhr /rgz/ *sing*; /rəggōz/ *poet, singer*; ?Soq /regoz/ *dance.*

The primary reference is to emotions and their expression; the Soq entry is not incompatible, but rather marginal in meaning, cf. /rqd/ below. Phonological split in Arab. Cf. the root /rgʃ/ below. ?Ebl /rí-ga-zu/, /-zi/, /rí-gi-za/ *kind of cloth.*

RGL: Aram /rigl/, /rgal/, /rägäl/ *foot, leg; pilgrimage festival*; Syr /regl/ *foot*; ?Akk (OAss) /rigl/ ?; Arab /riğl/ *foot; hind leg*; (syr.) /'iğr/ =; /rağil/, /rā-/ *pedestrian*; /rağul/, (syr.) /riğğāl/ *man, husband; perfect, vigorous*; ESA /rgl/ *foot, leg; infantryman*; G&z /'gr/ *foot*; Te /'gr/ =; *a time*; /'ggur/ *pedestrian*; /'äggar/ *infantryman*; Har /igir/, /ingir/ *foot*; Ch Sdd /ägər/ *foot, leg*; Wol /əngər/ =; *thigh*; Bed /ragad/, /l-/ *foot, leg*; Bil Som /lug/ *leg*; ?Tu /eləγ/ *lower leg*; ?Chad: "Kopti" /rīger/ *go.*

Other Cush attestations: Sid /leka/ *foot* and cf. Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 254; Cohen no. 419. Considering the frequent interchange of /r/ and /l/ in Semito-Hamitic, Eth /'gr/ is comprehensible as the result of a dissimilation at an early stage of the development of the phylum, when phonological distinction was not made between the two approximants (cf. Eg); and as semantic correspondence is perfect and terms for major parts of the body are virtually never borrowed, I cannot see anything like sufficient reason to assign the Eth entries to a different root, whether Semitic or Cushitic. Cpt /aloϭ/ *thigh, knee* is phonetically ambiguous, cf. Vycichl, Cpt s.v.

RGM: Aram /rgm/ *stone, shoot*; Syr /rgm/+*D stone*; Arab /rğm/ *stone*; /ruğmat/ *heap of stones; tombstone*; Mhr /rgm/ *cover (with lid etc.)*; Soq /rigem/ *be stoned*; /gorem/ *throw stones.*

The Hbr noun may be connected with /rgn/ below (q.v.).

RGM II: Ug /'argmn/ *tribute; purple (?)*; Aram /'argwån/ *purple*; Akk /argamann/ =, *tribute*; Arab /'urğuwān/ *purple.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin and disputed original meaning.

RGN: Ug /rgm/ *say; word*; Aram /rgn/ *tD slander*; Syr /rgm/ *curse*; /rgīm/ *devil*; Amor /rgm/ *shout, yell*; Akk /ragām/ =; *complain (in court)*; Arab /rğm/ *curse, revile, expel*; G&z /rgm/ *curse, imprecate, rebuke*; Te =; Sdd /räggämä/ *curse*; /assuraggämä/, Wol /asurgagämä/ *grumble*; Tu /ərgəm/ *criticize, blame; satirize, lampoon.*

Originally probably /rgm/; the nasal oralized in Hbr Aram which serves to differentiate it from /rgm/ above with which a semantic connection is hard to find. Meaning neutralized in Ug.

RG&: Aram /rig&/ *moment*; Arab /rğ&/ *return, retract; desist (from)*; /riğ/ *(lightning) flash in succession*; G&z /rg&/ *be congealed, curdle*; Te /rg'/ =; Har =; Ch /näka/, Sdd /ärägga/ =; *be calm.*

The primary meaning appears to be intermittent action, with periods of rest in between; in the Arab form with transposition, the pace is quick, whereas in the other form as well as in Hbr, tendency towards lengthening the period of inactivity has set in; and in Eth, completely occupied the field.

RGʃ: Aram /rgʃ/ *be unruly, noisy, notice*; Syr =; Akk /rgʃ/ *N be upset*; Arab /rğs/ *groan, rumble; Qt thunder; (building) shake*; Soq /rgʃ/ *complain, fret, whine.*

Cf. the root /rgz/ above.

RD(D): Aram /rdd/ +*D hammer thin & smooth; expand, extend*; Syr /rdīd/, /'ar-/ *(large) veil, wrap*; ?Akk (NAss) /raddid/ *a garment*; Soq /radi/ *mantle.*

The primary meaning is to be/make thin and smooth.

RDV: Aram /rdV/ *rule (over), chastise*; Syr /rdV/ *urge, castigate, teach*; Akk /redū/, (Ass) /radā'/, *guide, escort, lead; pursue*; Arab /rdy/ *tread (upon), knock, strike, break*; Soq /rodi/ *be a highwayman, robber*; Som /rād/ *track*; Eg /rd/, (Dem.) /rt/ *foot, leg*; Cpt /rat=/, /rēt=/ =, *soil, bottom, lowest part.*

In Cush also: Saho /rēd/ *rule (over)*; Afar /rēdā/ *rulership, domination.* The root appears thus to be common to Sem Cush Eg, although somewhat patchily attested. Berb /aΛər/, /aΛar/ (Cohen no. 421) are phonetically ambiguous. Ebl *D* /ri-da/.

RDV II: Aram /rdV/ *D take fresh bread off the oven.*

RDM: Aram /rdm/ *be fast asleep, unconscious*; Arab /rawdana/ *be tired, fatigued, jaded*; /'urdunn/ *drowsiness* (Guillaume).

Akk /radām/ is of uncertain interpretation and looks semantically marginal at best.

RDP: Aram /rdp/ *pursue, strive*; Syr /rdp/ *follow, pursue, persecute, expel, push; study*; Akk (NAss, late Bab) /radāp/ *pursue*; Arab /rdf/ *follow*; ESA /rdf/ *pursue*; Mhr /rdf/ *ride sitting behind a.o. rider*; Te /rdf/ *D unify (two entities).*

The Akk entry is loan from WSem.

RDPN: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

RHB: Aram /rhb/ *be insolent*; Syr /rhb/ *be agitated*; Akk /ra'āb/, (late Bab) /raχāb/ = ; *furious*; Arab /rhb/ *fear, dread.*

The late Bab entry may be influenced by WSem.

RH7: Aram /rh7/ *run, be swift*; /råh(a)7/, /rå7/ *gutter, watering trough*; Syr /rh7/ *run*; /råh7/, /rah7/ *watering trough*; Akk /rā7/ *gutter*; Arab (Iraq) = ; ?Eg /rhdt/ *cauldron.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin, but apparently related to Aramaic; cf. the root /rwc/ below.

RH7 II: -

RWD: ?Akk /rād/ *shake, tremble*; Arab /rwd/ *wander about (looking for food etc.)*; G&z /rwd/ *invade, attack, persecute*; ?Har /rōğa/ *steal*; ?Wol /ranği/ *thief, robber.*

Semantically rather incoherent; as far as relevant, developed towards passivity in Akk, towards greater activity in Eth; Soq /rodi/ agrees structurally better with /rdV/ above. Cf. /rwc/ below.

RWV: ?Ug /yr/ *rain (?)*; Aram /rwV/ *drink plenty, get drunk*; Syr = ; *be soaked, inundated*; Amor /rwy/ *drink one's fill*; Arab /rwy/ *be well-watered; draw, carry water*; ESA /rwy/ *H irrigate; irrigation; watering place, well*; /mrw/ *irrigation system*; Mhr /rwV/ *drink one's fill*; Soq /re/ *drink*; /riho/ *water*; G&z /rwy/ *drink (one's fill); be (well-) watered*; Te /rwV/ *drink one's fill, get drunk; be fresh, ripe*; ?Chad: Zime (Batna/Lame) /ru/ *rain*; Hsa /rūwā/ *water.*

RWX: Phoen /rx/ *spirit*; /rwx/ *prosperity, welfare*; Ug /rx/ *wind, breath, spirit; scent*; /rxt/ *palm (of hand)*; Aram /ru^{w}x/ *wind, spirit, daemon*; /rawx/, /rwax/ *open space, freedom, gain*; /rwaxt/ *width, wide space*; /re^{y}x/ *smell, scent*; Syr /rwx/ *breathe; be refreshed, relaxed, ample, wide*; /rūx/ *wind, breath, spirit, blast, daemon, odour*; /rēx/ *odour, scent; wind*; Amor /rūx/ *wind*; Arab /rwx/ *go/act in the evening; be windy; smell; be wide*; /rāx/ *wind*; /rāxat/ *rest, ease; wife; even, fruitful land; palm (of hand)*; /rūx/ *breath, soul, spirit, ghost*; /rīx/ *wind, breath*; /rīxat/ *smell, wind*; ESA /rwx/ *H enlarge*; /rx/ *(Holy) Spirit*; Mhr /rwx/ *A give rest, relief; H make happy*; /rawx/ *spirit*; /rīx/ *hot wind*; Soq /rwx/ *do in the afternoon*; /rax/ *be settled,* *tranquil; wind, breeze, breath*; /rixan/ *spice, odoriferous plant*; G&z /rwx/ *fan, ventilate*; Te = ; /rx/ (!) *spirit, soul*; /ryx/ *refresh*; /räyxät/ *welfare*; Har /rux/ *soul, self*; Ch /rux/, /lux/, Wol /ruh/ *soul, spirit, life*; Som /rux/ *move (s.th); movement*; /rīx/ *push*; /rūx/ *breath, spirit*; Chad: Kariya Miya /ruwun/, Mburke /rəwən/ *wind.*

In Saho too, cf. Dolgopolsky p. 319. Although some Eth Cush entries may be due to Arab influence (Leslau, Appleyard), some are difficult to attribute to it. The root may thus be common to Sem Cush Chad, although not attested in Akk and only patchily outside Sem.

RWM: Phoen /rm/ *high*; /mrm/ *height(?)*; Ug /rm/ *(be) high, exalted*; (pl.?) /mrym/ *heights*; Aram /rwm/ *rise, be high*; /r'm/ *be exalted*; Syr /rwm/ *be high*; Amor =, *be lofty*; Arab /rym/ *D exceed*; /raym/ *excess, superiority; hillock, grave*; ESA /rym/ *high; pedestal; D raise; tD rebel*; Soq /rym/ *be long*; /rihom/ (f. /rimoh/) *long, deep*; G&z /rama/ *heights*; (pl.) /'äryam/ = ; *uppermost heaven*; Te /rym/ *be long, far*; /räyim/ (f. /räyam/, pl. /räyaym/, /räraym/) *long*; Ch /tärämämä/ *reach upwards*; ?Eg /wrm/ *high tide; tall figure* (Calice no. 19).

The G&z entries have been influenced by Hbr. Cf. the root /rm(m)/ below.

RW&: Syr /rw&/ *talk nonsense*; Arab /rw&/ + *D frighten, surprise* (Kopf); /rγw/ *(animal) cry, grumble.*

Of onomatopoeic nature, therefore more than one independent origin possible.

RWP: -

Root var. of /rp'/ below.

RWC: Ug /r¢/, /r¢¢/ (+ *L?) run, hurry*; Aram /rh7/ *run*; Syr =, *hurry*; Akk /rāc/ *run, hurry (to help)*; Arab /rwΛ/ *train (a colt); tL vie, contend*; G&z /rwc/ *run, hurry*; Te /rwc/ *tread, march*; Har /rō7a/ + *tL run*; Ch /no7ä/, /täro7ä/, Sdd /äräwwä7ä/, Wol /räw-/ = ; Som /orod/ =, *hurry*; ?Berb: Sus /lwər/, /rwəl/, /rūl/, /rūr/ *flee*; Tu /ərwəl/ = .

Other Cush attestations: Or /arredu/ (Zaborski), Afar Saho /rad/ *run.* Meaning specialized in Arab Berb.

RZ: Aram /råz/ *secret*; Syr /rå(')z/ =, *mystery, allegory, type; sacrament, ordination*; Soq /re&iz/ (pl. /ra&zhon/) *secret.*

LW from Old Persian. NB. the Soq pharyngal.

RZV: Aram /rzV/ *A harm, make worse (a wound)*; Syr /rzV/ *tQ grow lean, waste away; tA castigate o.s.*; Akk (Ug) /rzV/ *N be reduced (to nothing)*; Arab /raδiyy/ *exhausted (by disease), jaded, weak*; ?Berb: Rif /laz/, raz/, /traza/ *be hungry*; /räz/ *hunger*; Fass /lā̊z/ = ; Sus = ; /llāz/ *be hungry.*

The Akk entry is loan from WSem.

RZN: Phoen /rzn/ *ruler, chieftain*; Arab /rzn/ *be heavy, weighty, steady, calm, firm, sensible, wise*; Te /rzn/ *be heavy, honoured, honourable, virtuous*; Har /rēzäna/ *be heavy, serious.*

On the semantic connection cf. the roots /xkm/, /kbd/, /mlk/, /mʃl/ above.

RX: Ug (pl.) /rxm/ *mill, grindstone*; Aram /rixy/ (pl. /rixwån/) = ; Syr /raxy/ = ; Akk /erū/, /irū/, (late Bab) /erru/ = ; Arab /raxa^{yn}/ = ; Mhr /ərxā/ = ; Soq /raxa/ = ; Bed /riha/, /riya/ = .

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; NB. prothetic vowel in Akk Mhr.

RXB: Ug /rxb/ *wide*; /rxbt/ *large vessel (for liquids)*; Aram /raxb/ *greedy*; /rxo^{w}b/ *open space*; Amor /rxb/ *be wide*; Arab = ; ESA /rxb/ *width, extent*; /rxbt/ *plain*; Mhr /rəbēt/, /rxəbēt/ *township*; Soq /raxab/ *large*; /rexboh/ *extent*; G&z /rxb/ *be/grow wide, spacious*; Te /rxb/ = ; /rxib/ *wide*; f. /rxab/ (also:) *width, abundance, hunger.*

In Cush: Saho /rāb/ *be wide*; however, this is likely to be loan from Sem.

RXL: Aram /raxl/ *ewe*; Syr /raxl/ *heavy baggage*; Akk /laχr/ *ewe*; Arab /rxl/ *saddle (camel etc.); start journey*; /raxl/ *(camel's) saddle; bags, baggage (for journey)*; /riχl(at)/, /raχil/ *ewe-lamb*; ?ESA /rxl/ *(camel's) saddle*; Mhr /rxl/ *bring water from far (on a camel)*; Soq /rexloh/ *lamb.*

The root appears to be primarily connected with the nomadic practice of transhumance; that the designation for the mother sheep was derived from the same root is understandable because their welfare was intimately connected with the practice and was especially important for the maintenance of the flock; later, having become a *Kulturwort*, it could be phonologically detached from the rest of the root (Arab, cf. Akk). Cohen's (no. 417) Cush entries are phonetically ambiguous. ?Ebl /ra-χa-lu/.

RXM: Ug /rxm/ *be kind; maiden*; Aram /rxm/ + *D love, have mercy*; Syr /rxm/ *= ; desire, prefer*; Amor /rxm/ *have mercy*; Akk /rēm/, (Ass) /re'ām/ = ; *pity*; /rām/, (Ass etc.) /ra'ām/ *love*; Arab /rxm/ *forgive, have mercy; die after childbirth*; /rixm/ *womb, kin*; /rχm/ *(hen) brood; (voice) be sweet; pet, play with (a child), pity*; ?/r'm/ *be fond of (s.th); (animal) fondle (her young)*; ESA /rxm/ *tD pity, have mercy*; /rxmt/ *mercy*; /rxmn/, /rχm/ *(God the) Merciful*; /mxr/ *compassion, grace, favour*; Mhr /rxm/ + *H be kind (to); f rain*; /rəxmēt/ = (n.); /raxm/ *womb*; G&z /mxr/ *pity, have mercy, show favour*; Te /rxm/ *pity (s.o.); womb, descent*; /räxämät/ *pity* (n.); /mxr/ *have pity*; Ch Sdd Wol /marä/ *forgive, pardon*; Gur /məhrät/ *pity, mercy.*

Phonological split(s) in Akk Arab ESA, transposition in ESA (partly) Eth (mostly). The words in religious usage may be wandering to some extent, but cannot account for all the variation (cf. Ug Mhr too); and with perfect semantic agreement, the ESA-Eth /mxr/ certainly agrees better with this root than with /xwr/ *go, proceed, command, decree etc.* (with denominative derivation at that); /mxl/ above would be closer, but still semantically inferior and requires a phonological shift too. Eg /mry/, /mrwt/ *love, like* are phonetically difficult and semantically one-sided.

RXM II: Arab /raχm(at)/ *white carrion-vulture*; Mhr /rəχəmūt/ =; Soq /raxmam/ (f. /-mim/) *ash-coloured*; ?Eg /&h̲m/ *falcon, divine body, idol*; ?Cpt /ahåm/ *eagle, vulture*. ?Ebl /la-χa-bu/ *raven(?)*.

RXP: Ug /rχp/ *fly, soar*; Syr /rxp/ *D incline, bend (over), protect, shade, brood; consecrate*; ?Akk /ruχχup/ *brew?*; Arab /rχf/ *(dough) grow soft*; /raχf/ *soft butter/paste, cream, dye*.

The background (in Gn 1:2) appears to be a sultry subtropical storm combining soaring and brooding aspects; in Jr 23:9, growing soft makes good sense, but soaring or hovering none at all — even trembling could not be confined to bones.

RXC: Ug /rxc/ *wash (o.s., hands, etc.)*; Aram (Eg) /rx&/ *wash*; Amor /rχc/ *wash, inundate*; Akk /raχāc/ *flood, overrun, wash, rinse, bathe*; Arab /rxΛ/ *wash (clothes); Q ps sweat (after fever)*; Mhr /rxź/ *bathe, wash (after menstruation etc.)*; Soq /raxaΛ/ *wash, medicate, cure*; G&z /rxΛ/ *sweat profusely*; Te /rhc/ *sweat*; /rxc/ *sweat of fear*; Wol /tära7ä/ *wash o.s.*; ?Eg /rχt/ *wash*; Cpt /råhe/ =.

NB. Amor Akk Eg /χ/; Cohen's (no. 416) Berb entries are phonetically difficult.

RXQ: Ug /rxq/ *be far, go away; ʃ send off*; Aram /rxq/ *be/go far away*; Syr /rxq/ *go away*; Amor /rxq/ *be far*; Akk /rēq/, (Ass) /ruāq/ *be/go far*; ESA /rxq/ *far, remote*; Mhr *be distant*; Soq /raxaq/ =; /meraxaq/ *long*; G&z /rxq/ *be/go far away*; Te /rxq/ *withdraw, go away*; Har /rōxaqa/ *be far, distant*; Ch /aräqä/, Sdd /är'ä/, Wol /raqä/, /ra'ä/ =.

Amm (pl.f.) /rxqt/ *distant*.

RXʃ: Aram /rxʃ/ *move, swarm; tQ happen, take place*; Syr /rxʃ/ *move, crawl*; Arab /rχʃ/ *tD, Qt be stirred, disturbed*; /ruχʃat/ *bustle, stir*.

R7B: Aram /r7b/ *A grow moist; moisten*; Syr /r7b/ *be/grow moist*; Akk /ra7āb/ *be/grow moist, fresh*; Arab /r7b/ *be damp*; G&z /r7b/ *be moist, fresh*; Har /ru77a/ *wet, humid*; Ch /nä7äbä/ *be profitable*; Wol /ər7əban/ *pecuniary help*.

Moisture means blessing, and blessing is prosperity.

R7V: -

R7N: ?Aram /r7n/ *murmur, mutter (magical formulas)*; ?Arab /r7n/ *speak in a foreign language*.

Assuming that in the Hbr entry, the inducement was of a magical character.

R7ʃ: Aram /r7ʃ/ *leave, cast off, reject*.

RYB: ?Aram (Sfire) /rb/ *conflict (with) (?)*; Syr /rwb/ *make noise, murmur, quarrel, rebel*; Amor /ryb/, /rwb/ *contest, compensate*; Akk /rāb/, /riāb/, (OAkk) /re'āb/ (?) *replace, compensate, requite*; Arab /ryb/ *disturb, agitate*; /rayb/ *disturbance, doubt, suspicion*; /rībat/ =; *charge*.

RYS: Aram /riʸs/ *eyelid, -lash.*

From /triʸs/ (< θυρεος) *shield?*

RYQ(N): ?Phoen /trq/ *(T?) remove, purge?*; Aram /reʸq(ån)/ *empty; empty-headed, stupid*; Syr /rēq/ *empty*; /rayqān/ =, *vacant, hungry, poor*; Akk /r(i)āq/ *be(come) empty, meaningless, idle, unemployed*; Arab /ryq/+*A pour out, forth*; /rā'iq/ *fasting; empty-handed*; /rayq/ *falsehood*; /rīq/ *saliva; empty 'soul' (=appetite)*; Mhr /(l-)arayq/ *without breakfast.*

The primary root is /ryq/; the final /-n/ in Hbr is denominative.

RYR: Aram /riʸr/ *spittle, fluid*; Syr = ; Arab /rayr/ *drivel (of a child)*; (+/rīr/, /rār/) *soft, fluid marrow*; /ryl/ *(child) slaver*; /riyāl/ = (n.).

Dissimilatory split in Arab.

RYʃ: -

RK(K): Aram /rkk/ *tQ/tD grow soft; D soften*; /rakkiʸk/ *thin, fine, soft, delicate*; Syr /rk/ *be/grow soft; D soften, alleviate; spirantize*; Arab /rk/ *be scanty, weak, thin.*

Cpt /låk/ appears related to Eg /nqwt/ *humidity*; /l/ for Sem /r/ is not normal either; hardly related (Vycichl).

RKB: Phoen /mrkbt/ *chariot*; Ug =; /rkb/ *mount, ride*; Aram /rkb/ *ride, drive, sit*; Syr /rkb/ *ascend, mount, ride, travel, copulate; inflict (injury)*; Amor /rkb/ *ride (upon)*; Akk /rakāb/ *mount, embark, ride, travel; copulate*; Arab /rkb/ *ride*; ?/rukbat/ *knee*; ESA /rkb/ *ride; saddle, harness; riding animals; beasts of burden (?); camel-driver*; Mhr /rkb/ *ride; L put (pot) on fire; H give a lift*; /rakb/ *cliff ledge*; /rīkēb/ *riding camel*; Soq /rekob/, /rikub/ *mount*; /rekkeb/ *cavalry*; G&z /rkb/ *happen, meet, come across, occupy, conquer, acquire; tL happen, come across, encounter, copulate*; Te /rkb/ *meet, catch, seize, obtain, own, grow rich; tL meet, encounter, copulate*; /rekbay/ *riding party (in a file); pack-animal; saddle*; /rkab/ *stirrup*; Har /rχb/ *obtain; tQ be found, present; tL find e.o., be available to e.o.*; Ch /näkäbä/, Wol /rähäbä/ *find, meet*; Berb: ?Fass /terkeft/ *caravan*; Tu ?/eraqaf/ =; *important travelling party*; /ərkəb/ *draw, pull along, seize, usurp*; Eg /mrkbt/ *chariot*; Cpt /brꝗowt/, /bereꝗåwt/ =.

The words for chariot and caravan may be regaded as *Kulturwörter*, and in Te, the nominal entries may have been influenced by Arab; otherwise, the meaning of the root has developed one-sidedly towards acquisitive connotation. The fact that the sexual connotation is often found in Asian Sem as well as in Eth suggests that the root may be ultimately related to /brk/; however, the connotation is not prominent enough to assert this positively.

RKL: Aram /roʷkl/ *pedlar*; Syr /rakkål/ *merchant*; Arab /rkl/ *kick; D urge (a horse) with feet; (animal) paw (the ground)*; ESA /rkl/ *Qt travel (for trading).*

The Aram entry may be structurally influenced by Hbr. Cf. the root /rgl/ above.

RKS: Ug /rks/ *bind*; Aram /riks/, /raks/ *cement, mortar*; Syr /rkʃ/ *bind, tie*; Akk /rakās/ =; Arab /rks/ = *(a camel), reverse, turn over.*

RKʃ: -

Aram /rikʃ/, if meaning "war horses", may be connected with the preceding root (=harnessed) rather than this one. Akk and Mandaean cognates do not seem to exist. Arab /rγs/ permits other derivations.

RM(M): -

Root var. of /rwm/ above (q.v.).

RM(M) II: Aram/ rummån/ *pomegranate*; Syr =; Arab /rm/ *(bone) be decayed*; /rimmat/ *decayed bone*; /rummat/ *worn-out rope*; /rummān/ *pomegranate*; G&z Te /roman/ =.

In Cush: Or /rammo/ *worm*, /rimma/ *termite*; Saho /rimme/ *worm, maggot (in meat)*. All these are relevant assuming that pomegranate has indeed been named after the maggots ruining it — which does not sound very plausible to me, though not quite impossible either.

RMV: Aram /rmV/ *throw (o.s.), fling; object, argue*; Syr /rmV/ *throw (away), fell, put/lie down, pour out, impose; study*; Akk /ramū/ *throw, lay/settle down, establish*; Arab /rmy/ *throw, smite, shoot*; ?Mhr /marame/ *cover, lid*; ?Soq /murme/ =; G&z /rmy/ *throw, smite*; Te /rmV/ *hurry, walk rapidly*; ?Chad: Hsa /harba/, /-ā/; Gwandara /ribi/, Kwang (Ngam/Mobu) /ram/ *shoot.*

The Mhr Soq meaning is marginal; the Mhr entry is quoted from Leslau, Soq p. 401; the Hsa Gwandara entries are phonologically closer to the root var. /rbV/ II above.

RMV II: Aram /rmV/ *D betray*; Syr /rmV/ *D slander, accuse*; Akk /ramū/, (rarely) /remū/, (Ass) /ramā'/ *grow slack, weak; give in; D loosen, remove; abandon, betray; set free, let loose, give up.*

Cf. the root /rpV/ below.

RMZ: Aram /rmz/ + *D wink, hint*; Syr = ; *represent allegorically*; Arab /rmz/ *wink, allure*; /ramz/ *sign, wink, hint, allegory.*

RMX: Ug /mrx/ *spear, lance*; Aram /rumx/ =; Syr =; Arab =; Mhr /rəmxāt/ =; *wand*; G&z /rämx/, /rmx/ *lance*; Te /rmx/ *point, head (of a lance, staff)*; Berb: Sus /tamūrt/ *spear, lance*; Eg /mrx/, /muur-xa/ *lance*; Cpt /mer(e)h/ = ;

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; cf. also Gr λογχη; Lat *lancea?* Transposition in Ug Eg-Cpt. The Berb entry is quoted from Cohen no. 425.

RMS: Aram /rms/ *tread (down)*; Syr /rps/ =, *stamp (foot), jump (for joy etc.); obstruct*; Akk /rapās/ *beat, thrash, thresh*; Arab /rfs/ *kick; mince (meat)*; ?Soq /remos/ *work.*

Nasalization of the labial in Hbr Aram (and, if relevant, Soq, where also one-sided generalization of the meaning). Cf. the root /rpʃ/s/ below.

RMC: ?Ug /rmct/ *roast sacrifice?*; Aram /ramc/ *live coals, embers*; Syr /rmū& (dnūr)/ *ashes*; Arab /rmΛ/ *be burning hot, scorched, blasted; roast*; Mhr /rmź/ *put s.th. into hot ashes*; /ramź/ *hot sand, ashes*; G&z /rmΛ/ *dry (with fire); A (sun) burn, scorch*; Te /rm¢/ *D be kindled, excited*; /rämä¢/, /-ğ/ *hot sand, ashes*; Sdd /märämmä¢at/ *cinders*.

NB. the (?Ug) Aram /c/; loss of glottalization in Mhr (Te).

RMʃ/S: Syr /rmīs/ *placid, quiet, gentle*; Akk /namāʃ/ *start moving, journey*; /nammaʃt/, /-ʃtū/, /-ʃʃū/ *'moving beings', animals, fauna*; Arab /rm$/ *take up with fingertips; (cattle) pasture a while*; G&z /'rmss/ *touch gently, feel (with hand), grope*; Te /rmss/ + *A, At* =.

The oral approximant nasalized (assimilatorily) in Akk.

RN(N): Ug /rnn/ + *D shout*; Aram /rnn/ *think (about); D* =, *mutter, rejoice*; Arab /rn/ *moan, twang, resound, tinkle*; Mhr /rnn/ *ring, reverberate*; Soq /rene/ *curse, swear*; Som /rēn/ *shout, roar* (vb. & n.); *(war-) cry*; Eg /rnny/ *rejoice*; /rnnwt/ *jubilation*.

The neutral character of the primary meaning still largely preserved; in Eg, used only with jubilant connotation; but being onomatopoeic in character, more than one independent origin is possible. Cf. the root /lwn/ above.

RS(S): Aram /rss/ *drip, drizzle, sprinkle; D drip, ooze*; Syr /rs/ *sprinkle, drip, distil, pour*; /rsm/ =; Akk /rasān/ *water, soak*; Arab /r$/ *sprinkle, drizzle*.

NB. the sibilant variation; nasal root final augment in (Syr) Akk.

RSN: Aram /risn/ *bridle, reins*; ?Akk /risitt/ *leather girth(?)*; Arab /rasan/ *halter, headrope*.

A *Kulturwort* (of Persian origin?).

RSQ: Aram /rsq/ *D chop, tear (into pieces)*; /risq/ *piece, crumb, rag*; ?Syr /råsūq/ *chain*.

Cf. the root /rtq/ below.

R&(&): Phoen /r&/ *evil*; Akk /ragg/ =, *bad*; Arab /ra&ā&/ *ruffians*.

Eg /'&&/ seems too vague semantically. NB. the Akk velar.

R&(V): Ug /r&/ *friend, mate*; Aram /r&u^{w}t/ = (fem.); Amor /ri&/ *friend*; Akk /rū(')/, (lx) /rā'/ =, *mate*; f. /rūt/, /rutt/, /ru't/, (OAss) /rū'at/(?); Arab /'ur&uwwat/ *yoke (joining 2 oxen)*; G&z /'är&ut/ =; /mär&a/ *wedding*.

The primary meaning appears to be union, comradeship; sometimes difficult to delimit against /r&V/ below. The Aram entry (as also /r&/ in Achiqar) could be loan from Hbr.

R&B: Ug /rγb/ *be hungry*; Aram /r&abtånu^{w}t/ *gluttony*; Arab /rγb/ *wish, long for*; /raγīb/ *gluttonous*; Mhr /rγb/ *like; H wish for*; G&z /rχb/ *be hungry*; /räχäb/, /-ab/ *hunger, famine*; Te /räxab/ *hunger*; Har

/raxab/ =; /rxb/ *be hungry, starve*; Sdd /ärabä/, Wol /r-/ =; Sdd /ärab/, Wol /r-/ *hunger, famine*; Som /rāb/ *want.*

In Cush also: Saho Afar /räb/ *die*. There is no direct source of borrowing, but the meaning could well be derived from that of starving, so derivation from Sem is possible. The Aram entry again seems to be based on Hbr. NB. the Eth voiceless fricative. Te /rqb/ is loan from Arab. Eg /'χf/ *appetite* (Rössler) seems phonologically hazardous besides being semantically uncertain (E-G).

R&D: Aram /r&d/ *tremble, shiver*; ?Akk /rād/ *tremble, quake*; Arab /r&d/ *thunder, threaten; Qt tremble*; /ra&d/ *thunder*; /ra&dat/ *fright, shudder*; G&z /r&d/ *tremble, quake*; Te =; *A* = *; shake, make tremble*; Har /ra'di/ *thunder*; Ch /arädä/, Wol /ara(rä)dä/ *tremble, shiver.*

The Akk entry could derive from /rwd/ above, but agrees semantically better with this root.

R&V: Phoen (pl.) /r&m/ *shepherd*; Ug /r&y/ =; Aram /r&V/ *pasture, tend*; Syr =; *eat (bare), corrode*; Amor /r&y/ *pasture, graze*; Akk /re'ū/, (OAkk) */ra&āy/?, (M/NAss) /ra'ū/, (M/late Bab) /reyū/, /rewū/ =, *tend*; Arab /r&y/ =; ESA /r&y/ *shepherd*; /mr&(y)t/, (pl.) /-&y/ *pasturage*; Mhr /māray/ =; /r&y/ *tend, pasture*; Soq /re&e/ =; *observe*; G&z /r&y/ *pasture, graze*; Te /r&V/ *pasture, tend*; ?Chad: Tsagu /rä'a/, Diri(yangi) /rawā/ *pasture, tend (cattle).*

With only one firm radical, the Chad entries could conceivably be accidentally similar, and borrowing cannot be ruled out either; so Cush /raa&/, /ra/ (etc.; cf. Dolgopolsky p. 319) also. Ebl (sf.) /ré-ì-na/ *our shepherd.*

R&V II: Phoen /r&t/ *intention, resolve*; Aram /r&V/ *want, desire, be pleased (with)*; Syr /r&V/ *D placate, reconcile; tD be content, pleased (with), reconciled; deliberate, take counsel.*

The Hbr and Phoen entries may be borrowings from Aram; cf. the root /rcV/ below.

R&L: Aram /r&l/ *tremble, totter*; Syr =; Arab /r&l/ *grow mad*; /rγl/ *A stray (from), lean (towards)*; ESA /r&l/ *H roll onwards (flood water).*

The primary meaning is unsteady movement.

R&M: Aram /r&m/ *make noise*; Syr =; *sound, intone; be frequented; mourn, be sad; be angry, irate*; ?Akk /ragām/ *shout; complain (in court)*; ?Arab /rγm/ *dislike; L break off (in anger)*; *A spite, revile*; ?Soq /r&m/ *blaspheme.*

The Arab Soq meanings are rather marginal; Akk agrees phonologically better with /rgn/ above (q.v.).

R&N: -

Found in Biblical Aram, apparently as a loan from Hbr.

R&P: Syr /r&åp/ *rinsing (of mouth)*; Arab /r&f/ *(nose) bleed*; /ru&ūf/ *drizzle.*

Cf. the root /&rp/ above. Cush /rob/ etc. seem rather related to /rb(b)/ above.

R&C: Aram /r&&/ *break into pieces, shatter*; Syr /r&/ = ; *delete.*

Partial dissimilation of /rc(c)/ below, apparently influenced by Aram. Arab /rc&/ (Guillaume), /cr&/ (Kopf) are far-fetched.

R&ʃ: Aram /r&ʃ/ *rage, storm*; Syr /r&ʃ/ *grind, pound, tear into pieces*; Arab /r&s/ *tremble*; /r&$/ *be startled, shiver.*

Phonological split in Arab.

RP’: Phoen /rp’/, *rufe*, (NPu) /rp/, /r&b’/ *physician*; Syr /rpV/ *heal, fix*; Akk /rapū/ *heal*; Arab /rf’/ *soothe, allay (fear), make peace; mend (clothes)*; ESA /rf’/ *keep healthy, strong(?)*; Soq /terof/ *be cured, in good health*; G&z /rf’/ *mend, sew up*; /märf’/ *needle*; Har /märfi/ = ; Ch Sdd /märf/, Wol /-fe/ = ; Som /marfi/ = .

For other Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 420. However, the word for needle has become a *Kulturwort* and so the root is original in Sem only.

RPV: Phoen (pl.) /rp’m/, (NPu) /(’)r’p’m/ *’shadows’, the deceased*; Ug /rp’um/ = *(deified)*; Aram /rpV/ *be weak, tottering, (blood) easily shed*; Syr /rpV/ *be lax; D loosen, slacken, permit*; Aram /rfV/ *set at ease; L be gentle (towards)*; /rfh/ *enjoy delicate life* (Kazi); ?G&z /&rp/ *A be quiet, idle; cease, desist; let rest, quieten, refresh*; ?Tu /rofi/, /rufin/ *internal rot (in trees), caries.*

The Tu entry deviates semantically from the general tone in Sem, but agrees well with the concrete decay of the deceased. The G&z entry again deviates structurally and phonologically and is not semantically fully in agreement either. Cf. the root /rmV/ II above.

RPQ: Aram /marpq/ *elbow*; ?/rpq/ *dig around*; ?Akk /rapāq/ *work up (garden, field); nail, fasten together*; Arab /rfq/ *tD, Qt lean upon (elbows etc.); St seek help*; Mhr /rəfīq/ *one another*; G&z /rfq/ *recline, lie down (on elbow etc., at the table)*; Te /rfq/ + *L associate (with).*

RPʃ: ?Syr /rapt/ *refuse, scraps*; Akk /rupuʃt/, /-ult/ = ; Arab /raf(a)θ/ *unseemly speech, obscenity*; ?Tu /erəfəs/ *soil bloated by saline outbreaks.*

The Tu entry is semantically closest to Hbr; however, it might be related to /rəffuc/ *eruption of pustules (on the skin)* which seems to be more firmly established in the language and thus deserves primacy.

RPʃ/S: Aram /rps/ *step, tread*; Syr = ; *stamp (foot), jump, obstruct*; Akk /rapās/ *thresh*; Arab /rfs/ *kick.*

Appears cognate with /rms/ above.

RPT: ?Aram /riʸpt/ *bread*; Arab /rft/ *break, crumble*; /rufat/ *threshed straw*; /rufāt/ *crumbs.*

RC(C): Aram /r&&/ *break into pieces, shatter*; Syr /r&/, /rc/ = ; *delete, strike out*; Arab /rΛ/ + *D, R break (coarsely), contuse*; Mhr /rcc/ *compress, pile up; be crowded*; Ch /ar7änä7ä/ *grow very old; (wood) be about to break.*

Cpt /låğ/ seems closer to Arab /lz/, /lc/ (Baer, Vycichl). Brockelmann considers the Syr /rc/ a loan from Can, but the root var. /r&c/ above suggests that the matter is more complicated.

RC': -

Root var. of /rwc/ above.

RCV: Ug /rc(V?)/ *agree*; Ya /rqy/ *be pleased (with)*; Aram /r&V/ *want, desire, be pleased (with)*; Syr /r&V/ *D placate, reconcile; tD be content, pleased (with), reconciled; deliberate, take counsel*; Amor /rcy/ *be willing*; Arab /rΛy/ *be pleased (with), consent (to)*; ESA /rΛw/, /rΛy/ *favour, grace; H satisfy, make happy*; Mhr /rźV/ *be acceptable, agree*; /rəźwē'/ *wish, desire*; Soq /riΛi/, /rΛΛ/ *be content, agree*; Tu /ărΛu/ =, *consent.*

NB. the sibilant variation. Cf. the root /r&V/ II above. The Tu entry appears to be loan from Arab (Prasse).

RCV II: Aram /rcV/ *A count, enumerate*; Akk /racū/ *ʃ give in payment.*

v. Soden considers the Akk entry loan from Can.

RCX: Aram /rcx/ *D murder*; Arab /rΛx/ *crush (datestones)*; /rΛχ/ *crush (snake's head); L cast stones (at); tL duel (with bows)*; ESA /rΛx/ *weary(?); Qt fight, slay*; Soq /ricax/ *be exhausted.*

Phonological split in Arab; cf. Aram vs. Arab-ESA.

RC&: Aram /ruc&ån/ *cobbler; scourger, whipper*; Arab /rc&/ *D string (pearls) into necklace; set (gems).*

ESA /rΛ&/ *massacre(?)* seems hardly related (rather, cf. the preceding root, if correctly interpreted).

RCP: Aram /rcp/ *press tight, set side by side*; Syr = ; *pave (way)*; Akk /racāp/ *pile up; erect (buildings)*; Arab /rcf/ *do stonework*; /racaf/ *dam*; Mhr /rΛf/ *pile up*; Soq /reΛof/ *place, put (in order).*

NB. Aram-Arab vs. Mhr-Soq; the Mhr entry is quoted from Leslau, Soq p. 405.

RQ(Q): Aram /rqq/ *spit*; Syr /rq/ = ; Te /mrraq/ *spittle*; Har /məräq/ = ; Wol /məraq/ = ; Bil /laq/ =, (+/lāq/) *spit.*

Cf. the root /yrq/ above. More Cush attestations in Cohen no. 428.

RQ(Q) II: Ug /rq/ *ingot (?of silver)*; Aram /rqåq/ *shallow water; swamp*; Syr = ; /raqqīq/ *thin*; Akk /raqāq/ *be/grow thin, narrow*; Arab /rq/ *be* *thin; D, A make thin*; Mhr /rqq/ *be inadequate*; /rəq/ *shallow*; /rəqayq/ *fine, delicate*; G&z /rqq/ *be thin, subtle*; Te /rq/ *be thin, delicate, frightened.*

In Cush: Saho /raqaq/ *be thin, fine, delicate*; probably loan from Sem.

RQB: Aram /riqb/ *worm-, motheaten.*

RQD: Ug (pl.) /mrqdm/ *dancers*; Aram /rqd/ *D dance*; Syr /rqd/ = ; Akk /raqād/ = ; Arab /raqadān/ *(lamb's) leap, jump*; /rqz/ *(artery) throb*; /rqc/ *dance; (camel) amble*; (syr.) *(horse) prance*; Mhr /rq7/ *do a hopping dance; Qt (goats) jog about*; ?/mərqayd/ *rough path up the mountain*; Soq /roked/ *stamp (foot)*; /rekoΛ/ *tread down*; /reqo7/, /regoz/ *dance*; ?/'erqid/ *rush, fall upon*; G&z /rgΛ/ *stamp (foot), kick*; Te /rgc/ *tread down, trample upon; kick up*; Har /rg7/ *stamp, kick*; Ch /näqä7ä/, Sdd /räggä7ä/, /är-/, Wol /rägä7ä/ =, *tread, step, trample (upon)*; ?Bed /ragad/ *foot, leg*; Tu /ərtəΛ/ *dance*; ?Chad: Dangla (West) /rɛΛ(i)kɛ/, /rɛrkɛ/ *jump.*

In Cush also: Afar /ragad/ *dance*; Saho /ragad/ *march*. However, the root is of the nature of wandering words, and so it is doubtful whether it is original outside Sem. The great variety of phonological varr. also suggests frequent borrowing and reborrowing. Cf. /drk/ and /rgl/ above.

RQX: Phoen /rqx/ *perfumer*; Ug = ; Aram /marqaxt/ *ointment, perfume*; Akk /rīq/, /riqq/ *odoriferous material*; /ruqqū/, (Ass) /ra-/ *press fine oil*; ?Soq /'erqax/, /-g-/ *bring forth*; /raqax/ *fruit.*

The Aram entry may be loan from Hbr.

RQM: Phoen /rqm/ *embroiderer*; Aram /rqåm/, /riqmt/ *embroidery, -red cloth; coloured spot*; Syr /tarqmåt/ *freckle*; Arab /rqm/ *write, dot (a book), stripe (cloth), brand (a camel)*; /raqm/ *variegated cloth; numeral*; G&z /rqm/ *variegate, embroider.*

RQ&: Phoen /mrq&/ *(golden) plate*; Aram /rq&/ *A spread out*; Syr /rq&/ *insert, compress, stabilize*; Arab /raqī&/ *firmament*; /raq&/ *7th heaven*; /rq&/ *(+D) patch up, mend (clothes)*; Mhr /rq&/ *patch up; make a quern*; /rəqät/ *patch, rag*; Te /rq&ät/ = ; /rq&/ *patch up, mend*; /ruq&at/ *hymen.*

The Arab nouns may derive from Hbr, the Te entries from Arab (or SAr).

Rʃ(ʃ): -

May be based on a place name. S.B. Hoenig's (JQR 69 p. 181f) identification of /tarʃi^{y}ʃ/ with Gr (gn!) θαλασσης lacks valid parallels.

RʃV: Phoen /rʃ't/ *rule, authority*; Aram /rʃV/ *have permission, authority; lend*; Syr /rʃV/ *D, A donate*; Amor /rʃy/ *acquire, possess*; Akk /raʃū/, (OAkk, Ass) /raʃā'/ *acquire*; Arab /rsw/ *be firm, still, lay at anchor; retrace, relate (tradition); make peace (between)*; ?ESA /rʃw/ *sacrifice; H establish a cult; priest*; /r$y/ *H act as commander (?)*; Mhr /rsV/ *(lie at) anchor*; /rθV/ *do a favour, let live for pity*; Soq

/ri$i/, /ri$auwi/ *be fixed, attached*; /ma$en/ *mansion* (pl. /mere$i/ *its inhabitants)*; G&z /rsw/ *A pilot (a ship) to port*; /märso/ *port, anchor*.

The central meaning is that of authority with which the ESA entry too is compatible, in my opinion better than with the Arab /r$w/ — even sacrificial cult was hardly ever conceived as bribery. NB. the sibilant varr.

RʃM: Aram /rʃm/ *mark; make a sign*; Syr = ; *designate, describe, represent*; Arab /rsm/ *leave traces; sketch*; /rawsam/ *mark, stamp*; /rʃm/, (n.) /raʃm/ *seal*; ?/raθm/, /ruθmat/ *white spot on horse's nose*.

Some Arab entries are loans from Aram.

Rʃ&: Aram /rʃ&/ *tQ be wicked: A act wickedly*; Syr /rʃ&/ *be criminal; A act criminally; lead to crime, impiety*; Arab /rs&/ *(limbs) be relaxed; (eyelids) stick together; put (on a child) amulets against evil eye*; G&z /rs&/ *forget, err; be impious, unjust, criminal*; Te /rs&/ *forget; tD = ; neglect*; Har /rs'/ *forget*; Ch /täräsa/, Sdd /ärässa/, /tä-/, Wol /räsä/ = .

The Eth entries are phonologically certainly closer to this root than to /nʃV/; and also semantically compatible, cf. G&z Te.

RʃP: Aram /riʃp/ *flame*; Amor /r$p/ = (vb.).

Related Ndiv found in Phoen Ug; cf. the root /ʃ/srp/ below.

RT(T): Aram /rtt/ *be afraid, tremble, shiver*; Syr /rt/ + *D tremble*; Akk /ratāt/ = ; Arab /rt/ *stammer*.

RTV: ?Syr /rtV/ *A admonish, teach*; Arab /rtw/ *draw (bucket) up gently*.

RTX: Aram /rtx/ *grow hot, glow, boil*; Syr = ; *be upset*; Mhr /r7x/ *L arrange (meat) for cooking*; ?Eg /rtx/ *(art of) baking*.

Glottalization in Mhr.

RTM: Aram /ratm/, /ritm/ *broom-plant*; Arab /ratam/ = .

Probably a wandering word (of unknown origin).

RT&: Aram /rt&/ *tremble, be excited*; Syr /rtī&/, /mratta&/ *dispirited, weary*.

RTQ: Aram /ritq/ *(fenced) enclosure*; Arab /rtq/ *close up, sew up (a rent)*; /ritāq/ *two garments sewn by the borders*.

ש

ʃʼB: Ug /ʃʼb/ *draw (water)*; Aram /ʃʼb/ *(magnet) attract*; /ʃʼubt/ *drawing (of water)*; Akk /sāb/, /sāp/ *draw (water)*; Arab /s'b/ *gorge o.s.*

(with drink); /mis’ab/ *skin-bottle; heavy drinker*; Soq /$i’ob/ *source, origin.*

NB. the Akk Soq varr.

ʃ’G: Ug /θ’igt/, /θ’iqt/ *bellowing*; Arab /θ’ğ/ *(sheep) bleat*; ?Soq /zhg/ *cry, make noise.*

Probably of onomatopoeic origin; cf. the roots /z&q/, /c&q/ above.

ʃ’V: Aram /ʃhV/ *be stiff, petrified*; /ʃ’o^{w}l/ *nether world*; Syr /ʃhV/ *(fever) abate; (fire) be extinguished*; *(strength) vanish; languish*; /ʃyol/ *nether world*; G&z /si’ol/ =; Te /ʃ’ol/, /ʃe’ol/ =; Ch /səwer/, Sdd /siyol/ *abyss, precipice.*

The noun is a wandering word of Hbr origin; Arab /sū’a^y/ *hell-fire* agrees better with the root /ʃw’/ below.

ʃ’7: ?Arab /θu’a7/ *head cold, rheum.*

Scorn is commonly regarded as a form of emotional coldness. Cf. also Aram /ʃw7/ Akk /ʃā7/ *despise.*

ʃ’L: Ug /ʃ’l/ *ask*; Aram =, *want, request*; Syr =; *borrow; greet, salute*; Amor /$’l/ *ask*; Akk /ʃāl/, /ʃa’āl/ =; Arab /s’l/ =; /swl/ =; *demand*; ESA /s’l/ =; Soq /ʃ’l/ *Q ps have debts*; /ho’ol/ *borrow; demand payment*; G&z /s’l/ *ask, request, demand; pray, invoke, intercede; beg*; Te /s’l/ *tQ ask; tF enquire (repeatedly); AtQ tell, report*; Har /s’l/ *tQ implore, ask (God) for favour*; Ch /täsarä/, Sdd /täʃalä/, Wol /-s-/ *ask, question*; Tu /əʃʃil/ *necessity, extreme need*; ?Chad: Jegu /ʃēl-/ *ask, request.*

NB. the Soq var.; however, the first Soq entry could be ʃ-stem of the second. Ebl *Q ps(?)* pl. /sì-a-lu/ *are called*; (f.) /sa-il-tum/ *interpreter of dreams, oracular priest, ensi.*

ʃ’N: Ug /ʃ’n/ *be well*; Syr /ʃyn/ *D cultivate, pacify, reconcile*; G&z /sn’/, /sn’a/ *peace, concord; friend, comrade, ally.*

Transposition in G&z.

ʃ’S: -

Root var of /ʃs(V)/ below.

ʃ’P: Aram /ʃ’p/ *snap, snatch*; Arab /shf/ *burn with thirst; pine away; be in death throes*; ?Soq /ʃe’ef/, /ʃef/ *sleep.*

Root var. of /ʃwp/ II below.

ʃ’R: ?Ug /ʃ’ir/ *field, block (of land) (?)*; Aram /ʃ’r/, /ʃyr/ *D, A leave over, behind*; Syr /ʃyår/ *remnants, leftovers*; Arab /s’r/ *leave (over, behind), remain*; ESA /s’r/ *remain, be left; rest, other (thing)*; Te /sä’ar/ *remainder.*

The Te entry may be a loan.

ʃʿR II: Phoen /ʃʿr/ *flesh*; Ug /ʃʿir/ =; /θ’ir/ *kinsman, blood avenger*; Syr /te(’)rt/ *diaphragm, interior; conscience; appetite*; Akk /ʃīr/, /ʃēr/, /tīr/ *flesh, body; intestinal omen*; ?/tērt/, /tīrt/, (OAkk) /tā’ert/ *intestinal omen; instructions, guidance*; Arab /θ’r/ *avenge (blood)*; ESA /θ’r/ =; *vengeance (for spilt blood)*; Soq /$irhi/, /sirehi/ *skin*.

NB. the sibilant varr. v. Soden derives Akk /tērt/ from the verb /wār/; but with both phonological and semantic overlap with /ʃīr/ the present root is at least as plausible.

ʃʿR III: Aram /seʸ’oʷr/ *leaven, fermenting dough; evil inclination*; Cpt /sir/ *leaven*.

The Cpt entry is loan from Sem (Vycichl after Devaud); the root may also be ultimately connected with /ʃʿr/ above (see ib., although the Hbr diacritics have been mixed up), but is now clearly separated from it, cf. frequent spelling with /s-/ in MH too; with Arab /fwr/ (Guillaume) our root has just one radical in common and semantic connection is equally peripheral.

ʃB(B): Aram /ʃibb/ *chip, fragment*; ?Arab /sb/ *cut*.

ʃB(B) II: Aram /ʃbiʸb/ *flame*; Syr /ʃbīb/ *spark*; Akk /ʃabāb/ *glow, dry up*; Mhr /$bb/ *climb*; Soq /ʃbb/ (or /ʃwb/?) *(re-)heat*.

On the Mhr meaning cf. Mhr C: *(fire) flare up* (Johnstone). Eg /sb’/ *star* hardly connected, cf. Vycichl, Cpt s.v. /siw/.

ʃBV: Ug /ʃby/ *capture, take prisoner*; Aram /ʃbV/ =; Syr =; *take booty, abduct; take along, captivate*; Amor /$by/ *take captive*; Arab /sby/ *take captive, captivate*; /saby/ (coll.) *captives; women*; ESA /sby/ *(take) captive*; Mhr /sbV/ *take captive*; Soq /sobi/ *abduct, ravish*.

Ebl /ʃa-bay/ *prisoner*.

ʃBV II: Akk /ʃubū/ *a semi-precious stone*.

LW from Akk?

ʃBX: Aram /ʃbx/ *D, A praise, glorify*; Syr /ʃbx/ *D =; opine, decide*; Arab /sbx/ *D praise (God)*; G&z =; ?Eg /sbx/ *cry, shout, call*.

The Hbr Arab G&z entries are usually regarded as loans from Aram; if so, the root in Sem is confined to Aramaic which raises doubts about its originality in Eg; nor is borrowing likely on semantic grounds. However, the root could be original in Hbr despite late attestation; or on the other hand, there are closely similar sounding roots of evidently onomatopoeic origin (/cwx/, /ʃw&/, etc.) and therefore an independent origin for the Eg entry cannot be ruled out either.

ʃB7: Aram /ʃb7/ *strike, hit*; /ʃib7/, /ʃeʸbä7/, /ʃub7/ *staff; tribe*; Syr /ʃab7/ *staff, sceptre, spear, plague, punishment, lightning, (Israelite) tribe*; Akk /ʃabā7/, /-t/ *strike; sweep (away)*; /ʃabb7/ *staff, sceptre*; /ʃabā7/ *name of the 11th Babylonian month*; Arab /sib7/ *(Jewish) tribe*; ESA /sb7/ *whip, lash* (vb.&n.); Mhr /sb7/ *beat, hit (with a stick)*; G&z /zb7/ *strike, hit, whip, castigate*; Te /zb7/ *beat, shoot; play (drum,* *flute); choose, designate (by striking with a stick)*; Ch /son7/ *twig, rod*; Eg /ʃbd/, (Dem.) /ʃbt/ *rod, staff*; Cpt /ʃbåt/ =.

The Arab and (late) Eg-Cpt entries are apparently borrowings from Hbr/Can; the name of the month is in Hbr naturally loan from Akk. NB. the phonological varr. in Akk Eth; the Ch entry is partial assimilation from a nasalized /sam7/ found elsewhere in Gur (see Leslau, Gur III p. 549); its meaning (being used to discipline cattle and children) may be closest to the primary one.

ʃ/SBK: Aram /sbk/ *intertwine*; /sibk/ *bush, underwood; hairnet*; Syr /sbåk/ *network veil*; ?/sbk/ *adhere*; ?Akk /ʃabikū/ *kind of headband*; Arab /$bk/ *be intricate; (+D) entangle, intermix*; /$abakat/ *net, snare*; /$ubbāk/ *network, reedmat, lattice*; Mhr /$bk/ *set a snare (also magically); L make a fence*; /$əbəkēt/ *net, web*; Soq /$ibkeh/ *kind of sail*; ?Tu /həbəġbəġ/ *(hair) be shaggy, dishevelled.*

The Syr vb. is rather marginal in meaning; the Akk entry may be a LW, whether derived from this root or not; the Tu entry agrees well semantically, but its phonological history is not clear.

ʃBL: Ug /ʃblt/ *ear (of corn)*; Aram /ʃ(u)balt/, /tbalt/ =; /ʃbi^{y}l/ *path*; Syr /ʃbīl/ =, *track, way*; /ʃebbl/ *ear (of corn); stream*; Akk /ʃubult/, /-ilt/ *ear (of corn)*; Arab /sabal(at)/, /sabūlat/, /sub-/, /sunbul(t)/ =; /sabīl(at)/ *path, way*; ESA /sbl/ (/msbl/?) =; *road*; Mhr /səbəlēt/ *ear (of rice)*; Soq /seboleh/ = *(of corn)*; G&z /säbl/ =.

The Mhr meaning is more specific; NB. the Aram Arab varr. Cf. also A.F.L. Beeston in JSS 24 p. 175ff; but Ges-B satisfies me of the unity of the root. So also E.A. Speiser in BASOR no. 85 p. 10ff.

ʃBS: Aram /ʃbi^{y}s/ *kind of headdress (for women).*

May be a kind of *Kulturwort*; cf. the root /ʃbc/ below?

ʃB&: Phoen /ʃb&t/ *oath*; Aram /ʃbu^{w}&(a)t/ =; /ʃb&/ *Qt swear*; Arab /sb&/ *revile, vituperate*; /sab&/ *trial; (place of) the Last Judgment*; G&z /sb&(ät)/ *incantation.*

Connected with the next root? As to the Arab vb., reviling is commonly characterized by swearwords which are popular versions of oaths.

ʃB& II: Ug /ʃb&/ *7th (part); do for the 7th time*; Aram /ʃbu^{w}&(a)t/ *week*; /ʃub&/ *series of seven*; Syr /ʃåbō&/, /ʃabbū&/ =; *7th (year); 50th (day); Pentecost (festival)*; /ʃbī&ay/ *7th*; Akk /sebū/, (lx) /ʃabū/ *7th*; /sebiat/, /-īt/, /-āt/, /sabāt/ *7th part*; Arab /sb&/ *be 7th, make 7-fold*; /sābi&/ *7th*; /sub&/, /sabī&/, *7th part*; ESA /sb&/ =; *7th*; Mhr /hōba'/ *7th*; G&z /sb&/ *D make seven(fold)*; /sab&/ *7th*; Te /sab&(ay)/ =; /sb&it/ *7th part*; /säb&it/ *hebdomad*; /sb&/ *D be/do sevenfold*; Har /sātti/ *week*; Ch /säbatänä/, Sdd /-ññä/, Wol /sabtäññe/ *7th.*

The root is built around the cardinal Nn for 7 for which see Section C. Cf. the preceding root also.

ʃB& III: Phoen /ʃb&/[1] *corn, grain*; Ug /ʃb&/ *be/grow sated*; Aram /sb&/ = ; Syr = ; Akk /ʃebū/, /ʃabū/, (Ass) /ʃabā'/ = ; Arab /$b&/ *be sated, (stomach) full, (intellect) perfect; A satiate, saturate*; ?/sbγ/ *(wealth) be abundant, (raiment, rain) lengthy*; /sabγat/ *abundance*; ESA /ʃb&/ *H satisfy*; /ʃb&/ *satiety, abundance (of irrigation water)*; Mhr /$b&/ *be satisfied; H satisfy; Qt be naughty; ʃ be angry*; Soq /$ibax/ *satisfy o.s.*; ?G&z /$bx/ *be/grow fat*; ?Te /ʃbx/ *be fat, stout*; ?Har /sbx/ *be fat, fertile*; ?Ch /säpa/ *be very fat, more than sufficient.*

[1] Once /sb&/; scribal error? (cf. BASOR 200 p. 11).

Twofold phonological split (Arab) is uncommon, but with nearly perfect semantic agreement must be regarded as a possibility. The Eth entries are not perfect phonologically nor semantically, but the Ch meaning suggests that the present prevalent meaning is secondary, and phonologically, G&z differs from the basic Asian pattern through the voicelessness of the pharyngal only; whereas /cgb/, while semantically slightly superior, requires the assumption of transposition and glottalization as well as occlusion of the pharyngal fricative and simultaneous glottalization of the sibilant.

ʃBC: Syr /ʃbc/ *mix*; Arab /$bc/ *tD be intertwined.*

ʃBR: Ug /θbr/ *break*; Aram /tbr/ *break (off, asunder), injure*; Syr = ; *beat, overpower*; Akk /ʃebēr/, (Ass) /ʃabār/, (OAkk) /$abār/ *break (asunder)*; Arab /θbr/ *perish; curse, expel, destroy*; /tbr/ *perish; D break, smash, destroy, ruin*; /tibr/ *'broken' gold (dust, nuggets)*; ESA /θbr/ + *H break, crush, defeat*; Mhr /θbr/ *break*; /θəbərayn/ *hyaena*; Soq /tiber/ *be broken, break down*; G&z /sbr/ *break (asunder), afflict, discourage; deflower*; Te /sbr/ *break, chop up; track (a road)*; Har /sbr/ *break*; /subur/ *uneven*; Ch /säpärä/, Sdd /säbb-/, Wol /säb-/ *break, pick off*; Tu /əʃʃəbärət/ *opening for shooting.*

The Tu entry is a LW (Appleyard, Prasse). Phonological split in Arab.

ʃBR II: ?Arab /sbr/ *estimate the measure, quantity (of).*

Possibly sale of grain to travellers took place on the basis of an estimate?

ʃ/SBR: Aram /sbr/ *understand, think, mean, hope*; Syr /sbr/ *mean, assume, hope, expect*; ?Arab /$br/ *exult, be insolent; give s.o. wealth, property; D honour*; ?/$imr/ *quick-witted, clever, intelligent, vigorous.*

The meanings of the Arab entries seem rather marginal, and that of G&z /$mr/ still more so.

ʃBT: Phoen /ʃbt/ *cease, end*; Aram /ʃabb(t)/ *sabbath*; Syr = ; *week*; Akk /ʃapatt/, (OAkk) /$apatt/; /ʃabatt/ *full moon, 15th day of the month*; Arab /sbt/ *take rest, stop (work etc.); cut, behead; be confused*; /sabt/ *sabbath, week, period*; /subāt/ *rest, time, calamity*; ?/θbt/ *be steady, remain (in), dwell*; G&z /sänbät/ *sabbath, Saturday, Sunday, festival day; week*; Te /sämbät/ *sabbath*; Gur =, /-nb-/ = ; Bed /sabb/, /sāb/ = ; Bil /sänbär/, /-mb-/ (pl. /sänābet/) = .

Further Cush attestations: Saho /sambat/, Afar /sabti/, Quara /sämbät/ = .

The noun has become a *Kulturwort*, in its present sense originating from Hbr, although the Hbr term must be connected with the Akk one; the labial prenasalized in Eth, the final rad. often treated like fem. afform. The last Arab entry seems to be based on this root and /yʃb/ above. Ebl /maʃ-bí-tù/ *encampment*.

ʃG(G): Aram /ʃgagt/ *error, inadvertent sin*; /ʃg(g)/ *tR be confused, rage*; /ʃgʃ/ *D confuse*; Syr /ʃgʃ/ *confuse, excite, incite; riot*; Akk /ʃagāg/ *grow slack, flabby; lose energy*; Arab /sǧs/ *(water) be turbid, (D) stink*; /saǧas/ *stir, disturbance*; (syr.) *riot*; Mhr /sgg/ *daydream, wander, go astray*.

Cf. the root /ʃgV/ below.

ʃGB: Aram /ʃgb/ *D strengthen*.

The entry appears to be based on Hbr; but cf. J-H p. 291.

ʃGV: Aram /ʃgV/ *fail, err*; Syr =; *go astray*; Akk (late Bab) /ʃagū/ *go astray*; G&z /sk^{w}y/ =.

Root var. of /ʃg(g)/ above. The Akk entry is loan from Aram (vS).

ʃ/SGV/’: Phoen (pl.f.) /ʃgyt/ *many*; Aram /sgV/ *grow, increase; be many, enough*; Syr =; *go well; make much*.

Spelt with /ʃ-/ in Imperial Aram too, cf. J-H p. 291; the Hbr entry may be loan from Aram.

ʃGX: Aram /ʃgx/ *A look, pay attention, be concerned*; Syr /ʃgx/ *D show o.s. beneficial*; Arab /sǧx/ *be easy, gentle; A forgive*.

Meaning one-sidedly neutralized in Hbr. Arab /ǧx¢/ (Guillaume) seems to refer primarily to a physical defect.

ʃGM: Syr /ʃgm/ *divert, appropriate, occupy, cheat*; Akk /ʃagamm/ *upper door-hinge*.

Arab /’asǧam/ Eth /sgum/ seem hardly relevant.

ʃGN: -

Cognate with the root /ngn/ above?

ʃG&: Akk /ʃegū/ *be wild, rage*; Arab /sǧ&/ *(she-camel) groan continuously; use rhyming prose*; /’a$ǧa&/ *mad*; /mu$ǧa&/ *raving mad*; G&z /zng&/ *be mad, insane; talk nonsense*.

Phonological split in Arab; poets, prophets and madmen were often considered akin to each other, cf. 2K 9:11 Jr 29:26 Hos 9:7; prenasalization of the velar and voicing of the sibilant in G&z, but neither is very unusual in Eth and the meaning fits perfectly.

ʃGR: ?Ug /ʃgr/ *offspring?*; Aram /ʃgr/ *flow, pour; D cast, send; (animals) give birth*; Syr /ʃgr/ *(tears etc.) flow, go down; pour*; ?Akk /ʃugarrur/ *roll (on)*; Mhr /$əger/ *plants & trees*.

On the Mhr entry cf. Mhr C /$egɛr/ *family tree, blood relations* (Johnstone).

ʃD: Ug /θd/(, /δd/, /zd/) *(female) breast*; Aram (pl.) /tadday/, /taddi^{y}n/ = ; Syr /td/, (pl.) /tday/ = ; Arab /θady/, /-da^{yn}/ = ; /θdy/ *be wet, moist*; /θdw/ *moisten*; Mhr /θōdi/ *breast, bosom*; Soq /todi/ = ; ?Eg /ʃdy/ *suckle, nourish, educate.*

ʃD II: Aram /ʃe^{y}d(t)/ *daemon*; Syr /ʃe(')d/ = ; Akk /ʃēd/, /ʃīd/, (lx) /ʃedd/ =, *life energy.*

ʃD(D): Ug /ʃdd/ *devastate*; Akk /ʃadād/, (OAkk) /$a-/ *draw, drag (out, along, towards, up, away)*; Arab /$d/ *attack, raid*; ?/sd/ *stop, obstruct*; ?ESA /$d/ *dam; road obstruction*; G&z /sdd/ *expel, evict, repudiate, divorce, exile*; Te /sd/ *bother, assail, capture; L worry, distress*; Har /sdd/ *expel*; Ch Wol /sädädä/, Sdd /sädd-/ = ; *divorce, exile*; Bil /sid/ *expel, chase away (cattle etc.)*; /sädäd/ *bother, distress*; Eg /ʃdy/, (Dem.) /ʃty/ *take (out, away), raise taxes*; Cpt /ʃite/ *ask, beg, demand, take away.*

The Bil entry appears to be loan from Sem, but the Eg-Cpt one (attested from Pyramid texts onwards) must be original. Phonological split in Arab, assuming that both entries are related, although the meaning shared with ESA is rather marginal (but still derivable from this root).

ʃ/SD(D): Aram /$dd/ *plough again (and again)*; Syr /sadd/ *furrow; space of furrow (as a measuring unit)*; ?Akk (cf. the preceding root); /ʃidd/ *extent*; (Alalakh) *area unit.*

ʃ/SDV: Phoen /ʃd/ *field, plain, territory; mainland?*; Ug /ʃd/ *field; ?'acre', area unit; ?territory*; ?/δd/ *territory(?)*; Amor /ʃadū/ *mountain*; Akk /ʃadū/, /ʃaddū/, (OAkk) /$adui(m)/, */$adw/? =, *range, steppe*; ESA /ʃdw/ *(terraced) hillside*; ?Eg /ʃdy/ *field*, /ʃdw/ *plot of ground* (Ward).

The ESA meaning may be closest to the original one; connected with the preceding root? NB. the sibilant varr.

ʃDL: Aram /ʃdl/ *D persuade; tD take trouble*; Syr /ʃdl/ *be flattered; D flatter, persuade, entice, deceive.*

ʃDM: Ug (pl.) /ʃdmt/ *fields, vineyards.*

Extension of the second last root? (cf. Lehmann, V.T. 3 p. 361ff).

ʃDP: Aram /ʃdp/ *tQ (corn) be scorched, blighted*; Arab /sdf/ *A (night) be dark; (sight) be dim*; /'asdaf/ *black; (night) dark.*

Cf. the root /ʃzp/ below.

ʃDR: -

Root var. of /sdr/ above?

ʃV: Phoen /ʃ/ *sheep*; Ug =, *goat, head of small cattle*; ?/ʃh/ = ; /θ'at/ *ewe*; Aram /$i^{y}t/, /s-/ = ; Akk /ʃū/, /ʃu'/, (M/NAss) /ʃūb/, (lx) /sūb/ *sheep*; Arab /$ā'/ (coll.), /$āt/ *ewe, goat, wild bovine, buffalo; woman*; Mhr /θīwīt/ *sheep*; Tu /əʃʃ/ =, *goat (nursery word)*; Eg /s(w?)/ *sheep (or similar).*

On the clue from the Tu entry, the word may be comparable to the onomatopoeic ones, hence more than one independent origin is possible. Cohen's (no. 279) Cush entries at least seem to derive from a different root. Ebl /sa-'à-tum/ *flocks.*

ʃHD: Aram /$hd/ + *A witness*; /shd/ *D, A = ; prove; call to witness*; Syr /shd/ *witness*; Arab /$hd/ *witness, testify, swear*; /$ahādat/ *testimony, evidence, certificate, martyrdom*; ?ESA /ʃh[d/ *sight, view*; Mhr /$hd/ *witness*; Soq /$ehed/ *observe, watch*; (n.; pl. /$od/, /$hud/) *witness*; /$ade/, /$ahdeh/ *testimony*; Te /ʃhd/ *testify*; Har /ʃāhid/ *witness* (n.); Ch /aʃedä/ *swear*; Wol /ʃahid/, /ʃayəd/ *witness, testimony*; Bed /ʃehad/ *testify.*

Also in Saho: /ʃahad/ = ; and elsewhere in Cush, cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 572, 575. However, as a judicial term it is of Arab origin everywhere in Eth-Cush; in Hbr, it is loan from Aram.

ʃHV/': Aram /ʃhV/ *stay, remain; be stiff, petrified*; Syr /ʃhV/ *(fever) abate, (fire) be extinguished; (strength) vanish; languish*; Arab /shw/ *be diverted (from), overlook.*

Could be loan from Aram in Hbr; however, the differences in meaning, particularly in the light of Syr, suggest that it is a question of mutual influence rather that direct borrowing.

ʃHM: Aram (SamT) /ʃhmh/ Gn 2:12; ?Akk /sām/ *red, brown*; G&z /som/, /sawm/ *onyx, sardonyx*; Te /ʃom/ *ornamental stone; glass bead.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin (Sem, if the Akk entry is relevant). The Aram entry may be loan from SamH.

ʃHR: Aram /ʃhr/ *be awake*; Syr = ; Arab /shr/ = ; /sāhirat/ *moon*; /sāhụ̄r/ *moon's halo*; /$ahr/ *(new) moon; month*; ESA /ʃhr/ *new moon; famous*; /mʃhr/ *public announcement*; Mhr /$hr/ *Qt be famous*; /$ēhər/ *1st crescent moon*; Soq /$eher/ *moon, month*; Te /shr/ *be awake.*

Phonological split in Arab, cf. SAr; the Te entry may be loan from Arab. Cf. the roots /zhr/ and /chr/ above.

ʃW': Aram /ʃwV/ *tQ be unruly*; Arab /sw'/ *be wicked, think ill (of), wrong; grieve*; /sū'/ *evil, mischief, vice, leprosy; wretched*; ESA /sw'/ *evil, bad, unlucky, disastrous*; Mhr /swV/ *wrong (s.o.)*; Soq /suwayi/ (pl. /seheten/) *'poor devil'*; G&z /säy'/ *evil or shameful deed*; ?Eg /sw/ *be bad, evil.*

ʃW' II: -

Root var. of /nʃ'/ above, cf. MT.

ʃWB: Ug /θb/ *return*; Aram /twb/ = ; *come/do again*; Syr /twb/ *turn, return, repent; condone*; Amor /ʃwb/ *return*; Akk /ʃāb/ *waver, grow unsteady*; Arab /θwb/ *return; turn back (to God); (+D) gather, collect; (+A) recover (health); D requite, reward*; /twb/ *come back (to*

God), repent; (God) forgive; /tawbat/ *repentance; atonement*; ESA /θwb/ *return; D restore; offer, present, grant (mercy); H bring back, restore, requite, deliver, announce, proclaim*; (n.) *tribute; grace, mercy*; /θhb/ *bring back*; Mhr /θwb/ *requite*; /θəwōb/ *heavenly reward*; Te /toba/ *be mistaken*; /täwäbät/ *error; forgiveness; renunciation of the right to inherit*; Eg /wʃb/ *reply (for); make responsible*; /wʃbty/, /ʃwbty/ *'ushebti', representative of the deceased for work in the nether world*; Cpt /wåʃb/ *reply, respond, response.*

In Cush: Saho /tāb/, /7-/ *turn back*; but this may be based on Arab /twb/, as also the Te entries; this Arab var. again, used in religious context only, may derive from Aram. The Eg-Cpt entry, however, seems to be a genuine non-Sem attestation, mostly with transposition, but the original order still preserved in the var. noun form (cf. Vycichl). Baer, however, has reservations (connection with /wʃb/ *feed, eat?*); but in the noun, /ʃwbty/ appears to be the earlier form. NB. the ESA var. too.

ʃWB II: ?Arab /θubūt/ *stability* (Guillaume).

Possibly connected with the preceding root.

ʃWV: Aram /ʃwV/ *D put, set, make; buy cheap; A compare*; Syr /ʃwV/ *be equal, worthy, cheap; merit; consist*; Arab /swy/ *be equal (to), worth; D, A equalize, level, complete*; Mhr /swV/ *L level; Qt be level*; Soq /se/ *be*; /'oste/ *carry out, finish, be ready*; /suwa/ *good, convenient, suitable*; Tu /sĕwa/, /căwa/ *equal, have parity*; /esăwe/ *situation, state*; Eg /ʃ'w/ *weight, value; worth; fitting*; (Dem.) /ʃw/ *value; apt, useful, worth*; Cpt /ʃaw/ *value, use; measure.*

The semantic difference between placing upon and making level seems to me so small that it does not warrant splitting the root in two. The difference between /s-/ and /c-/ in Tu is non-phonemic. The Eg /'/ could have originated as a glide. An Akk */taʃwīt/ does not seem to exist.

ʃWX: Aram /ʃwx/ *bend down*; /ʃu^{w}x/, /ʃwåx/ *pit*; Syr /ʃwx/ *sink down*; /ʃīx/ *well, pit*; Akk /ʃuttat/ *pit*; ?/χaʃt/, /χalt/ = ; Arab /θwχ/ *sink (in mud etc.)*; /swχ/ *(legs) sink in earth*; /suwāχ/ *mire, slime.*

Cf. the roots /ʃx(x)/ and /ʃxV/ below. Arab /$wx/ *D swing the arms* seems hardly related. ?Mo /(h)'ʃwx/, Amm (pl.) /(w)'ʃxt/ *reservoir.*

ʃW7: Aram /ʃw7/ *rove about, swim; brush over, smear*; /ʃo^{w}7/ *whip*; Syr /ʃaw7/ = ; Akk /ʃā7/ *draw, drag*; Arab /sw7/ *whip (a beast); mix up; start (a war)*; /saw7/ *whip, lash, lot, misfortune; sun-beam*; /$w7/ *D make a long journey* (Guillaume); /$aw7/ *horse-race; sun-beam*; Mhr /saw7/ *whip*; G&z /säw7/ = ; Te /ʃw7/ *strike, flog; L beat, slay.*

Eg /swtwt/ refers to a leisurely stroll.

ʃ/SW7: Aram /sw7/ + *A move, shake; tQ grow shy, frightened*; Arab /$w7/ *D make a long trip; tD jade (a horse)*; /$aw7/ *horse-race*; /$7/ *be far away*; G&z /$w7/ *bring back, restore.*

Some contamination appears to have taken place with the preceding root; cognate with /ʃ/s7V/ below?

ʃWL: Arab /swl/ *have a flaccid belly*; /$wl/ *D be empty & flaccid (skin, udder)*.

Phonological split in Arab.

ʃWM: Aram /tu^{w}m/ *garlic*; Syr /tūm/ = ; Akk /ʃūm/ = ; Arab /θūm/, (syr.) /tūm/ = ; Mhr /θəmēt/ = ; G&z /somät/, /tuma/ = ; Te /tom/ = ; Har /tumma/ = ; Ch Sdd = , Wol /-ä/ = ; Som /tonti/ = .

For further Cush attestations see Leslau, Gur III p. 598. The word is a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

ʃW&: Aram /sy&/ *D help, assist; tD receive help, succeed*; Syr = ; Arab /ws&/ + *D (God) favour, enrich*; /$y&/ *D encourage; L accompany (for business)*; ESA /ʃw&/ *help, assist, serve; ally*; ?/ʃ&t/ *wife*.

NB. the sibilant varr.; phonological split and transposition in Arab; may be ultimately related to the next root; cf. also root /yʃ&/ above.

ʃW& II: Aram /ʃo^{w}&/ *magnate, nobleman*; Arab /swγ/ *be permitted; D permit, give; A grant respite.*

Cf. the preceding root.

ʃW& III: Aram /ʃw&/ + *D smoothen, polish; card (wool, linen)*; Arab /$w&/ *have bristled hair.*

Phonological shift in Arab parallelled by a semantic one, but still intimately connected.

ʃWP: Aram /ʃwp/ + *D rub off, grind fine*; Syr /ʃwp/ = ; ?Akk /ʃēp/ *foot*; ?Arab /swf/ *(cattle) be smitten by murrain; A lose (a son, cattle)*; ?Soq /$ab/ *foot*; ?Bil /ʃānfī/, /ž-/; /ʃāfā/ *sole (of foot)*.

I cannot verify an Akk verb in the related meaning, but the noun itself is conceivable as an agent for the Hbr meaning. In Aram-Syr, the meaning is more general, in Arab so as to be marginal (if indeed relevant). Further possible Cush cognates in Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 326; cf. Leslau, Soq p. 424; NB. the AK equivalent /θāf/ (=Soq /$āf/; SAE I p. 97 1. 4).

ʃWP II: Aram /ʃwp/ *blow (at); D kindle, excite*; Arab /swf/ + *L, Qt smell (at)*; /$wf/ *tD, Qt behold, observe*; ESA /ʃwf/ *watch, protect*; /ʃwft/ *protection, care.*

Positive connotation in ESA; cf. the root /ʃʿp/ above.

ʃWQ: Aram /ʃo^{w}q/, /ʃåq/ *leg*; /ʃu^{w}q/ *street, market*; Syr /ʃåq/ *thigh, leg; tribe*; /ʃūq/ *street, market*; Akk /s(i)āq/ *be/grow narrow, strait*; /sūq/, (late Bab) /ʃ-/ *street*; Arab /sāq/ *leg, shank, stem, trunk*. /sāqat/ *rearguard, retinue*; /sūq/ *market, bazaar*; Mhr /sawq/ *market*; /swq/ *Qt go shopping*; G&z /swq/ *prop up, support*; Te /sq/ *put in, down; L insert (into the ground)*; /squqa/ *lower leg, forearm*; /soq/, /sug/ *market*; Ch /suq/ *shop*; ?Eg /sbq/ *lower leg*.

The word for market (etc.) has become a *Kulturwort*. Baer has doubts about the Eg entry because of the Arab equivalent. Cohen's (no. 265) Cush Berb entries also seem to belong to other roots.

ʃWQ II: Aram /ʃuʷq/ *lust, desire*; Arab /$wq/ *excite desire*; /$awq/ *yearning*; Mhr /$wq/ *burn; Qt miss, long to see; embrace*; G&z /sqʷqʷ/ *tQ lust (for), desire*; Bil /suqwānā/ *thirst.*

NB. the Arab Mhr /$/. Cf. the root /ʃq(q)/ in MT (and /ʃqV/ below?). Further Cush attestations in Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 301.

ʃWR: ?Arab /θwr/ *rise, be moved; D, A, St stir, rouse, inquire, investigate.*

Semantically rather marginal, but could be related.

ʃWR II: Aram /ʃuʷr/ *wall*; /ʃuʷrt/ *row, line*; Syr /ʃūr/ *wall*; Arab /sūr/ *town wall; noble camels*; /sūrat/ *row of stones (in a wall); rank; chapter (of Qur'an)*; /syr/ *go, travel, be current*; /sayr/ *journey*; /sayyārat/ *caravan; planets*; ?Eg /s't/ *(enclosure) wall.*

The Eg entry may rather be related to /s'/ *back, behind, outside.*

ʃWR III: Phoen θωρ *bull*; Ug /θr/ =; Aram /toʷr/ =; Syr /tawr/ =; Amor /ʃūr/ =; Akk =; Arab /θawr/ =; ESA /θwr/, /θr/ =; Mhr /θawr/ =; *big stupid fellow*; G&z /sor/ *bull*; Te =; Chad: Sokoro /tor/, Kotoko (Kuseri) /torom/ =.

The final /-m/ in the second Chad entry suggests borrowing from Lat (ac becoming the normal case in post-classical times) (Mukarovsky). The word is a *Kulturwort* of pre-Sem origin, common in Indo-European languages also.

ʃWR IV: -

Hardly connectable with Arab-SAr /$wr/.

ʃWʃ: Aram /ʃoʷʃant/ *lily (blossom), rose; nail head*; Syr /ʃawʃant/ *lily*; Arab /sūsan/, /-ān/, /sawsan(at)/ =, *iris*; Eg /zʃʃn/, (Dem.) /sʃn/ *lotus*; Cpt /ʃåʃen/ *lily.*

A wandering word of Eg origin.

ʃZP: -

Cf. the root /ʃdp/ above.

ʃZP II: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

ʃZR: Aram /ʃzr/ *twist, twine*; Arab /$zr/ *look (at) askance; (+St) twist (a rope) the wrong way.*

NB. the Arab /$/.

ʃX(X): Syr /ʃx/ *grow lean; be liquefied*; Akk /ʃaχāχ/ *grow loose, disintegrate, disappear*; Arab /sx/+*tD (water, tears) flow down.*

Cf. the roots /ʃwx/ above and /ʃxV/ below. NB. the Akk /χ/.

ʃXD: Aram /ʃxd/ *bribe*; Syr =; ?Arab /$kd/ *give*; /$ukd/ *gift.*

The Arab entry could conceivably have been borrowed through some unusual channel.

ʃXV: Aram /ʃXV/ *bow, bend o.s.*; /ʃixy/ *bending; armpit*; /ʃaxw/ *pit*; Syr /ʃxV/ *melt, be liquefied*; /ʃxåt/ *armpit*; Akk /ʃaχāt/ *side, corner*; Soq /$xo/ *armpit.*

NB. the Soq /$/. Cf. the roots /ʃwx/ and /ʃx(x)/ above.

ʃXV II: Aram /sxV/ *swim; bathe*; /$åxyån/ *swimmer*; Syr /sxV/ *swim, bathe, wash/cleanse o.s.*

ʃX7: ?Phoen (NPu) /ʃx7/ *knife(?)*; Ug /ʃχ7/ *slaughter*; /mʃχ7/ *kind of weapon*; Aram /ʃx7/ *slaughter, kill*; Akk /ʃaχā7/ *take, tear off (clothes etc.); flay*; Arab /sx7/ *slay, choke*; /$x7/ *slaughter (a kid)*; /$χt/ *rip up, cut open, slaughter*; Mhr /sx7/ *slaughter*; Soq /ʃxa7/ *strike, batter, kill.*

NB. the Arab (Soq) varr.

ʃ/SX7: Aram /sx7/ *squeeze out*; Akk /caχāt/ = ; ?Arab /$χ7/ *threaten, expel.*

NB. the transposed dorsalization in Akk. The Arab meaning is quite marginal; but /$x7/ is at best tangential only.

ʃXL: Aram /ʃxl/ *draw (o.s.) out*; Syr /ʃxl/ *flow, drizzle, percolate*; Akk /ʃaχal/ *seep through*; Arab /sxl/ *(eye) shed tears*; /saxīl/ *rain.*

ʃXL II: ?Ug /ʃxl/ *lion?*; Aram /ʃaxl/ = ; Arab /sxl/ *(ass, mule) bray*; /suxlalt/ *young hare*; /saχlat/ *lamb.*

Assuming that the word at one stage meant young animals more generally. Eg / sẖ&t/ is phonologically hazardous.

ʃXN: ?Ug /ʃχn/ *be inflamed(?)*; Aram /ʃxn/ *grow warm; heat; D warm up; brood*; /ʃixn/ *heating; skin complaint, scab*; Syr /ʃxn/ *warm (o.s.) up, grow warm*; Akk /ʃaχān/ = ; Arab /sχn/ *be hot*; /saχnat/, /su-/ /si-/ *fever*; G&z /sχn/ *warm up, grow warm, glow*; /sχin/ *incense*; ?Eg /sχn/ *swelling.*

The basic meaning appears to be an agent causing bodily heat; in the Eg entry, heat is not indicated.

ʃXP: ?Ug /ʃχp/ *trouble, emergency?*; Aram /ʃxp/ *slip, sneak; D move, press*; /ʃaxp/ *sea-gull*; /ʃaxapt/, /ʃaxpu^{w}t/ *consumption*; ?Syr /ʃxåp/ *milk after calving*; Arab /suxāf/ *consumption (of lungs)*; /saχfat/, /su-/ *emaciation (of hunger).*

The primary meaning appears to be consumption, then other conditions with similar characteristics; for sea-gull, both slender body suggestive of emaciation and shrill voice may have been relevant.

ʃXQ: Aram /ʃxq/ *grind fine, crush*; Syr = ; *vex, oppress, torment, castigate*; Arab /sxq/ + *D pound, crush; (+A) destroy*; /saxaq/ *thin cloud*; Mhr /sxq/ *crush, grind fine*; Soq /ʃxq/ *reduce*; Eg /ʃxq/, /ʃa-xa-qa/ *dust, powder, mote*; Cpt /ʃhiꝗ/, /-ğ/ *mote.*

The Eg-Cpt entry appears to be loan from Sem. The connecting link between dust and cloud is naturally dust cloud.

ʃXQ II: G&z /$xq/, /sxq/ *laugh, joke, ridicule*; Te /sxq/ *laugh; be handsome*; Har /sēxaqa/ *laugh, smile*; Wol /saqä/, /sa'ä/ *laugh.*

Root var. of /cxq/ above (q.v.). The onomatopoeic nature of the root may account for much of the phonological variation.

ʃXR: Ug /ʃxr/ *dawn; tomorrow*; Aram /ʃxr/ *D do in the morning; A grow black*; Syr /ʃxr/ *be/grow black; apply vitriol*; Akk /ʃēr(t), /ʃīrt/, (Ass) /ʃi(y)ār/, /ʃeār/; /ʃeχer/, /ʃiχir/ *morning*; Arab /saxar/ *daybreak*; /sxr/ + *D rise, act at daybreak; A, Qt be, leave at daybreak*; (syr.) /$xr/ *D blacken (with soot)*; /$uxxār/ *soot, black earth.*

The final two Akk entries appear to be loan from WSem. The connection between dawn and darkness is one of the point of view; against the light of day, the 'pillar of dawn' is still dark; and so what is done at daybreak is often said to be done in the dark; and as adjectives *dark* and *black* are commonly interchangeable. (Cf. the Arab root /sdf/.) Magic, however, appears to be connected with the following root; but then, the two roots could ultimately be cognate. Arab /sχm/ refers primarily to heating.

ʃXR II: Aram /ʃxr/ *seek*; Akk /saχār/ *turn/go around, seek; bewitch; turn towards*; Arab /sxr/ *turn (s.o. away from); wheedle, fascinate, bewitch*; ESA /$xr/ *amulet*; Mhr /sxr/ *bewitch*; /sēxər/ *wizard; magic*; Soq /zehereh/ *witch.*

NB. the sibilant and pharyngal varr.; however, the words may belong to the wandering category to some extent.

ʃXR(R): Aram /ʃxrr/ *free (a slave).*

Based on the root /xr(r)/ above.

ʃXT: Phoen /ʃxt/ *smash, ruin*; Aram /ʃxt/ *mutilate*; Syr /ʃxt/ *rust, be corrupted*; /ʃx7/ *D squander; entice, corrupt, violate, rape*; Arab /sxt/ *peel (fat off flesh); (+D, A) make illegal profits, shave utterly, destroy, extirpate*; ESA /sxt/ + *H defeat, destroy, extirpate*; G&z /sxt/ *err, sin*; /sx7/ *wrong, violate, rape*; Te /sxt/ *fail, do wrong; violent, bold*; /säxat/ *wrongdoer, sinner*; /msxt/ *atrocity*; Ch Sdd /satä/ *err, miss the mark, stray*; Ch /asätä/, /täsasätä/, /täʃatä/, Sdd Wol /täsasatä/ *make a mistake.*

NB. the Syr G&z varr. The last Hbr entry hardly from /mʃx/, cf. Reider (agst. Brownlee) in BASOR no. 134 p. 27f; and Driver, In memoriam P. Kahle p. 92 (n. 14 read: Is 49:7).

ʃ7: Aram /ʃi77t/ *row, line, principle, opinion.*

ʃ7V: Aram /ʃ7V/ *tD be demented, act irrationally*; Syr /ʃ7V/ *be stupid, talk nonsense*; Arab /s7w/ *(horse) step wide, go headlong; assault, overpower*; ?G&z (cf. the next root).

ʃ/S7V: Aram /$7V/ *err*; /s7V/ *stray, be unfaithful*; Syr /s7V/ *stray, turn aside*; /ʃ7V/ *be unfaithful, commit adultery*; Arab /$7y/ *nD branch off*; G&z /$7y/ *stray, be seduced, debauch (o.s.); be demented*; ?Eg /tʃy/ *go away, avoid.*

G&z entry contaminated with the preceding root (?; cf. the Syr var.). Cf. /ʃ/sw7/ above.

ʃ7X: Aram /ʃ7x/ *spread out*; Syr = ; *flatten*; ?Amor /$7x/ (?) *spread?*; Akk /ʃe7ū/, /ʃa-/ *spread out*; Arab /s7x/ = ; *flatten*; Mhr /s7x/ *level a sandhill; Qt be flattened*; /sa7x/ *roof*; G&z /s7x/ *expand; expose, manifest*; Te /s7x/ *extend; fall/lie (on the ground); tL be stretched*; Wol /asä7ä/ *spread (grain, grass to dry).*

ʃ7M: Aram /$7m/ *be hostile*; Arab /$tm/ *insult* (Guillaume after Barth).

Cf. the next root.

ʃ/S7N: Aram /$a7an/, /$i7n/; /sa7an/, /sa7n/ *Satan*; Syr /sa7an/ = ; *adversary*; Arab /$7n/ *oppose; be wicked, mischievous*; /$ay7ān/ *wicked, seducer, devil*; Mhr /$ay7ān/ *devil*; G&z /säy7an/, /$-/ *adversary, Satan, devil*; Te /ʃe7an/ *Satan; chieftain, magnate* (voc.); Bed /sitān/, /ʃi7ān/ *Satan*; Chad: Hsa /ʃaΛān/, Ndam (Dik) /sidān/, Kwang (Ngam/Mobu) /sətān/, Sokoro /ʃītān/ = (etc.).

The noun is a wandering word, of Hbr origin; in Cush found also in Saho Afar Quara. Cf. the preceding root.

ʃ7P: ?Ug pl. /ʃ7pm/ (par. /gdy/ *sacrifices(?)*; Aram /ʃ7p/ *flood, overflow; heap up*; Arab /$7f/ *wash, rinse*; Eg /stf/ *pour out (carefully)*; Cpt /såtf/ = ; *filter.*

ʃ7R: Phoen (Pu) /mʃ7r/, /myʃ7r/ *officer*; Aram /ʃ7r/ *besmear*; /ʃ7år/ *document*; Syr /ʃ7år/, /'eʃ-/ = ; Akk /ʃa7ār/, (OAkk) /$-/, (Nuzi) /s-/ *write (down)*; /ʃa7ār/, (NAss) /-77-/ *writ, document*; Arab /s7r/ *write; D write history; rule (paper)*; /sw7r/, /sy7r/ *oversee*; ESA /s7r/ *write, inscribe; draw (a boundary line); inscription, document, boundary line, area.*

LWW from Akk.

ʃY: Phoen /ʃy/ *gift, tribute*; Ug /θy/ *votive gift*; ?Som /sī/ *give; gift; way, manner.*

Can hardly be connected with Arab /$ay'/. As to the Som entry, with only one relatively firm radical, accidental similarity is a possibility, if we are not to assume large-scale disuse elsewhere. ?Ebl /ʃi-ín/ *gift.*

ʃYB: Ug /ʃbt/ *greyness (of beard), grey hair*; Aram /se^{y}b(t)/ =, *old age*; /si^{y}b/ *old; old, respected, learned man*; Syr /s'b/ *grow old*; /sab/ *old (man), elder, grandfather*; Amor /$īb/ *old (man)*; Akk /ʃ(i)āb/ *be/grow old*; /ʃīb/, /ʃēb/, /ʃīp/, (OAss) /ʃāb/ *grey, old; oldster, elder; witness*; Arab /$yb/ *grow old; (hair) be hoary*; /$ayb/ *white hair*; Mhr /$ayb/ = ; /$yb/ *go whitehaired*; G&z /$ibät/ *greyness, (whitish-) grey hair*; Te /ʃäyäbä/ *be old, grey-haired*; Har /ʃibät/ *grey hair*; Ch Sdd Wol /ʃəbät/ = .

NB. the Akk var.

ʃ/SYD: Aram /siʸd/ *lime, plaster*; Syr /sayd/ = ; Arb /$yd/ + *D plaster*; /$īd/ = (n.), *gypsum, plastered wall.*

The noun is a *Kulturwort* of unknown origin, the verb denominative.

ʃYX: Phoen (Pu) /ʃx/, /sx/, /ʃ-/ *kind of bush or tree*; Ug /ʃxt/ *shrub*; Syr /sīx/ *kind of bush (Artemisia iudaica)*; Arab /$īx/ *kind of wormwood*; (syr.) *broom-plant.*

Akk /ʃīx/ *tall(-grown)* seems at best remotely related.

ʃ/SYX: Aram /swx/ *say, talk (to)*; /suʷx/, /swåx/ *talk, prattle*; ?Arab /$yx/ *do carefully*; /$īx/ *cautious, mindful.*

The Arab entries, if related, have developed into the opposite direction from Aram.

ʃ/SYM: Phoen /ʃm/, (NPu) /ʃ&m/ *put, set (up)*; Aram /$wm/, /s-/, /sym/ *put, set, appoint*; Syr /sym/ =, *make, establish*; Amor ?/$Sym/ *place*; Akk /ʃiām/, /ʃām/, (OAkk /$iām/ *establish, determine*; Arab /$ym/ *(dust) cover (feet); (+ D, A, N, Qt) insert, penetrate (into)*; /$īmat/ *character*; ESA /ʃym/ *set (up), appoint, establish, confirm, secure, wage war; lord, patron (deity)*; G&z /$ym/ *put, place, impose, establish, appoint*; Te /ʃäyämä/ *appoint as a chieftain*; Ch Sdd Wol /ʃomä/ =.

ʃYN: Ug /θn/ *Qt urinate*; Aram /ʃeʸn/ *urinating*; /ʃtn/ *A urinate*; Syr /tyn/ = ; Akk /ʃ(i)ān/ + *Qt* = ; /ʃīnāt/ *urine*; Arab /maθānat/ *bladder*; G&z /$yn/ *urinate*; /$nt/ *urine*; Te /ʃyn/ *urinate*; /ʃn(t-)/ *urine; semen, offspring*; Ch Sdd /səmat/, Wol /ʃuman/ *urine*; Ch Sdd /səmatä/, Wol /ʃumanä/ *urinate*; ?Bil /ʃag/, /ʃig/, /ʃaug/ = ; Som /ʃuni/ *sperma*; Konso /sinDaa/ *urine* (Fleming); Chad: Bokkos /ʃar/, /ʃār/ *urinate*; Daffo /s-/ =.

Further Cush attestations: Sid /ʃuma/ *urine*, /ʃumari/ *urinate*; Quara /ʃaṅ/ =, *urine*; cf. also Leslau, Gur III p. 548, 579f, and Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 317. As /n/ and /m/ interchange now and then in Sem as well as in Cush, and semantic agreement is complete, there is little doubt that the Sem and Cush roots are cognate; in the case of Bil (etc.), however, denasalization and velarization must be assumed; additional vocalic variation perhaps suggests intentional distortion (for euphemistic reasons?). The Sid entries above are my recordings.

ʃYR: Phoen (pl.) /ʃrm/ *singers*; Ug /ʃr/ *sing*; Aram /ʃyr/ = ; /ʃiʸr(t)/ *song*; ?Akk /ʃēr/ (coll.) *singing, music*; ?Chad: Kwang (Ngam/Mobu) /sīre/ *sing.*

The Akk entry looks rather like a loan from Sum which the Hbr root can hardly be, attested as it is since the earliest parts of the Bible; the Ug root too occurs both absolutely and particularly proportionately far more frequently than the Akk entry (compounds included); the Aram entries, on the other hand, seem to be loans from Hbr. The original Sem root seems, then, to be confined to Can-Ug area; if so, can the solitary Chad attestation somehow be connected with it? Akk /sār/ may rather be connected with /swr/ above, q.v.

ʃYR II: Aram /ʃe^{y}r/ *silk.*

Based on the Gr name for the Chinese.

ʃYʃ: Aram /ʃayʃ/, /ʃe^{y}ʃ/ *alabaster*; Syr /ʃīʃ/ *marble; glassy, like glass*; Eg /ʃs/ *alabaster.*

A *Kulturwort* of Eg origin.

ʃYʃ II: ?Arab /awāt/ *light, agile (she-camel).*

ʃYT: Phoen /ʃt/ *put, set, establish*; Ug /ʃyt/ *put, set, place*; Syr /'eʃt/ *anus, buttocks; bottom, base*; Amor /$yt/ *put, place*; Akk /ʃēt/, /ʃiāt/ *leave (over, behind); remain, escape*; Arab /'ist/, /sat(a)h/, /sith/ (pl. /'astāh/) *buttocks*; Mhr /ʃīt/ *buttocks, anus(, genitals?); root*; Soq /ʃeh/ *fem. genitals*; Som /ʃitto/ *vulva*; Om: Caf /ʃittō/, Moča /ʃītto/ = (Müller); ?Berb /əzdi/ *couple, solder(?)*; /anəzΛi/ *twig, rod (penis?)*; Eg /sd/ *tail*, (Dem.) /st/ = ; Cpt /sat/, /sēt/ =, *penis.*

The root is occasionally contaminated with /ysd/ above from which the Akk /iʃd/ *foundation* probably derives (cf. v. Soden s.v.); the Aram /'uʃʃ(t)/ appears to be borrowed from this, as presumably Phoen (pl.) /'ʃtt/ also; the meaning of the Syr entry too has been influenced by it. However, as words for major parts of the body are hardly ever borrowed, the Syr entry is apparently basically original, and the root thus original to Aram, although largely disused and the final /-t/ treated like fem. afform., cf. Soq; in Arab, on the other hand, the less used sg. forms too have a parasitic /-h/ first apparently created as a glide in pl. On the basis of the Cush Om forms (quoted from Müller), the root may have existed in Eth too, but been disused; it appears to have been basically biradical with a short vowel, although the vowel has been lengthened in most Sem forms. The Berb entries are quoted from Cohen no. 267. ?Ebl /si-ti-tum/ *scabbard.*

ʃYT II: -

Perhaps a dialectal word (attested in Is only), related to the root /ʃʽV/ above.

ʃK(K): ?Phoen (NPu; pl.) /ʃʽkm/ *pits(?)*; Arab /sk/ *sink (a well)*; /sukk/ *narrow well; scorpion's hole.*

ʃ/SK(K): Aram /skk/ + *D plait, intertwine*; /skåk/ *cover, roof*; /sakki^{y}n/ *knife*; Syr /sekkt/ *nail, peg, ploughshare, wedge; wart*; Akk /sakāk/ *be stopped (up), closed (ears, sense)*; /ʃakāk/ *harrow; bind, string in a row*; Arab /sk/ *stop (the door); Qt be deaf, stopped up, (plant) tangled*; /sukk/ *blocked road*; /$k/ *pitch tents in a row; penetrate, transpierce*; /$wk/ *be sharp-pointed, prick, wound*; /$awk/ *thorn, prickle, sharp point*; Mhr /$əkōt/ *thorn*; Soq /$ka&ah/ = ; /sak/ *roof*; G&z /$ok/ *thorn, thorny bush; point*; Te /ʃäkken/ *big knife*; ?/sk/ *feel aversion, pain*; Har /skk/ *string, put in a row*; /usuχ/ *thorn*; Ch /soχ/, Sdd /äsok/, Wol /əsok/ = ; Ch /səχäsäχä/, Sdd /səqässäqä/, Wol /səkäsäkä/ *squeeze, stuff in.*

Cognate with /sk(k)/ above from which it cannot always be separated; the basic meaning appears to have been construction of a thorny hedge to keep wild animals away from the encampment or settlement. The word for knife may be regarded as a *Kulturwort.*

ʃKB: Phoen /ʃkb/ *lie down, rest*; Ug =; Aram =; *sleep; have sexual intercourse*; Syr =; *die*; Akk /sakāp/ *lie down, rest*; ?Arab /skb/ *pour out (water)*; /sakb/ *continuous rain*; /'uskubbat/ *threshold*; G&z /skb/ *lie down, (go to) sleep; have sexual intercourse*; Te /skb/ *rest, sleep*; /mäskäb/, /mskab/ *abode, dwelling-place, country.*

The Arab meaning could have developed from the sexual connotation (fertilization providing additional connecting link), cf. also German *Platzregen*; the last Arab entry is var. of the more common /'uskuffat/, but its existence suggests that a meaning like lying down was known for the present root when and where it was created. NB. the doubly variant Akk form. Hbr *Q ps* is understandable as being compelled to lie down.

ʃKV: Har /miskät/ *buttocks, anus*; Wol /məskät/ *back of body; fem. genitals.*

Root var. of /'ʃk/ above.

ʃKX: ?Ug /θkx/ *wilt(?).*

To find is the opposite of forgetting, and with such meanings I cannot see convincing reason even for euphemistic usage to create the inverted meaning. The chance that the Amor /$?Q?X?/ might be cognate seems very small.

ʃKL: Ug /θkl/ *(D?) render sterile; bereavement*; Aram /tkl/ *be(come) childless*; Syr /tkal/ *bereavement*; Akk /ʃakāl/ *be reduced to a minimum*; Arab /θkl/ *lose (a child)*; /θukl/ *bereavement*; /$kl/ *(grapes) ripen*; /&iθkāl/, /&uθkūl(at)/ *bough loaded with clusters (of grapes, dates).*

Once the grapes ripen, the vine is deprived of them; that is the connecting link between grapes and this root. The word for grapes (etc.), however, has become a *Kulturwort* and the verb for their ripening differentiated phonologically.

ʃKL II: Arab /$kl/ *(affair) be doubtful, confused; D (woman) plait two locks*; /$ikāl/ *shackle, rope (for tying camel's feet crosswise).*

ʃ/SKL: Aram /$kl/ *A be/make intelligent*; /skl/ *A =, teach; tD watch, consider, gain insight*; Syr /skl/ *tQ understand; D teach, interpret, admonish.*

Connected with the preceding root? (Cf. Blau, V.T. 7 p. 101).

ʃKM: Ug /θkm/ *shoulder; carry on shoulder*; ?Amor /ʃkm/ ?; ?Arab /θkm/ *be busy; track s.o.*; ?ESA /θkmt/, /'θ-/ *first year of eponymate*; (pl.) /θkmt/ *subjects*; G&z /skm/ *carry on shoulders*; ?Bed /sunk(ŭ)ā/ *shoulder, back*; ?Bil /zäg/, /zēg/ =.

Being busy and tracking some one usually involves rising early; and start in office is comparable to morning. For possible other Cush attestations see Cohen no. 256.

ʃKN: Phoen /ʃkn/ *dwelling place*; Ug /ʃkn/ *set, impose, establish, dwell*; (pl.?) /mʃknt/ *dwelling place*; Aram /ʃkn/ *sit, settle down*; Syr /ʃkn/ *step down, dwell*; Amor /$kn/ *place, dwell*; Akk /ʃakān/, (OAkk) /$-/, (Mari) /s-/; (occasionally) /ʃakām/ (?) *put (down), set (in), appoint, place; provide (with)*; /ʃaχan/ *dwell*; Arab /skn/ *stop, be still; live (in); A lodge (in)*; /sakan/ *abode, residence*; Mhr /skn/ *settle down, dwell; Qt quieten down*; /sēkən/ *community*; G&z /säkʷäna/ *sole (of foot), heel, hoof*; Te /skn/ *abide, dwell*; /sakn/ *firm, ready (to fight)*; /säkän/ *(army) camp*; ?Tu /askən/ *(quadruped) stand on back feet.*

Apparently a secondary root derived from /kwn/ above; the latter is not attested in Tu, but could conceivably have been disused. The last Akk entry, occurring in a synonym list, may be loan from WSem. NB. the nasal and sibilant varr. For possible Cush attestations see Cohen no. 255, although they presuppose very early and unusually strong contractions; the Eg one presupposes transposition, prepalatalization and a semantic shift too! ?Ebl /maʃ-kà-nu/, /mà-ʃà-/ *chain(?).*

ʃKR: Ug /ʃkrn/ *drunkenness*; Aram /ʃikr/ *intoxicating liquor*; Syr /ʃakr/ = ; /ʃkr/ *be drunk*; Akk /ʃakār/ = ; Arab /skr/ *fill (a vessel); (tank) be filled; get drunk*; Mhr /skr/ *be drunk, dizzy; L, H intoxicate; Qt be impertinent; ʃ be keen on*; /məsakkər/ *drug*; Soq /sekir/ *get drunk*; G&z /skr/ = ; *be drunk, drunkard*; Te /ʃkr/ *be(come) drunk*; Har /sχr/ = ; Ch /säkärä/, Sdd /-kk-/, Wol /assakar/ = ; Bed /sekiram/ = ; Bil /sakarā/ *drunkenness.*

Further Cush attestations: Saho Quara /sakar/ *be/get drunk*. However, the root belongs to the category of wandering words and is hardly original in Cush. The Wol entry is my recording.

ʃ/SKR: Phoen /ʃkr/ *hire*; Ug = ; Aram (Palm) /ʃkr/, /skr/ *rewarding*; Arab /$kr/ *thank, praise*; /$ākiriyy/ *hireling*; ?ESA /ʃkr/ *defeat*; G&z /$kur/ *mercenary*; Eg (Dem.) /ʃkr/ *tax*; Cpt /ʃɖor/ *hire, rent.*

In the light of the G&z entry, Te etc. /&äʃkär/ (etc.) can hardly be separated from Arab /&askar/ even in the meaning of *servant* (which does not agree precisely with the present root either). The Eg-Cpt entry may be loan from Can; the ESA one perhaps understandable as giving enemy its just reward.

ʃKR&: Aram /'äʃkrå&/ *box-tree*; Syr /'eʃkår&/ = .

A wandering word of unknown origin.

ʃL(L): ?Ug /ʃl/ *plunder(?)*; Aram /ʃlål/ *booty*; ?Amor /$ll/ *take booty (?)*; Akk /ʃalāl/ =, *plunder*; Arab /sl/ *draw (sword), extract, steal*; ? /θl/ *drain off (a well); overthrow, scatter, destroy*; ESA /θll/ *plunder, take booty*; Mhr /sll/ *(wolf) drag away (its prey); Qt steal away unnoticed*; Soq /ʃll/ *rob, plunder.*

NB. the sibilant varr.

ʃLB: Phoen (pl.) /ʃlbm/ *joints(?)*; Aram /ʃlb/ *join with mortise & tenon*; ?Akk /ʃulbū/ *part of a bolt*; ?Arab /salab/ *tree fibres*; (syr.) *moorings*; /sallāb/ *ropemaker.*

ʃLG: Aram /talg/ *snow; cold*; Syr /talg/ *snow*; Akk /ʃalg/, (Mari lx) /salk/ = ; Arab /θalğ/ = ; Eg /srq/ = .

NB. the Mari var. The Eg entry is LW. Ug /glθ/ seems hardly related, cf. the context.

ʃLV: Aram /ʃlV/ *pull out*; /ʃily/ *sediment, dregs*; /silyt/ *placenta*; Syr /ʃlV/ *pull out*; /ʃlīt/ *placenta*; Akk /silīt/, (lx) /ʃelīt/ = ; *womb*; Arab /$ilw/ *remains; (animal's) body; body limb*; /$aliyyat/ *remains; piece of meat*; /sala^{n}/ *placenta*; G&z /säyl/ *foetus, embryo*; Te /slet/ (pl. /sälyat/, /säylat/) *placenta*; Ch /ʃərər/ *embryo.*

NB. the sibilant varr.

ʃLHB: Aram /ʃlhb/ *burn (s.th) up*; /ʃalhåbi^{y}t/, /-ho^{w}b(i^{y}t)/ *flame, heat*; Syr /ʃlhb/ *kindle; inflame; tQ burn (up), flare up*; Arab /'slhb/ *(horse) stretch o.s. in running*; ?Eg (Gr.) /ʃhb/ *hot wind*; Cpt /ʃåhb/, /ʃåbh/, /ʃåwh/ *dry up, burn up, fan.*

The root is an extension of /lhb/ above; to the meaning of the Arab entry cf. /dlq/ in the sense of *hot pursuit* (and the English equivalent too). The Eg-Cpt entry, if relevant, is evidently loan from Hbr-Aram; it presupposes liquefaction of /l/ into a back vowel which has parallels, e.g., in colloquial English.

ʃLW: Ug /ʃlw/ *find comfort, reassurance*; Aram /ʃalh(a)y/, /ʃalwi^{y}t/ *rest, security*; Syr /ʃlV/ *be quiet, silent, withdraw; stay*; Arab /slw/ *be diverted, console o.s.*; /salwat/, /su-/ *comfort, consolation*; /salwa^{y}/ = ; *honey*.

Cf. the root /ʃlm/ below.

ʃLW II: Aram /slå^{y}w/ *quail*; Syr (coll.) /salway/ = ; Arab /salwa^{y}/ = ; Soq /ʃilhi/ *a certain bird.*

A wandering word; cf. Arab /sly/ *Qt (sheep) be fat (?).*

ʃLX: Phoen /ʃlx/ *stretch forth (one's hand); send*; Ug = ; Aram = ; Syr /ʃlx/ *send, throw, inform, call*; Amor /$lx/ *send*; Akk /ʃalū/, /s-/, (NAss) /ʃelū/ *throw, cast (down, away)*; Arab /slx/ *excrete; D arm (with sword, bow)*; ESA /slx/ *weapon(s)*; Eg (Gr.) /ʃrx/ *kind of (ruddy) tree*; (Dem.) /ʃlx/ *twig, shoot*; Cpt /ʃlh/ = .

The Eg-Cpt entry appears to be loan from Sem; as to the Arab-ESA meanings, use of weapons is artificial overstretching of one's hand. Arab /srx/ could be connected with /ʃxr/ as well.

ʃLX II: Ug /θlxn/ *table*; Aram /ʃlx/ *pull off, flay*; /ʃilx/ *skin*; Syr /ʃelx/ = ; /ʃlx/ *strip, pull off*; Akk /ʃalāχ/ *tear off, take away*; Arab /slχ/ + *N (snake) cast its slough; skin (a sheep)*; /salχ/, /silχ/ *skin (of a slaughtered animal); (snake's) slough.*

NB. the Ug varr.; however, the word for table could have become a *Kulturwort*. Cf. the preceding root?

ʃL7: ?Ug /ʃly7/ *an epithet of the monster* /l7n/; Aram /ʃl7/ *rule; rape,* *ravish*; Syr /ʃl7/ *rule, dominate, oppress*; Akk /ʃalā7/ *rule, have authority*; Arab /sl7/ *D empower; tD subdue*; /sul7ān/ *ruler, authority*; /sala7ānat/, /sili-/ *foul-mouthed (woman)*; ?ESA /sl7/ *arrow (?as an oracular implement; = favourable oracle?)*; Mhr /səl7ān/ *sultan*; /sl7/ *rule*; Soq =; /ca7ehān/ (pl. /clo7ineh/) *sultan*; /ʃa7ane/ *sultanate, rulership*; G&z /$l7/, /s-/ *D have/exercise power, authority*; Te /sl7an/ *sultan*; /sl7n/ *reign, rule*; ?Har /sl7/ *be safe; A rescue*; ?Wol =.

The title of sultan has become a wandering word, and the Te vb. is denominative from it. The Har Wol entries seem to me closer to G&z /sl7/ which can at best be only remotely connected. The Mhr vb. (also denominative?) is quoted from Leslau, Soq p. 286.

ʃLK: Phoen /ʃlk/ *pay*; Arab /slk/ *go (along), travel, behave, be current; (+A) insert, engage (in a road, course).*

Apparently based on biradical /lk/ (cf. /hlk/ above), probably independently in each case.

ʃLM: Phoen /ʃlm/ *fulfil (a vow); safe, sound; peace, well-being; type of offering*; Ug /ʃlm/ *(+D?) be/keep well, safe, whole; peace, welfare; type of offering*; Aram /ʃlm/ *be whole, completed; end; be peaceful; D complete; compensate, requite; A fulfil, deliver; make peace; stay whole*; Syr /ʃlm/ *be whole, finished, complete, perfect, agreeable, friendly; end, die; D complete, fulfil, restore; greet, farewell; A perfect, cure, make peace, expire*; Amor /$lm/ *be well, whole, peaceful*; /$ulm/ *peace, welfare*; Akk /ʃalām/ =; (OAkk) /$-/ *be whole, well, complete, preserved; D keep safe, complete, pay in full*; /ʃulm/ (OAkk) /$-/ *wholeness, welfare, health, greeting; end, expiry*; /salām/ *be friendly*; Arab /slm/ *be safe, free from defect; tan; (snake) bite; D finish, save, admit, consent, submit, greet; A keep safe; betray; resign, give up, submit, obey*; /silm/ *peace*; /salām/ =; *greeting; obedience to God*; /salāmat/ *wholeness, security, health*; ESA /slm/ *be well; (+D, H) make peace; peace, wholeness, health*; /mslm/ *kind of altar*; Mhr /slm/ *be safe; L rescue; surrender*; /səlōm/ *peace*; G&z /slm/ *tL make, keep peace; greet e.o.; StL pacify, reconcile*; /sälam/ *peace, wholeness, salvation; greeting, salutation*; Te /slm/ *save o.s.; D protect; hand over; greet*; Har /salām/ *peace*; /sälāmät/ *greetings*; Wol /sälam/ *peace*; (+Ch Sdd) /sälamta/ *greetings*; Bil /säläm/ *greet, kiss*; Eg /snb/ *be well, healthy; healthy, wholesome; health, welfare*; (late) /ʃrm/ *peace; ask for peace.*

The late Eg entry is apparently loan from Sem, as also the Bil one, and Arab has at least influenced the South Eth attestations; but the first Eg entry (Vycichl after Reinisch, also Erman-Grapow) is evidently original, and although it presupposes transfer of nasalization to the middle rad., the meanings agree so well that the root may be considered common to Sem and Eg. Rössler's objection (that similarity of sound has *incomparably* greater weight than meaning) is grossly exaggerated; were this so, comparisons could always be adjusted to agree with preconceived phonetic developments, but only so can Arab /$nb/ be considered better equivalent to Eg /snb/ than the present root is. Amm /ʃlm/ *peace, well-being*. Ebl (af 2.) *D* /si-lim-ta/ *be well*; /sa-lu-mu/ *gift*.

ʃLP: Aram /ʃlp/ *draw (out), pull (off); castrate*; Syr /ʃlp/ *tear out, extract*; Akk /ʃalāp/ *draw (out; sword etc.)*; Arab /slf/ *be past, outgoing, preceding*; /slb/ *deprive, bereave, plunder; unsheathe (a sword)*; G&z /slb/ *extract, strip, take spoils, rape*; Te /slb/ *take away, rob, castrate*; Har /slb/ *castrate*; Sdd /sälläbä/, Wol /-l-/ =; Sdd Wol /sälf/ *battle front*; Cpt /ʃålm/ *draw, brandish (arms)*.

The Cpt entry may be loan from Sem. Phonological split in Arab Eth. Eg /snf/ hardly belongs here, cf. Cpt /snuf/.

ʃLQ: Aram /ʃlq/ *boil, scald, burn*; Syr /ʃlq/ *cook, boil*; Akk /salāq/ =; Arab /slq/ *boil; scald (hair off skin); peel (flesh off bones)*.

ʃlʃ: Phoen (Pu; pl.?) /ʃlʃ'/ *a category of troops*; Ug /θlθ/ *3rd (part); plough (thrice)*; Aram /tlt/ *D divide by three; do a 3rd time*; /tult/, /talt/ *3rd part; 3-day/year-old*; Syr /tlt/ *D divide by three; do/repeat a 3rd time; triplicate*; Akk /ʃalāʃ/ *do a 3rd time*; /ʃalʃ/, /ʃaʃʃ/, (OAkk) /al/ *3rd (part)*; Arab /θlθ/ *be(come) 3rd; take a 3rd part*; /θulθ/ *3rd part*; ?/sl/ *R chain*; /silsilat/ *(iron) chain; backbone*; ESA /ʃlθ/ *3rd part*; /θlθ/ =; *3rd*; ?Mhr /səwsəlēt/ *chain*; G&z /$ls/ *D do thrice, 3rd time; be 3rd; divide by three; believe God triune*; /$als/ *3rd (part)*; Te /sls/ *D treble*; /sals(ay)/ *3rd*; /mäsälläs/ *3rd part*; Ch /sostänä/, Sdd /sostəläññä/, Wol /ʃeʃtäññe/ *3rd*.

The root is based on the cardinal number for 3 for which see Section C; with it, it belongs to the category of wandering words which may explain the unusual phonological variation to some extent. The word for chain is included, as it may possibly provide etymology for the numeral, although this presupposes wide-reaching phonological developments (cf. Section C s.v. for details).

ʃM: Phoen /ʃm/, (NPu) /ʃ&m/ (pl. /ʃm't/) *name*; Ya /'ʃm/ =; Ug /ʃm/ (pl. /ʃmt/) =; Aram /ʃm/, /ʃo^{w}m/, (Sfire) /'ʃm/ =; Syr /ʃm/, /ʃem-/ (+sf.) (pl. /ʃemåhe/, /-håt) =; Amor /$um/ =; *(male) offspring*; Akk /ʃum/, (OAkk) /$um/, (late Bab) /ʃū/, (lx) /ʃm/ =; *line*; Arab /'ism/, /'usm/ *name, noun*; (syr.) *fame*; ESA /sm/ *name*; Mhr /ham/ =; Soq /ʃem/, /ʃhem/ =; G&z /sm/ =, *fame, memory*; Te /sm/ *name*; Har /sum/ =; Ch /ʃəm/, Sdd /səm/, Wol /sum/ =; Bed /sum/ =; Chad: */s_3m/ =; ?Eg /smy/ *inform, tell, announce, complain, accurse; report, complaint*; ?Cpt /smme/ *appeal (against), accuse*.

Further Cush and Om attestations: Quara /ʃeũ/ *name*; and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 545. The Chad reconstruction is based on attestations in the majority of Chad languages (Jungraithmayr & Shimizu) and is thus beyond any reasonable doubt. On the other hand, the Eg-Cpt entry is semantically marginal at best and as it deviates structurally too, its relevance must be considered doubtful. As to Berb, the Zenaga /ism/ occurs with suffixes only and is considered to be loan from Arab by Zyhlarz; and so apparently Shilxa /ism/; while Tu /esəm/ seems to be used in religious context only which makes borrowing from Arab probable again. The root is thus common to Sem Cush Om Chad, with Eg highly questionable. Ebl /ʃu-um/ (= dumu-zi).

ʃM II: Phoen (pl.) /ʃmm/ *sky, heaven*; Ug (+ /ʃa-mu-ma/) = ; Aram /ʃmayy/ = ; *God*; Syr = ; *roof, palate; pride*; Akk /ʃamū/, (early) /ʃamā'/; (Am, Ug etc.) /samū/, /-mu/, /-wū/; σαυη *sky, heaven*; Arab /samā'/ = ; *cloud, rain, roof, (horse's) back*; ESA /smy/ *sky, heaven*; Mhr /səmɛ̄'/ *sky*; G&z /sämay/ =, *heaven*; Te = ; Har /sämi/ = ; Ch Sdd /säme/, Wol /sämay/ = .

Stray attestations in Chad are loans from Arab (Jungraithmayr), so the root is original in Sem only. ?Ebl /sa-ma-um/ (= giʃ-ba-χúb).

ʃM(M): ?Ug /ʃmm/ *stare (at) (?)*; Aram /ʃmm/ *tQ be desolate; tL be perplexed.*

The Aram entries seem to be based on Hbr. Cf. the root /yʃm/ above.

ʃ/SM'L: Ug /ʃm'al/ *left hand (side)*; Aram /$ma(')l/, /s-/ = ; Syr /semmal/ = ; Akk /ʃumēl/, /-īl/ = ; Arab /$imāl/ = ; *evil omen*; (+ /$awmal/, /$aymal/) *north wind*; /$'m/ *be inauspicious; pass to the left (of)*; ESA /ʃ'm/ *(turn to) left, north*; /ʃ'ml/ *H go left, deviate*; /ʃml/ *evil omen*; Mhr /$ayməl/ *left (hand)*; Soq /ʃe'emet/ *bent on one side*; /ʃemili/ *left hand*; /$imhil/ *left hand side.*

A secondary root, apparently based on an obsolete */ʃm'/ of which the Arab-ESA-Soq /$'m/, /ʃ'm/ is a transpositional var.; the final /-l/ may be a euphemistically used nominal afformative. NB. the sibilant variation.

ʃMD: Aram /ʃmd/ *D persecute, force to apostasy; tD apostatize*; Syr /ʃmd/ *D mock, ridicule, curse, excommunicate*; ?Akk /ʃamād/ + *D break, delete?*; Arab /smd/ *be perplexed; Qd, Qld swell with anger; D cut off (hair) entirely* (Guillaume).

The Arab meaning is rather mild, but compatible with Syr.

ʃMX: Ug /ʃmχ/ *rejoice*; Akk /ʃamāχ/, (lx) /-k/ *thrive*; Arab /smx/ *A be generous, bountiful*; ?/smχ/ *(seeds) grow up*; /$mχ/ *be lofty, haughty.*

Twofold phonological split in Arab; /smχ/ closer to /cmx/? The split is parallelled by semantic distinctions which are compatible with a common origin too. Eg /sχmχ/ is phonologically difficult and occurs only in company with /yb/ (= /leb/); Baer thinks that it could be causative of a partial reduplication of /χm/ *forget.*

ʃM7: Aram /ʃm7/ *loosen; glide, slide off; remain unused; A leave unused; remit (a debt)*; Syr /ʃm7/ *extract, unsheathe, tear away*; Akk /ʃamā7/ *pull, tear off*; Arab /sm7/ *D dismiss (a debtor).*

ʃ/SML: Aram (Warka) /ʃamlat/ *cloak, mantle*; Arab /$amlat/ = ; /$ml/ *wrap (in a bag, cloak)*; ?/sml/ *(clothes) be worn out*; ?/samal/ *shabby clothes.*

Contracted from /ʃ/sym/ (above) plus PTpr /l-/? Phonological (and parallel semantic) split in Arab (?).

ʃMN: Phoen /ʃmn/ *oil*; Ug =, *fat*: Aram /ʃumn(o^{w}ni^{y}t)/, (Na) /ʃamn(i^{y}n)/ *fat; butter*; Syr /ʃmn/ *be/grow fat, mature*; /ʃammīn/ *fat*; /ʃumn/ *fatness; fertility, fertile region*; Akk /ʃamn/, (NAss) /ʃaman/ *oil, fat*; Arab /smn/ *be/grow fleshy; feed with butter; D fatten*; /$bn/ *be plump, fat.*

Twofold phonological split in Arab. As to Eg /smy/ *cream* (Erman-Grapow with a question mark), I do not know a parallel to Eg /y/ = Sem /n/. Cohen's (no. 264) Berb Cush entries also seem too feeble phonetically; no parallel seems to exist to a dissimilatory elision of one of the nasals. Ebl /sa-ma-nu/ *oil.*

ʃMN II: Ug /θmn/ *Qt bear eight children*; (f.) /θmnt/ *8th*; Aram /to^{w}mant/ *8th part (as a measure)*; Syr /tmīnåy/ *8th*; /tumn/ *8th part; quarter (of an as, monetary unit)*; Akk /samn/ (f. /samunt/), /samānū/ *8th*; (+ /summun/) *8th part*; Arab /θmn/ *be(come) 8th; take one eighth; be valuable; D evaluate*; /θumn/ *8th part*; /θamīn/ = ; *valuable*; /θaman/ *value, price*; ESA /θmn/ *value; 8th part (?)*; Mhr /θəmēn/ *value*; /θəmayn/ *fine, expensive*; G&z /samn/ *8th*; /sämun/ = ; *week*; Te /samn/ *week*; /samnay/ *8th*; /smn/ *be a week without water; keep aloof*; Ch Wol /samt/, Sdd /sammənt/, /-ət/, Wol /samət/ *week*; ?Eg /χmnw/ *ogdoad*; ?Cpt /-ʃmēn/ = .

The root is based on the cardinal number for 8 for which see Section C. The Eg-Cpt entry presents phonological difficulties and the alternative of accidental similarity is strengthened by the fact that even smaller numerals are generally clearly distinct between Eg and Sem. However, /χ/ is frequently attested as a spirant of /k/ and /θ/ as that of /t/; and there are examples of interchangeability of these stops in early times in the phylum, e.g. the different pronominal forms of the 2nd pers. These can only be systematically discussed in the phonological part; but assuming that the numeral for 8 was derived from the same root in Sem and Eg, possibility of connection must be left open here.

ʃM&: Phoen /ʃm&/ σαμω, (Pu) /ʃmx/, /ʃm(')/, /ʃ&/, (NPu) /ʃmw/ *hear*; Ug /ʃm&/ = ; *obey; (+Qt) listen*; Aram /ʃm&/ *hear, heed, obey, serve; D, A let hear, proclaim*; Syr = ; Amor /ʃm&/ *hear, listen*; Akk /ʃemū/, /ʃamū/, (OAkk, Ass) /ʃamā'/ = ; Arab /sm&/ = ; *understand, obey*; ESA = ; (n.) *witness, document(ation)*; Mhr /hm&/ *hear; Qt listen*; Soq /h(y)emax/, /'imax/ = ; G&z /sm&/ = ; *heed, obey; witness, testify*; Te /sm&/ *hear, understand*; /sämä&/, /säm&ät/ *witness, testimony*; Har /sm'/ *hear, listen; tQ feel*; Ch /säma/, Sdd /-mma/, Wol /-mä/ (+*tQ*) = ; Ch Sdd *tF agree*; Chad: */s$_3$m-/ *hear; ear*; ?Eg /sğm/ *hear, listen, heed, obey*; (Dem.) /stm/ *hear*; ?Cpt /såtm/ =, *listen, obey.*

Again, the Eg-Cpt entry presents phonological difficulties. However, Eg /ğ/ is quite regular counterpart of Hbr /c/; and there is interchange between /c/ and /&/ within Sem some of which has not been consistently explained; and the presence of another sibilant in the root could also be significant; therefore the possibility of relevance must be left open here; NB. the Mhr-Soq glottal too, found also in some actual Chad attestations of the reconstructed prototype (by Jungraithmayr & Shimizu) above; and /ʃ-/ even in OAkk. However, Cohen's (no. 82) Berb Cush (Om) entries seem phonologically implausible, and Eg appears closer to Berb than to Sem. Ebl (pref) /iʃ-mà/, (imp) /ʃi-má/.

ʃMC: Aram /ʃimc/ *blemish; disrepute*; Arab /$mc/ *speak fluently; urge (a beast) on sharply*; /$m¢/ *urge, rebuke gently.*

The meaning toned down in Arab, but still compatible with Hbr-Aram. NB. the sibilant varr.

ʃMR: Phoen /ʃmr/ *guard, protect*; Aram /timmuʷr(t)/ *eyelid, -lash*; Syr /temr/ *eyelid*; Amor /$mr/ *guard, protect*; ?Akk /ʃamār/ *rage*; Arab /smr/ + *L, tL spend the night in conversation*; ESA /ʃmr/ *receive attention, obeisance.*

NB. the sibilant varr. The Arab entry agrees well with the post-biblical concept of /leʸl ʃimmuʷriʸm/ (cf. Fraenkel p. 89); whereas Arab /θml/ seems semantically too remote (Irvine). Akk /ʃamār/ *Qt praise (god)* likewise seems too remote, even if the ESA entry be interpreted as containing a hint in that direction; on the meaning, to *rage* cf. /n7r/ above.

ʃMR II: Aram /ʃåmiʸr/ *diamond; legendary stone-cutting worm*; /ʃummår/ *fennel*; Syr /ʃåmīr/, /ʃū-/ *diamond*; /ʃammår/, /ʃu-/ *fennel*; Arab /sāmūr/ (Guillaume), /$ammūr/ *diamond*; /$amār/, /$umrat/ *fennel.*

Wandering word(s) of unknown but apparently common origin, with cutting sharpness as the main common characteristic.

ʃMʃ: Phoen /ʃmʃ/ *sun*; Ug /ʃpʃ/ = ; Aram /ʃimʃ/ = ; *fever*; Syr /ʃemʃ/ *sun; gold, golden*; Amor /am/, /ap/ *sun*; Akk /ʃamʃ/, (OAkk) /am/, (late) /ʃanʃ/, /ʃaʃʃ/ =, *disc, gold*; Arab /$ams/ *sun; kind of necklace*; ESA /ʃams/ *sun*; Soq /ʃam/, /ʃ(i)hom/ *sun, day*; /ʃehem/ *heat.*

NB. the Ug (Amor) Soq varr. Eg /sʃp/, /ʃzp/ *(give) light*, /ʃw/ *light, sun* seem too heterogeneous phonetically. Dolgopolsky's (p. 122) Cush Om entries are phonologically difficult.

ʃMʃ II: Aram /ʃmʃ/ *D serve; use; have sexual intercourse*; Syr /ʃmʃ/ *D serve, function, be valid; cultivate, instruct*; Arab (syr.) /$ms/ *D assist (a priest as a deacon)*; /$ammās/ *deacon; clerk of priest*; Eg /ʃmsy/ *follow, accompany, serve*; /ʃmsw/ *servant, retainer, retinue*; (Dem.) /ʃms/ *follow, serve*; Cpt /ʃmʃe/ *serve, worship; service, worship, cult.*

Loan from Eg.

ʃN(N): Ug /ʃnn/ *gnash one's teeth*; (pl.) /ʃnt/ *teeth*; Aram /ʃinn/ *tooth, point, prong*; /ʃnn/ *D sharpen*; Syr /ʃenn/ *tooth, outcrop*; Akk /ʃinn/, (OAkk) /$-/ *tooth, point*; Arab /sinn/ *tooth, horn, (pen) nib*; /sn/ *sharpen,* *spear, seize (with teeth)*; ?/θaniyy/ *cutting one's first teeth*; ?/θaniyyat/ *central incisor*; ?ESA /θn(y)/ (pl.) *incisor teeth*; Mhr /hən/ *sharpen*; ?/məθənyēt/ *incisor tooth*; ?Soq /mitnioh/ *tooth*; G&z /sn/ =; /snn/ *tD, tL litigate*; ?Te /snnät/ *equal, of the same age*; Har /sən/, /sin/ *tooth*; Ch /sən/, Sdd /sənn/, /sin/, Wol /əsən/ =; Berb: Zenaga /$enān/ =; Tu /esin/, /eʃen/ *incisor tooth*; Chad: */s$_3$n/ *tooth.*

In Cush?: Iraqw /sihīno/ *tooth.* This presupposes lengthening of the stem vowel rather than the 2nd rad. and subsequent breaking up of the vowel and creation of a heterorganic glide which sounds improbable. The Chad reconstruction (by Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, as always), however, is based on the majority of Chad attestations and is thus beyond reasonable doubt. According to Zyhlarz, the Zenaga entry is loan from Arab; but the Tu one may be original. The root may thus be common to Sem Berb Chad. The ESA Soq entries and Arab Mhr varr. could derive from a different root; however, some Chad attestations shown initial /t-/, /d-/, /ts-/.

ʃN(N/V): Mo /ʃt/ *year*; Phoen (Pu) /ʃn'/ *teacher(?)*; /ʃt/, (Cyprus) /ʃnt/; pl. /ʃnt/, *sanu(th)*, (NPu) /ʃ&n(')t/, /ʃnwt/, /ʃ&n-/ *year*; Ug /ʃnt/ (sg. &pl.) =; /θny/ *repeat, report*; /θn/ *2nd, other, double*; Aram /ʃnV/ *change; be different, unusual*; /ʃatt/, /ʃn/ (pl. /ʃnayy/) *year*; /tnV/ *repeat; tell as a tradition, teach; D change*; /tinyån/ *2nd*; Syr /ʃnV/ *change, be dislocated, migrate; be captivated, grow crazy*; /ʃa(n)tt/, /ʃn/ (pl. /ʃnayy/) *year*; /tnV/ *repeat, narrate, speak, recite*; /tenyån/ *repetition, commemoration; 2nd; 2-year-old*; Amor /ʃny/ *repeat*; Akk /ʃanū/, /ʃanā'/ =; *change*; /ʃanū/, (OAkk, Ass) /ʃani/ *2nd, next, other*; /ʃatt/, /ʃant/, /$ant/ *year*; Arab /θny/ *fold, bend; D double*; /θāni^n/ *2nd*; /sanat/ *year*; /sny/ *A stay a year; tD be altered (by time)*; ESA /snt/ *year*; (Hadr.) /$ny/ *2nd*; (f.) /θnt/ =; /θny/ *H double*; Mhr /θenū/ *repeat*; /θōni/, (f.) /θənyēt/ *2nd*; /sənēt/ *year*; /snn/ *ʃ consider old*; /sənayn/ *person 1 year senior*; Soq /ʃny/ *Qt stay (?repeat?)*; /miʃtineho/ *2nd*; G&z (f.) /sanit/, /sännit/ *next (day, night)*; /sännuy/ *two days; next day*; Te /sänät/ *year, time*; Eg /snnw/ *2nd; companion, mate; the other*; /sn/ *brother*; /snt/ *sister.*

The Te entry appears to be loan from Arab, but the G&z ones seem original, and so the root is attested in Eth too; the cardinal numeral for 2 (for which see Section C) is found in Berb and maybe Chad also. Bed /sān/, Bil /dān/ *brother* hardly belong here, cf. Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 106. NB. the sibilant varr., presupposing an early phonological split. The first Mhr vb. is quoted from Müller (Wurzeln p. 35). Amm (pl.) /(wb)ʃnt/ *year.*

ʃ/SN': Phoen /ʃn't/ *hatred*; Ug /ʃn'/ *hate; enemy*; Aram /ʃnV/, /s-/ *be ugly; (+D) hate*; Syr /snV/ *hate*; Arab /$n'/ =, *loathe; confess*; ESA /ʃn'/ *enemy.*

ʃNV: Ug /ʃn/ *scarlet*; ?Akk /ʃinīt/, (OAkk) /$-/ *coloured stuff*; ?Arab /sana^n/ *lightning; kind of silk.*

ʃN7: ?Akk /ʃam7/, /s-/, /ʃan7/ *kind of thorny plant*; Arab /san7/ *Acacia Nilotica*; Eg /ʃnğ(t)/, (Dem.) /ʃntt/ =; Cpt /ʃonte/ =.

A wandering word of Eg origin. Vycichl denies connection with the Akk entry which he identifies with Arab /&awsağ/ *kind of lycium, zizyphum.* However, wandering words often undergo semantic shifts in regions where the object originally designated is not known, if there is another one in some way sufficiently resembling it; so the possibility of connection should not be ruled out.

ʃNS: ?Ug /ʃns/ *stretch (into)?*; Aram /ʃnc/ *string up, tighten with a string*; ?Akk /sanāʃ/, /ʃ-/ *put, thrust in*; ?Arab /$nc/ *stick (to).*

The meanings are rather marginal except for Aram in which a phonological shift is involved; NB. sibilant varr. in Akk Arab too.

ʃS(V): -

Eg /ʃʾsw/ derived from the root /ʃʾs/ *wander* and connection with the present root unlikely (Baer). As to Arab /$aws/, the basic meaning of the root seems to be contempt and scorn which is at best only marginal again.

ʃSV: -

Apparently onomatopoeic.

ʃS&: Aram /ʃs&/ *D tear asunder.*

Arab /$s&/ seems to mean primarily to *be remote* rather than divided; connection unlikely (Irvine).

ʃSP: -

Root var. of /ʃcp/ below? or (rather) denominative from /sēp/ *sword* (see /syp/ above).

ʃ&: Aram /ʃa&(a)t/ *(short) time; hour*; Arab /sā&at/ *hour; while, present time; clock; distance*; /sw&/ *hire for an hour; bargain; A procrastinate*; G&z /sa&/ *time, hour*; /sä&ät/, /-at/ = ; *moment, period*; Te /sä&ät/ *hour, clock*; Har /sa/ *time*; /sa'a/ = ; *hour, watch*; Ch Sdd /sa'at/, (+Wol) /sat/ *hour.*

A *Kulturwort* of Aram origin.

ʃ&(&): Aram /ʃ&V/ *tQ/tD converse, talk; tell a story*; Syr /ʃ&V/ *win by flattery; tQ, D joke, have fun; tD = ; narrate; dream*; ?Te /ss&/ *tD (women) dance*; ?Bil /sā&sa&/, /säsa&/ *dance.*

Of the Te Bil entries, one is probably loan from the other. As Bil is structurally simpler and more conservative, it would seem to be the primary one; but because of geographical isolation and some semantic difference, connection with Hbr must be considered doubtful. NB. the structural difference in Aram-Syr.

ʃ&(&) II: Aram /ʃ&&/ *be smooth; besmear*; /ʃ&V/ *D smoothen, polish*; Syr */ʃ&/ + D = ; /ʃw&/ besmear, close up, occlude.*

NB. the structural differentiation in both Aram and Syr, but with different division of meanings and different secondary root structure. Amm (pref) *Qt* /tʃt&/ *be smooth (?).*

ʃ&(&) III: -

ʃ&V: Phoen (Byblos) /ʃ&/ *seek*; ?Ug /θ&y/ *inspect(?)*; Akk /ʃe'ū/, (Ass) /ʃeā'/ *seek*; Arab /s&y/ *A* = ; /sā&i^{n}/ *inspector*; Soq /ʃi&i/ *observe, pay attention.*

NB. the sibilant variation.

ʃ&W: Aram /ʃ&u^{w}t/, /ʃ&i^{y}t/, /ʃå&(a)wåt/ *wax*; Syr /ʃ&ōt/ = ; *yellowish*; Arab /sa&wat/ *wax, candle.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin; cf. the root /ʃ&(&)/ II above?

ʃ&7NZ: Aram = Hbr.

Perhaps a compound (cf. K-B). Lambdin's etymology (after Albright) is semantically vague.

ʃ&L: Aram /ʃ&l/ *hollow hand*; /ʃ&u^{w}l/ = ; *sole of foot*; Syr /ʃu&l/ *handful*; ?Akk /ʃīl/, /ʃēl/ *depression, sunk place.*

The Akk entry could come from a different root (cf. v. Soden).

ʃ&L II: Aram /ta&(a)l/ *jackal, fox*; Syr /ta&l/ *fox*; Akk /ʃēleb/, /ʃelleb/, (Ass) /ʃēlab/ = ; Arab /θa&lab/ =, *(jackal, otter)*; /θu&āl/ *fox*; /θu&lubān/ = *(male)*, /θurγul/ = *(female)*; Mhr /γəθayl/ *fox*; G&z /täk^{w}la/ *wolf*; Te /t(o)kla/ *Canis lupaster*; Bed /täkla/ *wolf*; Bil /taġlā/, /tu-/ = ; Tu /aguləh/ = *(male).*

For further Cush attestations see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 334, or Cohen no. 346. The word is a wandering one, of unknown origin; translations may not always be accurate either, cf. Littmann-Höfner s.v.

ʃ&N: ?Aram /ʃ&n/ *clap 'hands'.*

Probably a secondary root, based on /&nV/ II above (cf. K-B).

ʃ&R: Phoen /ʃ&r/ *gate*; Ug /θγr/ = ; *gatekeeper*; Aram /tar&/, /tra&/ *gate*; /tårå&/ *gatekeeper*; Syr /tar&/ *gate, court; chapter, stanza, counsel*; ?Akk /ʃa'ār/ *besiege*; Arab /θγr/ *make a breach (in a wall); stop up (a breach)*; /θuγrat/ *gap, breach, crevice; mountain-pass*; ESA (pl.) /θ&rt/ *sluices*; Soq /t(h)er/ *gate, entrance; field*; /(y)ho'or/ *split, break through*; G&z /s&r/ *breach, dissolve, rescind, remove*; Te /s&r/ *depose; abrogate (a law); graze clean*; Har /ʃāra/ *abolish, dismiss, demote*; Ch Sdd Wol /ʃarä/ = ; ?Berb: Rif /(a)saru/ *ravine, gorge*; /θagg^{w}rθ/, /θavurθ/, /-w-/, /δuu'rθ/ *gate.*

The Arab verb may have preserved the most original meaning; in Eth, this has shifted into a more figurative direction; in Berb, at least the word for gate may derive from a different root (Appleyard); NB. the Aram Soq varr.

ʃ&R II: ?Ug /θ&r/ *arrange, prepare*; Aram /ʃ&r/ *D estimate, calculate*; /ʃa&(a)r/ *market price*; (pl.) *interest*; Arab /s&r/ *D fix the price (of goods)*; /si&r/ *current price, rate*; Eg ?/ʃ&r/ *promise*; (Dem.) /ʃ&r/ *price*; Cpt /ʃaar/ =, *value.*

The Dem-Cpt entry is evidently related to the Hbr-Aram-Arab one which according to Vycichl is of Can origin (the Aram Arab ones seem also to be borrowings, the root having become like a *Kulturwort*); whether the first Eg entry is the same word seems to me less certain; Ug too is semantically rather marginal.

ʃ&R III: Aram /s&r/ *look after, enquire, investigate*; Syr /s&r/ *visit, take care, treat, cure, achieve*; Arab /$&r/ *perceive, make verses; A inform, warn*; /$u&ūr/ *intelligence, knowledge*; ESA /ʃ&r/ *(+Qt, St) know, be aware (of); knowledge*; Mhr /$γr/ *keep an eye (on); notice s.th. on the ground.*

On the semantics of the Aram-Syr entry cf. the root /yd&/ above; Mhr also has shifted towards more practical direction, with a phonological shift involved.

ʃ&R IV: Arab /$γr/ *(dog) urinate.*

ʃ&R(R): ?Arab /&r/ *be scabby; afflict, disgrace.*

May be a secondary root based on an originally biradical one. Akk /ʃaχurr(at)/ (etc.) seems essentially different.

ʃ/S&R: Ug /ʃ&r/ *barley*; /ʃ&rt/ *hair, wool*; Aram /$a&(a)r/, /s-/ *hair*; Syr /sa&r/ =; Akk /ʃārt/, (Am) /ʃērt/, (Boghazkoy) /ʃa'rat/ =, *hairy skin, fur*; Arab /$a&(a)r/ *hair*; /$a&īr/ *barley*; ESA /ʃ&r/ =; Mhr /ʃə&īr/ =; /$ɛ̄r/ *straw*; Soq /ʃa&ir/ *barley*; /$a&ar/ *herb*; (pl.) /$a&ihor/ *hair*; G&z /$a&r/ *herb, grass*; /$&rt/ *hair*; ?/cäg^{w}r/, /-gur/ =, *fur, feather, fibre*; Te /sä&är/ *grass, hay*; /ʃ&ir/ *barley*; ? /¢gär/ *hair, fibre*; Har /sä'ar/, /sār/ *grass*; /¢igär/ *hair; (eye)lash*; Ch /sär/, Sdd Wol /sar/ *grass*; Ch /dəgär/, Sdd Wol /¢-/ *hair(, fur, wool)*; Bil /ʃuġur/ *hair*; Som /Λagur/, /Λog(o)r/ =; Berb: Sus /azzär/ =; ?Chad: Sokoro /ləwər/ =; ?Eg /s&rt/ *wool*; (Dem.) *hair*; ?Cpt /sort/ *wool.*

The word for barley has become a *Kulturwort*; for hair, wool, fur, a form of Cush origin has been adopted in Eth when the Sem form has been restricted to herbs and grass; for more Cush attestations see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 318, Dolgopolsky p. 119 or Cohen, no. 281. The Te Cush forms for barley, wheat (ib. no. 280), however, seem structurally and phonologically too remote, and the Eg term may have been originally adjectival (Baer).

ʃP: Ug /ʃpt/ (sg.&pl.) *lip*; Aram /$ipt/, /s-/ (pl. /sipwån/) =, *edge*; Syr /sept/ =; *margin; trunk (of elephant)*; Akk /ʃapt/, (rarely) /ʃabd/, (OAkk) /$apt/ *lip, edge*; Arab /$afat/, /$i-/ =; ESA /ʃft/ *speak, ask (for an oracle); (god) promise; promise, decree, dedication*; Soq /$ebeh/ *lip*; ?Chad: Sura /miʃpwå:/ =; Eg /spt/ =; *shore, edge*; Cpt /spat/, (pl.) /spotu/ =; ?/aspe/ *language, speech.*

Originally biradical, although the fem. afform. sometimes treated as a third one.

ʃP(P): Aram /ʃpi^{y}po^{w}n/ *kind of serpent*; Syr /ʃp/ *crawl, pass, elapse*; Akk /ʃibb/, /ʃipp/ *girdle; a mythical serpent*; Arab /suff/, /siff/ *a speckled or winged serpent.*

Apparently of onomatopoeic origin; therefore more than one independent origin possible.

ʃP'/V: Aram /ʃpV/ *smoothen; draw, pour out; make steep; D smoothen; calm, appease*; Syr /ʃpV/ *smoothen, cleanse, purge; be clarified; consent*; /ʃapy/ *plain, smooth, pure, sincere, agreeable*; Arab /sfw/, /-y/ *be swift, scanty-haired; +A (wind) sweep dust off.*

ʃPX: Phoen /ʃpx/, (NPu) /ʃp&t/ *family, clan*; Ug /ʃpx/, /ʃbx/ =, *dynasty; scion, offspring*;

NB. the Ug var.

ʃ/SPX: -

ʃ/SPX II: Arab /sfx/ *shed (tears, blood); (tears) flow.*

NB. the sibilant.

ʃP7: Phoen /ʃp7/ *judge, rule; magistrate, judge*; Ug /θp7/ = ; *ruler; justice, judgment*; Aram (Bibl.) /ʃp7/ *judge*; Amor /ʃp7/ =, *rule*; Akk /ʃapā7/, /-t/, (lx) /ʃabāt/ *judge*; ESA /θf7/ = ; *judgment, decision.*

NB. the Akk varr. The Aram entry is loan from Hbr. Ebl (pref) /iʃ-pù-tù/.

ʃPK: Ug /ʃpk/ *pour out, spill*; Aram = ; Syr /ʃpk/ *tQ be poured*; Akk /ʃapāk/ *pour down (upon), heap up*; Arab /sfk/ *pour out*; ?Te /sbk/ *descend, go downhill.*

NB. the Te voiced labial; the Arab-Eth /sbk/ *melt, cast (metal)* seems semantically too remote.

ʃPL: Ug /ʃpl/ *low; bottom*; Aram /ʃpl/ *bow, bend down; pursue to the end*; Syr /ʃpl/ *be humble, depressed; leave beaten*; Akk /ʃapāl/ *be/grow low, deep, humble*; Arab /sfl/ *be low, inferior, base, mean*; /θufl/ *dregs, sediment; lower millstone; skin put under a handmill*; ESA /sfl/ *low ground, lowland; bedrock*; Mhr /sfl/ *L, H spoil (a child)*; /səfōlət/ *flotsam & jetsam*; /hōfel/ *belly, stomach*; Te /ʃfl/ *D take (cattle) to a downhill pasturage.*

NB. the Arab Mhr varr.; to the latter, cf. Jibbali /ʃåfəl/, /ʃfål/ *belly*. Cf. the roots /npl/ and /pl(l)/ above. ?Ebl /ʃi-pil-lum/ *inferior(?).*

ʃPN: ?Phoen /mʃpn/ *image? bust?.*

See Donner-Röllig no. 32 1. 7. Cf. the root /cpn/ above?

ʃPN II: Arab (sth.) /θafan/ *rock hyrax*; Mhr /θōfən/ =.

The Arab entry is quoted from Ges-B.

ʃPN III: Aram = Hbr.

LW from Gr.

ʃP&: Aram /ʃp&/ *flow abundantly; D ps hang down*; Syr /ʃp&/ *flow abundantly, inundate, exceed*; Arab /sbγ/ *(wealth) be abundant, (rain) extensive, (raiment) full-length.*

NB. the Arab voiced labial; cf. the root /ʃb&/ III above.

ʃ/SPQ: Aram /spq/ *be/do enough, suffice, overflow*; Syr /spq/ *be sufficient,* *able, capable*; Amor /$pq/ *be plentiful*; ESA /ʃfq/ *H be abundant, satisfy, enrich; abundance.*

Cf. the preceding root.

ʃPR: Aram /ʃpr/ *please; D, A cleanse, polish, beautify*; /ʃo^{w}pår/ *(ram's) horn*; Syr /ʃpr/ *please; be fine, nice*; /ʃīpōr/ *horn*; Arab /sfr/ *(dawn) shine; (wind) dispel the clouds; sweep (the house); + A (woman) unveil her face*; /$abbūr/ *horn, bugle*; (pl.) /sawāfir/ *ram's horns*; ?ESA (pl.) /sfrt/ *goat.*

As the stag's antlers and also ram's horns are usually considered to enhance the animal's outlook, I do not see reason to separate them from this root, although the word for ram's horn has become a *Kulturwort* as a musical instrument. I do not think that it could have been borrowed from the Sum-Akk /sappar/, /ʃ-/, as this means wild he-goat and never seems to be mentioned in musical connections, apart from phonological difficulties. It could be relevant to the present root, if the word is not original in Sum either, but adopted as a wandering word.

ʃPT: Aram /tpV/ *put (a pot) on fireplace*; /tpāy/ *fireplace*; Syr /tpayy/ =, *tripod*; /tpV/ *put (a pot) on; (+D) inflame*; Arab /θf/ *prop (a pot) on a tripod*; /'uθfiyyat/ *tripod.*

The noun, originally biradical, is the primary one; the verb denominative.

ʃPT II: Ug /θpd/ *set, put*; (pl.) /mθpdm/ *layer(?)*; Arab (pl.) /maθāfīd/ *pack-saddle.*

The Arab entry is on the authority of K-B.

ʃCP: ?Phoen /ʃcp/ *a type of sacrifice*; Arab /$i¢f/ *piece of bread*; /$a¢f/ *splinter of wood*;

Cf. the root /ʃsp/ above?

ʃ/SQ: Aram /$aqq/, /s-/ *sack; cloth of goat's hair; garment of coarse stuff*; Syr /saqq/ *sack*; Akk /saqq/, /ʃ-/ =; *mourning attire*; Mhr /$əqqāt/ *woman's overall body wrapping*; Soq /$eqah/ *mantle*; G&z /$äq/ *sack, (coarse) cloth/mantle; mourning attire*; Eg /sq/ *sack*; ?/s'q/ *reed mat* (Gr.); Cpt /soq/ *sack, sack-cloth, bag.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown (maybe Sem, hardly Eg) origin.

ʃQD: Phoen /ʃqd/ *mind, remember; almond*; Aram /ʃqd/ *watch; (+tQ) be anxious, strive.*

ʃQV: Ug /ʃqy/ *drink; ʃ give to drink*; Aram /ʃqV/ *A water, give to drink*; Syr =; *irrigate*; Akk /ʃaqū/, (OAkk, Ass) /ʃaqā'/ =; Arab /sqy/ + *A water, give to drink*; ESA /sqy/ =; *irrigate; Qt quench one's thirst*; Mhr /hqV/ *give to drink, irrigate*; /təq/ *(=Qt) drink*; Soq /heže/ *water, soak*; /teqi/ *(=Qt) drink; smoke (a water-pipe)*; G&z /sqy/ *water, irrigate*; Ch /säcä/, Sdd /sä¢¢ä/, Wol /sə¢/ *drink*, (Ch, Sdd) *A give to drink*; Tu /əsqəw/ *empty (well, trough) completely of water*; ?Chad: (cf. /ʃtV/ below).

The Wol entry is my recording. Cf. the root /ʃtV/ below. NB. the Mhr Soq varr. For Cush attestations see Cohen no. 257. ?Ebl /ʃa-gú-um/ *drink(?)*.

ʃQ7: Aram /ʃq7/ *rest*; Syr /ʃq7/ *silence*; Amor /$q7/ *be quiet, undisturbed.*

Akk /ʃaqāt/ Arab /sq7/ (etc.) seem semantically too remote. Cf. the root /skt/ above.

ʃQL: Phoen /ʃql/ *weigh; unit of weight*; /mʃql/ *weight*; Ug /θql/ *unit of weight*; Aram /tiql/ = ; /tql/ *weigh*; /ʃql/ *estimate*; Syr /tql/ *be heavy, offensive; weigh, examine, estimate, balance, solve*; /matqal/ *scales, balance; weight, burden, quantity; unit of weight, currency*; ?/ʃql/ *rise*; Amor /ʃql/ *weigh*; Akk /ʃaqāl/ *hang up; weigh, pay*; Arab /θql/ *be heavy, hard, slow*; /θiql/ *weight, burden*; /$ql/ *weigh (a coin)*; Mhr /θql/ *be heavy; H load heavily; ʃ feel burdened*; G&z /sql/ *hang up; crucify*; /s(ä)ql/ (etc.) *unit of weight & currency*; Te /sql/ + *L hang, crucify*; Har /sql/ *hang up (against, swaying)*; Ch /säqärä/, Sdd /säqqälä/, Wol /-q-/ = ; Tu /amətγāl/ *(fictitious) monetary unit* (= $2\frac{1}{2}$ Fr.); ?Chad: Kofyar (Bong) /ʃagal/ *money*.

The words for the unit of weight & currency have become *Kulturwörter*; the root may be a secondary one. based on /ql(l)/ above. NB. the Aram Syr(?) varr.; Soq /siqlhel/ has a different semantic background. ?Ebl /maʃ-gàr-tum/, /ma-sa-gàr-du-um/; /ʃa-gi-LUM/ (= giʃ-DILMUN).

ʃQM: Aram /ʃiqm/ *sycamore*; Syr /ʃeqm/ = ; Arab /sawqam/ = .

A wandering word of unknown origin.

ʃQ&: Aram /ʃq&/ *sink, descend; be deep (down)*; Arab /suq&/ *lower part of well*; /sawqa&at/ *inner part of veil/turban*; /cq&/ *fling (s.o.) down; (well) crumble down.*

NB. the (assimilatory) Arab var.

ʃQP: Aram /ʃqåp/ *threshold*; (+ /ʃqi^{y}p/) *rock ledge*; Syr /ʃqīp/ *rock, cavern; steep*; Arab /sqf/ *roof (a house)*; /saqf/ *roof, sky*; ESA /sqf/ *roof (a building); roof, vestibule(?)*; /msqf/ *portico*; Mhr /sqf/ *roof (a hut)*; /saqf/ *roof (of branches)*; /səqaft/ *grave column*; Soq /(y)heqaf/ *make a roof.*

NB. the Soq initial.

ʃQC: Aram /ʃiqc/, /ʃqac/ *vermin, loathsome thing.*

A secondary root, based on /qwc/ above.

ʃQR: Aram /ʃqr/ *D lie, cheat, betray*; Syr = ; *commit adultery*; Akk /ʃuqqur/, /-gg-/ *deceive*; Arab /saqqār/ *impious, blasphemer*; ?/$uqar/ *lie.*

The second Arab entry, if connected, may be LW.

ʃR: Aram /ʃe^{y}r/ *bracelet, anklet*; Syr /ʃe(')r/ *bracelet; nosering*; Akk /ʃawir/, /-ar/; (OBab) /ʃewer/, /ʃiw-/, /ʃem-/, /ʃim-/ *ring*; Arab /siwār/, /su-/, /'us-/ *bracelet.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

ʃR(R): ?Ug /mʃrr/ *ingot? (chain?)*; Aram /ʃrr/ *be fastened, firm*; Syr /ʃr/ *be firm, true, certain*; /ʃerr/ *navel*; /ʃurr/ =; *axle*; Arab /surr/ *navel-string*; /surrat/ *navel*; ?/silsilat/ *chain; spinal column*; Mhr /ʃīrɛ̄/, /-ɛ'/ =; ?/səwsəlēt/ *chain*; Soq /$or/, /$o(')hor/ *cord*; /$rr/ *attach*; /ʃirax/ *navel*; Berb: Rif /as'nsur/, /-'rs-/ *spine*; Tu /asur/, /ăzār/ *nerve*.

The connecting link to navel is of course the umbilical cord. NB. the (Mhr) Soq Tu varr. For other Berb attestations see Cohen no. 260. Cf. /ʃrʃ/ below.

ʃ/SR(R): Phoen /ʃr/ *divine epithet*; Ug /ʃr/ *prince*; Aram (Bab) /sr/ *prince*; Amor /$arr/ *king*; /$arra(t)/ *queen*; Akk /ʃarr/, (OAkk) /$arr/ *king, prince, ruler*; /ʃarrat/, (OAkk) /$-/ *queen, princess*; ?Arab /srw/ *be manly, magnanimous* (Guillaume); Eg /sr/ *prince, nobleman, high official, counsel.*

As the Eg title is never used of foreign rulers, it can hardly be borrowed.

ʃRB: Aram /ʃrb/ + *A burn*; /ʃarb/, /ʃurb/ *scorching heat (of sun)*; Syr /ʃrb/ *be scorched, dry up; suffer from penury*; /ʃarb/ *scorching wind (Samum)*; Cpt /ʃarba/ *scorching heat.*

The Cpt entry appears to be loan from Aram; the Arab /sarāb/ *mirage* is loan from Persian (Vycichl). Akk /ʃarrab/ *a daemon* is hardly relevant either. Cf. the root /xrb/ above?

SRG: Ug /ʃrg/ *lie (to)*; Aram /srg/ *twist around*; Syr /srg/ *fold, twist, fasten*; Arab /$rg/ (syr.) /s-/ *D baste, stitch (clothes); weave palm-leaves*; /srg/ *(woman) plait (her hair)*; ?ESA /ʃrg/ *watercourse (irrigation channel?)*; Mhr /$rg/ *stitch up*; Soq /$ireg/ *sew.*

NB. the sibilant varr. as well as MT. Cf. the root /ʃrk/ below.

ʃRD: Aram /sråd/ *wickerwork (sieve), lattice; wide-meshed web*; Arab /srd/ *sew (leather), weave (a coat of mail).*

ʃ/SRD: Syr /srd/ + *tD be terrified; D terrify, frighten away; profane*; Arab /$rd/ *run away; D frighten away, scatter (people).*

ʃRV: Aram /ʃrV/ *solve, permit, forgive*; Syr =, *remove, free, dismiss*; Arab /srw/, /-y/ *be magnanimous; (+D) strip o.s.; Q ps, N (cares) clear away*; ESA /ʃry/ *H free*; G&z /sry/ *permit, condone, expiate*; /$ry/ + *D cure, heal*; Te /sry/ *L* =.

Akk /ʃurrū/ seems to agree better with the next root. NB. the ESA G&z var. Gur /aʃränä/ etc. does not seen connected.

ʃRV II: Aram /ʃrV/ *encamp, dwell; D, tD begin*; Syr /ʃrV/ *unload, encamp, settle, dwell, die; D begin*; Akk /ʃurrū/, (Ass) /ʃa-/ *begin, dedicate, inaugurate*; ESA /srwyt/ *army, troops*; Soq /ʃry/ *Qt enter.*

The verbs for beginning seem generally to inaugurate a lasting situation or activity which agrees better with this root than the preceding one.

ʃRV III: Amor /$ry/ *contend with*; Arab /sry/ *tD show bravery.*

NB. the Arab sibilant. Eth /srV/ has a different semantic background.

ʃ/SR7: Aram /sr7/ *D scribble*; /sir7/ *scratch, incision*; Syr /sr7/ *prickle, puncture, write, draw (a line)*; /ser7/, /sur7/ *line*; Akk /ʃarā7/ *tear asunder, slice*; Arab /$r7/ *tear off; (+D) make incisions*; Soq /$or7/ *interval between upper front teeth; line, road*; ?Eg /ʃ&d/ *cut off, into pieces*; (Dem.) /ʃ&t/, /ʃt/ *cut off*; ?Cpt /ʃååt/, /ʃet-/, /ʃaat-/ *cut (out, off), excommunicate; slay, sacrifice; be cut short, want, lack.*

The Eg-Cpt entry is semantically plausible, but the root is used only since the New Kingdom (for the earlier /ʃ&/), and /&/ for Sem /r/ is unusual.

ʃRYN: Ug /θryn/ *armour*; Aram /ʃiryo^{w}n/, /-yån/ =; Syr /ʃeryån/ =; Akk /sari(y)am/ (etc.) =, Eg /čryn/ =.

A *Kulturwort* of Hurrian origin; cf. the root /srV/ above.

ʃRK: Aram /srk/ + *D twist, distort*; ?Syr /srk/ *stick to, adhere*; Arab /$rk/ *have shoestrings broken; D put leather thongs to sandals*; /$irāk/ *sandal-strap*; ?Soq /sirik/ *tether-rope*; Te /srk/ *L tie sandals on*; /srak/ *sandal-strap; hoof*; /srakät/ *frontlet, chain.*

Cf. the root /ʃrg/ above. Leslau thinks that the Soq entry may be misprint (for /$-/).

ʃR&: ?Phoen (Pu) /msrw&/ *very tall?*; ?Ug /ʃr&/ *swelling, surging (?)*; Aram /$ri^{y}&/, /s-/ *with a deformed part of body*; Syr /sr&/ *split, tear (an ear); extend*; Arab /'a$ra&/ *pointed (nose)*; /$arā&iyy/, /$i-/ *long-necked (camel).*

ʃ/SRP: Ug /ʃrp/ *burn; burnt-offering*; Aram /$rp/ *burn*; /såråp/ *seraph, a class of angels*; Syr (pl.) /sråpe/ =; Akk /ʃarāp/ *burn*; Mhr /$rf/ *build a fire; L honour*; /mə$rəfūt/ *fire pile*; Eg /srf/ *be warm; warmth* (also *passion, lust*).

Evidently original in Eg, although lacking in Cpt and somewhat patchily attested in Sem. Ebl /sà-ra-pá-tum/ *holocaust.*

ʃRC: Aram /ʃirc/ *reptile*; Syr /ʃerc/ =; /ʃrc/ *crawl*; ?Akk /ʃarāc/ *grasp, hold on (to, with claws) (?).*

Eth /$rc/ *sprout, germinate* seems too remote semantically.

ʃRQ: Aram /ʃrq/ *whistle, hiss*; Syr /ʃrq/ *whistle; A =, whisper, call softly, play (a zither).*

Of onomatopoeic origin. Eg /srq/ *(let) breathe*, Tu /əsrəγ/ *breathe (through the nostrils)* seem somewhat remote; the latter has also a synonym /ənsəg/.

ʃRQ II: Aram /siqr/ *red colour, rouge*; Syr /sqr/ *redden, make red*; Arab /$qr/ *have a ruddy, fair complexion; (horse) be sorrel*; /'a$qar/ *red-haired; roan, sorrel*; /$rq/ *(sun) rise; (palm-tree) show ripening dates; (eye) be bloodshot*; /$arq/ *sunrise; east*; ESA /ʃrq/ *rise of sun, star*; /mʃrq/ *east*; Mhr /$arq/ *sunrise, east*; Soq /ʃerqehin/ *summit*; G&z /$rq/ *(sun, stars) rise; (new moon) appear; begin; shine, give light*; Te

/srq/ *(new moon) reappear*; /särq/ *new (crescent) moon*; /msraq/ *east*; /ʃärq/ *sunrise, east.*

Transposition (with semantic delimitation) in Aram Syr (Arab).

ʃRʃ: Phoen /ʃrʃ/ *root, stock*; Ug /ʃrʃ/ *root, sprout, scion*; Aram /ʃurʃ/, /ʃirʃ/ *root*; Syr /ʃerʃ =, *foundation, principle*; Akk /ʃurʃ/, (OAkk) /ur/ *root, foundation, parentage*; Arab /$irs/, /$il$/ *root* (syr.); /sirr/ *origin*; ESA /ʃrs/ *beginning; foundation; H eradicate*; Soq (pl.) /$erax/ *root*; /$erx/ *uproot*; G&z /$rr/ *lay foundation*; /$rw/ *root, beginning, origin, foundation, parentage; autograph*; ?Te /sr/ *vein; the best, noblest*; /'äsrar/ *tuft of threads*; Har /sər/, /sir/ *root, bottom*; Ch /äsər/, Sdd Wol /sər/ =; Bil /zir/ (pl. /zilil/) *root*. Chad */λr(w/m/k)/ *root(, medicine, vein).*

In Cush also: Quara /ser/ *root* (Reinisch) and cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 558. The Chad reconstruction (essentially =Jungraithmayr & Shimizu) is based on the large majority of Chad attestations. The root is basically biradical (probably = /ʃr(r)/ above), in the East and Northwest Sem with apocopated reduplication, elsewhere with various final augments or gemination of /r/; the sibilant often lateralized, in Arab once and Bil pl. even the approximant.

ʃRT: Phoen /ʃrt/ *serve*; /mʃrt/ *service*; Aram /ʃeʸruʷt/ =.

Ug /ʃrd/ agrees phonologically better with /yrd/. ?Ebl /mu-ʃa-ra-du/, /mu-sa-/ *servant(?).*

ʃʃ: Arab (syr.) /$ā$/ *muslin*; Eg /ʃs/ *linen*; /sʃ ny-swt/ *royal linen*; Cpt /ʃns/ *fine, royal linen.*

LW from Eg (the Eg forms quoted from Vycichl s.v.).

ʃʃ II: Ug /θdθ/ *6th; do the 6th time*; Aram /ʃtiʸtå'/ *6th*; /ʃittuʷt/ *6th part*; Syr /ʃutt/(!) =; /ʃtītåy/ *6th*; Akk /ʃeʃʃ/, /ʃiʃʃ/, (f.) (OAss) /ʃediʃt/, (OBab) /ʃeduʃt/ =; *6th part*; Arab /sādis/, /sātt/ *6th*; /suds/ *6th part*; ESA /sdθ/ *6th*; Mhr /sōdəs/, (f.) /ʃədθēt/ =; G&z /sads/ =, *6th part*; Te /sadsay/ *6th*; /sädasat/ *canine teeth*; Har /siddistāñ/ *6th*; Ch /sədəstänä/, Sdd /səddəstäñña/, Wol /-ññe/ =.

The root is based on the cardinal numeral for 6 for which see Section C.

ʃTV: Ug /ʃty/ *drink*; Aram /ʃtV/ =; Syr /(')ʃtV/ =; *be watered, irrigated; suffer (punishment etc.)*; Akk /ʃatū/, /ʃatā'/ *drink*; ESA /msty/ *libation*; G&z /sty/ *drink*; Te /stV/ =; *A water (plants etc.)*; Har /säča/ *drink, absorb fluid*; Wol /säče/ *drink*; ?Chad: */s_2w('/h)/ =.

Assuming that the Chad root has, through 'root-thinning', lost the equivalent of the Sem 2nd rad., it might be connectable. However, to my knowledge there is no parallel to such a universal loss in the entire Chad stock, and as the root is not otherwise attested outside Sem and also the cognate /ʃqV/ (see above) in Tu only, connection appears unlikely. Ebl /ʃi-ti/ *beverage.*

ʃTV II: Aram /ʃtV/ *weave*; /ʃity/ *warp; longitude*; Syr /ʃety/ *warp*; Akk /ʃatū/ *tie up (threads etc.)*; Arab /sata^{yn}/, /'ustiyy/ *warp*; Eg /sty/ *tie, bind (collar), weave (net)* (Rössler).

ʃTL: ?Phoen σιθιλ ?; Aram /ʃtl/ *plant*; Syr = ; *found; build; set (a trap)*; Akk /satāl/ *plant*; /ʃitl/ *sprout*; Arab /$atalat/ *(cotton, indigo) plant*; (syr.) /$atlat/ *nursery plant*; (eg.) /$tl/ *transplant*; ?Soq /ʃilil/ *plant.*

NB. the Akk Arab varr. Leslau thinks that in Soq, the /t/ was conceived as a characteristic of the reflexive stem and therefore omitted.

ʃTM: Aram /ʃtm/ *open.*

The Aram entry probably borrowed from Hbr.

ʃT&: Phoen /ʃt&/ *be afraid*; Ug /θt&/ = ; ESA /tθ&t/ *fear.*

Probably a secondary root, with infixed /t/-augment, the original root still preserved in the ESA entry.

ʃTP: Aram /ʃuttåp/ *partner*; /ʃtp/ + *D join/form a partnership*; Syr /ʃawtåp/ *comrade; husband*; Akk /ʃutāp/, /-app/ *partner, mate*; G&z /sutaf(e)/ *partner, comrade, consort; association, communion.*

LW from Akk (and ultimately Sum).

ʃTQ: Aram /ʃtq/ *be silent*; Syr = ; Akk (late Bab) /ʃatāq/ = .

Cf. the root /ʃq7/ above. The Akk entry is loan from WSem.

ʃTR: Aram /str/ *demolish, destroy*; Syr = ; *slander*: Arab /$tr/ *cut, slit*; ESA /ʃtr/ *demolish, destroy*; Soq /$e7ar/ *split.*

NB. the Soq glottalized stop.

ת

T': ?Ug /t'u/ *guardsroom?*; Aram /taww/, /tawwån/ *chamber, inner room*; Syr /ta(')wwån/ = ; Akk /tā'/ = .

LW from Akk.

T'B: Aram /t'b/ *desire.*

Cf. the root /'bV/ above.

T'/WV: Aram /taww/ *mark*; Syr /tawwåy/ *the letter* ת; ?Arab /tiwā'/*?.*

T'M: Aram /tyo^{w}m(t)/ *twin*; Syr /tå(')m/ = ; *duplicate*; Akk /tū('/w)am/, /tu'īm/, (NAss) /tu'ū/ = ; Arab /taw'am(at)/ = ; /t'm/ *be twin-born, A bear twins.*

T'N: Phoen (Pu; coll.) /tyn/ *fig*; Aram /t(')e^{y}nt/ = ; Syr /te(')tt/ = ; *kind of ulcer*; Akk /titt/, /ti'(it)t/ (pl. /tīnāt/); (late Bab) /tī'/, (lx) /tē'/ *fig(-*

tree); Arab /tīn(at)/ =; Berb: Rif /θiini/, /θinī/ (coll.) *date*; Sus /tiyni/ = ; Shilxa /tiini/ = ; Tu /tăyne/ =.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin. Ebl /ti-ni-tum/, /-tù/ *fig*.

T'R: ?Phoen /t'r/ *be famous(?); fame (?); form, type(?).*

The Hbr entry may have been derived from the noun */tu'r/; the Phoen ones could have a different (and more than one?) derivation. Could also be connected with the root /twr/ below.

T'ʃR: Ug /t'iʃr/ *kind of (tall?) tree*; ?Aram /'ʃr/ *be strong*.

Cf. the root /'ʃr/ II above.

TB: Aram /te^{y}bu^{w}t/, /te^{w}bt/(!) *ark*; Arab /täbūt/ *coffin; ark of covenant*; G&z /tabot/ *ark (of Noah, of covenant); altar, chest, sacristy*; Te /tabot/ *altar chest, tablet*; Eg /ğb't/, (pl. /ğbyw/) *shrine, coffin*; (Dem.) /tbyt/ =, *chest*; Cpt /taibe/, /tē(ē)be/ =, *pouch*.

LW from Eg.

TB II: Aram /te^{y}b(u^w)t/ *chest, box*; Arab G&z Te (cf. the preceding root); Eg /čb/ *(bird-)cage, -chest*; Cpt /θēbi/ *chest*.

LW from Eg; cf. the preceding root, but it seems to me unlikely that the present word would have been adopted to designate the ark of Noah.

TBL: Aram /tabl/ *spice*; ?Akk /tābīl/ *powder(, spice?)*; Arab /tābal/, /ta'-/ *pickle, spice*.

Cf. the root /bl(l)/ above? or a *Kulturwort*?

TBL II: Syr /te(')bel/ *the inhabited world*; Akk /tābal/ *dry land*.

Probably LW from Akk.

TBN: Aram /tibn/ *straw, chaff*; Syr /tebn/ = ; Akk /tibn/ = ; Arab /tibn/ *straw*.

A *Kulturwort*?

TB&: Aram /tb&/ *seek, request, demand, claim; exhort*; Syr = ; *follow, obey; punish, avenge*; Arab /tb&/ *follow, imitate, obey; D pursue; L carry out*; ESA /tb&/ *obey; persist, complete, amount (to)*; G&z /tb&/ *be consistent, firm, courageous*; Te /tb&/ *obey; be courageous; A have male offspring*; /täb&ät/ *male, manly*; Ch /täpa/ *be solid, tough, vigorous, strong*.

I do not see sufficient reason to separate the Eth attestations from the rest, as consistency and firmness are present in the Asiatic entries too; and in Akk /tebū/, preparedness for war is a rarely attested connotation and reference to persistence or strength hardly occurs at all.

THV: Aram /thV/ *be astonished, petrified*; /tiwh/ *horror, anxiety*; Syr /twh/ *be astonished, startled, horrified*; /tawht/ *horror, confusion*; Arab /tyh/ *be proud, haughty, perplexed; go astray*; /thw/ *be neglectful*; ?Om: Caf /tah/ *perish; (fire) go/burn out*; ?Tu /tihay/ *darkness, obscurity*.

The meaning of the Hbr entry being rather vague, most comparisons must be considered tentative, particularly those farther afield. Eg /t'/ *land, earth, world* seems semantically distinct anyway.

TWK: Phoen /mtkt/ *midst*; Ug /tk/ =.

TWR: Phoen (nact) *(ly)ther: enquire*; Aram /tayyår/ *spy*; Amor /twr/ *return*; Akk /tār/, (OAkk, Ass) /tuār/ *turn (around, back), return*; Arab /twr/ *(water) flow; A repeat (an action)*; Te /twr/ *find out, espy*; /tawray/, /toray/ *spy*; Ch /atawärä/, Sdd /-ww-/ = (vb.); Wol /tawärä/ *wander around*; Berb: Sus /Λuwer/ *turn (around); surround.*

Cf. also the root /t'r/ above. Cohen's (no. 323) Eg Cush entries seem to derive from different roots.

TWT: Aram /tu^{w}t/ *mulberry*; Syr /tūt/ = ; Arab =.

A wandering word of unknown origin.

TXB: -

Cf. the root /xb('/V)/ above?

TXL: -

Secondary root, based on /yxl/ above.

TXL II: Aram /txl/ *A begin.*

Secondary root, based on /xl(l)/ above.

TXM: Ug /txm/ *message, decree*; Aram /txm/ *D delimit*; /txu^{w}m/ *(prescribed) limit, area*; Syr /txūm/ = ; *definition, law*; /txm/ *D set limits, boundaries; confirm, command, prohibit, remove*; Akk /taχūm/, /taχχ-/, (lx) /tuχ-/ *boundary, adjoining area*; Arab /taχm/, /tuχm/ *boundary, landmark*; /tχm/ *set boundaries.*

The noun may be loan from Akk, although even there, it does not seem to be original.

TXN: -

Secondary root, based on /xn(n)/ above.

TXʃ: Arab /tuχas/ *dolphin*; /daχs/, /duχas/ = ; ?Eg /θxs/ *extend skin/leather.*

The noun appears to be a wandering word, although not widely attested; the Eg entry seems rather far-fetched, though not impossible.

TXT: Aram /taxtå'/ *lower*; Syr /taxtåy/ = ; *sole (of foot)*; (pl.) *the nether world*; Arab /taxtāniyy/ *inferior*; ESA /txty/ *lower/-est*; G&z /txt/ *be/grow low, humble, humiliated*; Te /txt/ *grow low*; Har /taxay/ *lower*; Ch /tät/, Sdd /tatä/, Wol /tat/ *(downhill=) west.*

The root is attached to the PTpr */taxt/ for which see Section E. Cf. also the root /nxt/ above.

TY': Aram = Hbr.

Wandering word (?) of unknown origin.

TYʃ: Aram /te^{y}ʃ/ *he-goat*; Syr /tayʃ/ =; Akk /daʃʃ/, /t-/ *buck; hook*; Arab /tays/ *he-goat; roebuck; fool*; Mhr /tayh/ *he-goat*; Soq /teʃ/ =; Te /tes/ *big & fat ram; male guinea-fowl.*

Another wandering word; NB. the Akk Mhr varr.

TK(K): Aram /twk/ *press, hurt*; Syr /tk/ *oppress, harm*; Akk /takāk/ *press, oppress*; Arab /tk/ + *R tread (upon), crush*; ?Eg /tkk/ *attack* (Calice no. 352).

TKL: Aram /tki^{y}lt/, /taklå'/ *purple(-coloured stuff)*; Syr /teklt/ =; *fringe, tassel*; Akk /takilt/ *purple wool.*

LW from Akk.

TKM: -

TKN: ?Ug /tkn/ ʃ *ps be reinstated?*; Aram /tkn/ *D, A prepare, fix.*

Secondary root, based on /kwn/ above? or cf. /tqn/ below?

TL: Te /tal/ *trap, snare*; /tll/ *AL deceive*; Har /attäläla/ =; Sdd /attallälä/, Wol /-lälä/ =.

Cf. /htl/ above. May be ultimately denominative, although the noun is preserved in Te only.

TL(L): Phoen (NPu) /tyl/ *(hill of) ruins*; ?Ug (pl.) /tlm/ *hills, mountain range(?)*; Aram /till/, /te^{y}l/ *mound, heap of ruins*; Syr /tell/ =; Akk /tīl/, /till/, /tēl/ =; Arab /tall/ =; ?Eg (late) /tnr/ *place where herbs grow (=hillock?)*; Cpt /tal/, /tol/, /talatēl/ *heap, hillock.*

The noun seems to have become a wandering word. The Ug context is somewhat ambivalent, but in the cosmological speculation around the Mediterranean basin the earth was usually conceived as being surrounded by mountains.

TLV: Aram /tlV/ *raise, lift, hang up; lean (on), support o.s.*; Syr =; *refer; suspend; redeem*; Akk /tullū/ *hang (upon s.o.)*; ?Chad: Tsagu Miya /tlay-/, Kariya /tley/, Pa'a /atla/, Mburke /tli/, Jimbin /tlal-/ Dangla /ityile/, /dyaale/ *lift.*

The phonetic history of the Chad entries is not clear. Arab /tl/ has direction down- rather than upwards, and Arab-ESA-Eth /tlw/ following behind. Cf. the preceding root.

TLM: ?Ug /tlm/ *furrow? ridge?*; Aram /talm/ *furrow*; Arab (syr.) /talam/ =; G&z /tlm/ =; Te /tlm/ *D, L start ploughing, make the 1st furrow*; Bil /täläm/ =; /telmā/, /tälämā/ *1st furrow*; Eg (late) /tnm/ *furrow*; Cpt /tlom/, /tnom/ (pl. /tloom/) =.

In Cush also: Saho /talam/ *make first furrows*; however, like the Bil entry, this may have been borrowed from Te; and the Eg-Cpt entry also appears to be of Sem origin (cf. Vycichl s.v.); the noun may be regarded as a kind of *Kulturwort*; apparently of Can origin which might give some support to the Ug entry interpreted as belonging to this root; but the context seems to require something elevated, and even if the word be interpreted (with Tyloch) as the ridge between the furrows, this does not agree properly with the concept of a band encircling the earth, apart from differences of scale.

TL&: Aram /to^{w}la&t/ *worm, maggot; worm-eaten*; Syr /tawl&/, /-la&t/ *worm*; Akk /tūlt/ =; Mhr /təwālōt/ =; Soq /ta&aleh/ =; Har /tulu'/ =; Ch /čərä/, Sdd /təlä/, Wol /tuli/ =; ?Chad: Logone /teldī/ =, *insect* (Müller after Lukas).

The Chad entry deviates somewhat both phonologically, structurally and semantically, apart from being geographically isolated. Transposition in Soq, cf. Akk Mhr.

?TLP: Syr /tlypwty/ = Hbr; ?/tallīpe/ (pl.) *eyelids*.

As guardians of the eyes, the second Syr entry is possibly relevant, and it also agrees with the general background of Cnt 4:4, although not the immediate context. The root is an alternative to /lp'/V/ above.

TLʃ: Aram /tlʃ/ + *D tear off, detach*; Syr /tlʃ/ *tear out*.

TM(M): Phoen /tm/, (af) *tam*, (pref) *ythmum: achieve, complete, decide, end; perfection, all; true, upright, complete*; /mtm/ *pure, solid (gold)*; Ug /tm/ *perfect, complete*; Aram /tmi^{y}m/ *honest*; Syr /tammīm/ =, *sincere, perfect; simple, inexperienced*; Arab /tm/ *be complete(d), finished, (time) elapsed*; ?ESA /tymm/ *perpetuity(?)*; Mhr /tmm/ *be finished: H finish, complete; ʃ be grown up*; Soq /tem(m)/ *be complete(d)*; /timoh/ *whole*; Te /tm/ *be complete; fill s.o.'s place*; Bed /temīm/ *(be) complete*; /timmia/ *(make) complete*; Bil /tämäm/ =; *be complete(d)*; Som /Λan/, /-m-/ *(be) whole, complete*; ?Hsa /găma/ *join, finish, complete*; Eg /tm/ = *cease*; /tmw/ *all people*; ?/km/ *supplement, complete; be completed; duration (of time)*.

As there is some interchange between /t/ and /k/ in the phylum, the last Eg entry could be relevant, assuming that the root is old enough (cf. on /ʃmn/ II above and Hsa); in that case, the Bed Bil attestations too could be original, perhaps preserved with the help of Te (Tigrinya) Arab rather than borrowed therefrom; in any case, the Te Tigrinya Bed Bil Saho cluster seems too well established to be entirely borrowed from Arab, although the latter may have exerted phonetic influence, cf. Som. Ebl /tam-mim/ *perfect*.

TMD: Aram /tmi^{y}d/ *the continuous daily sacrifice (in the temple)*.

The Aram entry is loan from Hbr which is based on the PTa */tamīd/ for which see Section E.

TMH: Aram /tmh/ *wonder, be astonished*; Syr =; Amor = (?); ?Akk (OBab) /tamū/ = ?

The Akk entry, if correctly interpreted, may be loan from WSem. In Arab /bht/ (Guillaume), the primary meaning seems to be *slander*.

TMK: Phoen /tmk/ *hold fast, support*; Aram /tmk/ *D hold fast*; Akk /tamāχ/, (lx) /-k/ *(take) hold; comprise*.

NB. the Akk fricative. Cf. /smk/ above?

TMR: Aram /tamr/ *date-palm*; Syr /tmart/ = ; Arab /tamr(at)/ *date*; ?/θmr/ *bear fruit*; /θmar/ *fruit*; ESA /tmr/ *date*; ?/θmr/ *(cause to) bear fruit; fruit*; Mhr /tōmər/ *date*; Soq /timreh/ *date-palm*; /tamer/ *dates, fruit*; G&z /tämr/ *date*; /tämärt/ *date-palm*; Te /tämär/ *date*; Har /timir/ *date-palm*; Gur /tämər/, Sdd Wol /təmər/ = ; Bed /tamir/ *date*; ?Chad: Sokoro /tama/ *date-palm*.

In Cush also: Afar /tamir/, Saho =, /tamre/ *date*. The noun is wandering word, apparently of WSem origin; NB. the Arab ESA varr.

TN: Ug /'itnn/ *bride-price*.

Root var. of /ntn/ above.

TN(N): Ug /tnn/, /tu-un-na-nu/ *'dragon', mythical marine monster*; Aram /tanni^{y}n/ = ; Syr = ; Arab /tinnīn/ = ; *water-spout*; G&z /tämmän/ *'dragon', monstrous serpent*.

A wandering word; NB. the G&z labial.

TNV: Aram /tnV/ *A agree (on conditions)*.

Loan from Aram; cf. the root /ʃnV/ above.

T&(&): ?Ug /t&/ *N? hit, push o.a. (?)*; Arab /t&/ *R coerce, illtreat*; /ntγ/ *slander; A mock* (Guillaume after Tritton).

T&B: Phoen /t&bt/ *abomination*; Aram /t&b/ *A behave abominably*; Arab /t&b/ *be tired, exhausted; (+A) tire, weary*; /tγb/ *be filthy* (Guillaume); Mhr /t&b/ *be tired, weary; take/give trouble*; Som /ta&ab/ *(have) trouble, work, pains*.

The Som entry may be a LW (Appleyard), presumably from Arab.

T&V: Aram /t&V/ *err, stray*.

Root var. of /7&V/ above.

T&L: -

A secondary root, based on /&lV/ above (cf. Jr 30:13 46:11).

TP: -

Root var. of /ʃpt/ above.

TP(P): Phoen /mtpp/ *drummer*; ?Ug /tp/(?) *tambourine*; Aram /tupp/ = ; Arab /daff/, /duff/ = ; Mhr /deff/ = ; Soq /debābeh/ = ; Te /dyf/ *D beat (the drum)*; Har /däf/ *tambourine*; Wol /dibbe/ *kind of drum*.

In Cush too, cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 194. The noun is a wandering word of onomatopoeic (possibly more than one) origin, the verb (where found) probably denominative.

TPV: -

Cognate with /tp/ above.

TPL: -

Root var. of /7pl/above.

TPL II: Aram /tpl/ *tD talk nonsense*; Arab /tfl/ *smell foul; spit.*

TPR: Aram /tpr/ *sew, stitch together*; ?Arab /tfr/ *A (tree) put forth shoots*; ?Eg (Dem.) /trp/ *bind, sew*; ?Cpt /tårp/ *sew, stitch.*

The Eg-Cpt entry may be loan from Sem; the Arab one could be relevant, if Gn 3:7 reflects more widespread practice in early times, as making a dress was then closely comparable to trees' growing leaves.

TPʃ/S: Aram /tps/ *grasp, seize*; Akk /tapāʃ/ *take (hold of) (?)*; ?Arab /b7$/ *snatch; L seize.*

NB. the Arab varr.

TQN: Aram /tqn/ *D prepare, fix, put in order*; Syr /tqn/ = ; *settle, establish, erect, restore*; Akk /taqān/ *be settled, in order*; Arab /tqn/ *A improve, fix, set in order.*

TQ&: Aram /tq&/ *blow a horn; strike*; Syr /tq&/ *blow a horn*; G&z /7q&/ =.

Partial assimilation in G&z. Eg (Dem.) /ğq&/ deviates semantically, cf. Cpt. Cohen's (no. 340) Cush Hsa entries are also phonetically equivocal.

TQP: Aram /tqp/ *be/grow strong, heavy, angry, sour*; Syr /tqp/ *be strong, vehement; overpower*; Arab /θqf/ *be intelligent, skilled; overcome, surpass; (vinegar) grow acid.*

Loan from Aram in Hbr.

TR: ?Syr /tar/ *swallow*; ?Berb: /aθbir/, /aδ-/ *pigeon*; ?Chad: Kwang (Ngam/Mobu) Sokoro Barein /dere/, Dangla /toreere/, /torre/ = ; Migama /torotoro/ *dove.*

Of onomatopoeic origin; therefore more than one independent creation possible and indeed probable.

?TR': ?Aram /trV/ *A warn.*

Assuming the final /-l/ to be a nominal afformative.

TRG: Aram /trugg/, /'ätro^{w}g/, /-rung/ *Citrus medica cedra*; Arab /'utrunğ/, /-uğ/ *large lemon.*

A *Kulturwort* of Persian origin.

TRGM: Aram /trgm/ *translate, interpret*; Syr = ; Akk /targumann/, /turgu-/, /targa-/ *interpreter*; Arab /turğumān/ = ; /trğm/ *interpret, translate*; G&z /trg^{w}m/ = ; Te /trgm/ + *AS*, /trğm/ =.

A *Kulturwort*, as it seems, of Hittite origin (Rabin).

TRWD: Aram = Hbr; Syr /tarwåd/ =.

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

TR7': Aram = Hbr; Syr /te'a7rōn/ =.

LW from Gr (with transposition).

TRM: -

A secondary root, based on /rwm/ above.

TRML: Aram /tarmi^{y}l/ *leather bag, rucksack*; Syr /tarmål/ *bag, purse.*

A *Kulturwort* of unknown origin.

TRMS: Aram = Hbr; Syr /twrms/ =.

LW from Gr.

TRN: Phoen (pl.) /'trnm/ *shaft, pole*; Aram /turn/ *mast*; ?Akk /(w)arū/, (OAkk, OAss) /warā'/, /(M/NAss) /urā'/ *lead, guide.*

TRNGL: Aram /turngo^{w}l/, (f.) /-lt/, /ta-/ *cock/hen*; Syr /tarnagl/, /-ūgl/ *cock*; /tarnagult/ *hen*; Akk /tarlugall/ *cock.*

LW from Akk (and ultimately Sum).

TRP: ?Aram /trp/ *A act shamefully*; ?Arab /taraf/ *well-being*; /turfat/ *wealth, welfare.*

Assuming that the Hbr entry originally designated gods of fertility, later pejoratively reinterpreted; the Aram entry would derive from the later stage. However, the Arab root appears to be a secondary formation from /wrf/ (cf. Hurwitz p. 26, after Fleischer).

TRQB: Aram = Hbr.

Partly Gr compound.

?TRʃ: Syr /tarʃīʃ/ *a white gem.*

Alternative root for /rʃ(ʃ)/ above.

TRʃT: Aram = Hbr.

A title of Persian origin.

Tʃ&: Aram /tʃi^{y}&å'/, (f.) /-&e^{y}t/ *9th*; Syr /tʃī&åy/ =; Akk /tiʃū/, /teʃū/, (MAss) /tiʃ(ā)ī/ =; (+/tiʃāt/) *9th part*; Arab /tasī&/ =; /ts&/ *make nine, be 9th, take 9th part*; ESA /ts&/ *9th*; G&z /tas&/, /-&awi/, /-&ay/ =; Te /tas&(ay)/ =; /täs&it/ *ennead*; /ts&/ *D make nine(-fold).*

The jump from this root (based on the cardinal numeral for 9, cf. Section C), to South Eth /z(x)7ñ/ seems too big, particularly as Amh still has the form /təča/ for 9 in restricted use (see Leslau, Gur III p. 717), and Littmann has /tasāt/ for *the 9th hour* in old Amh.

SECTIONS C, D AND E

NUMERALS UNDER 100 • PRONOUNS • PARTICLES

INTRODUCTION TO SECTIONS C, D AND E

These sections comprise those vocabulary items which, apart from proper names, were not included in Section B because of their defective or otherwise unusual or completely non-existent inflection. They are divided into three sections according to their respective characteristics. Cardinal numerals under 100 have inflectional endings formally like those of adjective nouns, although in pl. of one type only, and used syntactically and in part semantically in a different fashion; because of the formal resemblance they are placed next to the root system as Section C. As pronouns also show some inflection, albeit mainly by replacement morphs, and also play a part in the verbal conjugation, they follow next as Section D. Particles, essentially uninflected, thus remain last as Section E. Because of the limited number of items in each section, particularly C and D, the comparative material is not separated from the Hebrew one; moreover, apart from the pronouns, the former is generally rather limited in extent, non-Sem cognates being rarely attested; and particularly in the case of particles, many items are related to the roots of Section B which makes it possible to reduce discussion with reference to the related root. The well-defined meaning, not only of numerals and pronouns, but also of numerous particles, also makes it possible to dispense with express indication of the meaning of cognates in other languages, where this is essentially the same as in Hebrew, and thus also save space.

The method of transliteration and — where applicable — transcription is the same as in previous volumes. The sources are also essentially the same, except that particularly for pronouns, some additional works were quoted when it appeared desirable to list more variants from some of the languages compared, most of them appearing to be substantial, although some may be orthographical only. Those not mentioned in the bibliography to Section B are generally well-known grammatical works, including the following:

DALMAN, G., Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch, 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1905 (for Aram).;

BROCKELMANN, C., Syrische Grammatik, 6. Aufl. Leipzig 1951 (for Syr);

SODEN, W. von, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik, Roma 1952 (for Akk);

WRIGHT, W. et al., A grammar of the Arabic language, 3rd ed. Cambridge 1951 (for Arab);

HÖFNER, M., Altsüdarabische Grammatik, Leipzig 1943 (for ESA);

LESLAU, W., The verb in Harari, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1958 (for Har);

HUDSON, R.A., A structural sketch of Beja (African language studies XV, London 1974, p. 111ff) (for Bed);

SAEED, J.I., Central Somali — a grammatical outline, Malibu 1982 (for Som);
LEFEBVRE, G., Grammaire de l'égyptien classique, 2e éd., Le Caire 1955 (for Eg);
STEINDORFF, G., Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik, (reprint) Amsterdam 1981 (for Cpt).

Issues relevant to a single section only will be discussed in the introductory remarks to that section.

SECTION C

NUMERALS UNDER 100

Introductory remarks

As observed in the introduction above, the words for cardinal numerals under 100 form a peculiar category in the Semitic languages in so far as they show some inflection formally largely parallel to general nominal declension, but functionally mostly deviating from the latter. As no other category of words shows similar behaviour, they are best treated separately in their own section.

Otherwise than in previous sections, the natural order in the treatment of numerals is not the alphabetical one, but that of counting; and as in Sem, the words for tens are formally inflectional forms of those for single digits, they are treated here in connection with these. The material is thus treated in the framework of ten entries, advancing in the order of single digits from 1 to 10. Compound numerals are considered an issue for morphosyntactics and will be treated in Part Three; where the construction affects the form of the constituents, such variant forms are recorded here with appropriate specification of the relevant sub-category.

As numerals are essentially abstract in nature and used mostly in connection with cultural products and processes, it is not surprising that they appear to be of relatively late origin, hardly antedating the period of the beginnings of systematic cultural activity; and that they are also of the nature of *Kulturwörter*, wandering from language to language mostly in connection with commercial activities and other processes or phenomena of material culture. Therefore the Hbr numerals mostly do not have plausible Hbr etymologies and few, if any, seem to have cognates outside the Sem stock of languages used as numerals. As the material is also otherwise rather limited, it would serve no useful purpose to separate the Hbr material from that drawn from the cognate languages; keeping all the material together is also more convenient for etymological discussions.

The sources for Hbr and comparative materials are the same as in the previous sections, apart from the limitations just stated. The Hbr material is given first, then that from cognate languages as far as attested, then discussion of the relevance of some items mentioned and that of possible etymology. Where more than one etymologically evidently distinct element is used for the same digit, they are treated separately, but within the framework of the same entry, in the order of frequency of Hbr usage.

Number and gender are specified on formal characteristics, not on usage; what is sometimes called dual is included in the concept of plural (as a *pluralis paucitatis*). Vocalism of the attested forms varies so widely that reconstruction of prototypes is not attempted.

List of entries and discussion

1: A: Hbr: aPal f. /'xt/. Q /'xd/, f. /'xt/. Sam /&â̂d/, /&âd/, (c. PTdt) /(ā)&â̂d/; pl. /&âdem/; f. /&ât/, (c. PTdt) /(ā)&â̂t/. Pal /'exad/ *MW* Dn 12:5, /-a$_2$d/ iv 20 etc.; pl. /'axadi^{y}m/ *MW* Dn 11:20; f. /'axat/ *GS 2* 51 etc., /-a$_2$t/ iv 19 etc., /(k)a'xa$_2$t/ (!) ib. Bab /'äxad/ *Ant* 793 Gn 1:9 etc., /'axad/ *Ant* 483 *M*Eduy 7:5, /xad/ *Ant* 325 Ez 33:30; /'äxad̲/ TK *102* 7; f. /'äxät/ ib. *6* 11 etc., /'äxat/ ib. *18* 5 etc., (c. PTdt) /(ha)'äxat/ *Ant* 444 Ex 37:3. G f. ααθ Ps 89:36 Hex. Lat *aad* Gn 48:22 Hi.

Phoen /'xd/, (NPu) /xd/, /'d/, /d/; f. /'xt/. Ug /'axd/, du/pl. /'axdm/; f. /'axt/. Aram /xad/; f. /x(a)då'/, (inscr., imp.) /xdh/. Syr /xad/, /xdå'/. Arab /wāxid/, /'axad/, f. /'ixda^y/, /wāxidat/. ESA /'xd/, f. /'xt/. G&z /'äxädu/; f. /'äxätti/. Te f. /xätte/. Har /axad/. Ch /at/, Sdd /att/, Wol /add/, /and/.

The second Wol entry is my recording; it could be due to the influence of Amharic. The word is no doubt related to the root /'xd/ in Section B which is cognate with /yxd/ and with it, common Sem. It does not seem to occur in the other branches of the phylum except perhaps for Bed /haddo/ *(being) alone*; if indeed relevant, it may be of Sem origin. Gaps in the Sem attestations are due to alternative expressions of unity one of which is found in Hbr too.

B: Hbr: Q /&ʃty (&ʃr, -rh)/ *(11)*. Sam /&áʃtī/, /(b)êʃtī/ (+/&âʃar/, /&āʃâra/). Pal /&a$_2$ʃa$_2$te^y/ (&eʃre^h)/ v 7. Bab /&äʃte^y (&ʃrh)/ Eb 22 Ez 40:49. Lat *aste (esre)* ib. Hi.

Ug /&ʃty/ (S.M. Cecchini, Or 50 p. 106ff); /&ʃt (&ʃr, -rh)/. Aram (imp.) /&ʃt'/. Akk /iʃtēn/; f. /iʃtiat/, /-teat/ (etc.). ESA /&st/.

Often considered loan from Akk in Hbr at least; but the initial /&/ which agrees with the other WSem attestations would require a pre-Hbr borrowing date; accordingly, it may be a once more widespread wandering word surviving mainly in Akk. There does not seem to be any nominal or verbal root to provide plausible etymology. Cf. S.E. Loewenstamm in Proc. Int. Conf. on Sem. St. 1965 p. 177.

2: Hbr: aPal /(b)ʃnym/; f. /ʃtym/. Q /ʃnym/, /-yn/, cs. /-y/; f. /ʃtym/, /-yn/, cs. /-y/. Sam /ʃânim/, cs. /-i/, sf. /ʃēnînu/, /-īkímmä/, /-īyyímmä/; f. /ʃíttem/, cs. /-tti/. Pal /ʃne^{y}m (&$r)/ xiv 9; cs. /ʃne^y/ vii 30 etc., /(bi)ʃne$_2$^{y}/ *Kbr* 16 2; sf. /ʃa$_2$ne^{y}hem/ ixR 6, /ʃne$_2$^{y}mo^w/ *Rev* 1 25; f. /ʃtayim/ ib. 8R 25bis (etc.). Bab

/ʃ·näyim/ TK *1* 12 etc., /-yyim/ ib. *31* 16, /-yi̲m/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:19 etc.; /ʃ·neʸm (&a$ar)/ TK *408* 23 etc.; cs. /ʃneʸ/ Ea 12 Dt 10:3 etc., /ʃ·neʸ/ Ka 5 Lv 23:17 etc., /(wi̲)-/ ib.:19 (etc.), /(wi)ʃ·neʸ/ Ea 12 Dt 9:15 etc.; sf. /ʃneʸhäm/ Eb 5 Jd 19:8 (etc.), /ʃ·n-/ *A.M.* 2 26 etc.; f. /ʃ·täyi̲m/ Ka 5 Lv 23:17, /-yim/ *A.M.* 2 19 etc., /(wi)ʃtäyim/ ib. etc., /-ʃ·t-/ TK *29* 7; /ʃ·teʸm (&äʃreʰ)/ Yv 85 *M*Kil iv 1; cs. /ʃteʸ/ Ea 12 Dt 14:6 etc., /ʃ·teʸ/ ib. 9:15 etc., /ʃ·iteʸ/(!) TK *308* 20; sf. /ʃ·teʸhän/ ib. *91* 17 etc., /-häm/ (!f.sf.) ib. *101* 20. Lat cs. *sene* Ez 15:4 Hi.

Phoen /ʃnm/, (Kition) /'ʃnm/; *(i)snim*; cs. /'ʃn/, (Pu) /ʃn/. Ug /θn/, f. /θt/. Aram /treʸn/, /treʸ (&(a)sar)/, sf. /tarweʸhoʷn/ (etc.); f. /tarteʸn/, /tarteʸ (&asreʸ)/, sf. /tarteʸheʸn/ (etc.). Syr /trēn/; f. /tartēn/. Akk /ʃena/, /ʃina/; f. /ʃitta/. Arab /'iθnāni/; f. /'iθnatāni/, /θintāni/. ESA /θny/; f. /θnty/, /θty/. Mhr /θərō/, /ϑroh/; f. /əθrayt/, /θrɛlt/. Soq /tro/, /tiro/; f. /tri/, /tire/. Berb: Sus /sin/; f. /snā̄t/; Fass /sen/; f. /sent/; Shilxa /sin/; Zenaga /$in/; f. /$ināt/; Tu /əssin/; f. /sənāt/. Chad: */sr(y/n/Λ)/. Eg /sn(w)/; f. /snty/; Cpt /snaw/; f. /snte/.

The word appears common to Sem Berb Chad Eg; however, the fact that the root /ʃn(n/V)/ *repeat* — with which it is evidently related — does not seem to occur outside Sem suggests that it has been secondarily introduced into the other branches of the phylum, although this would have had to take place at a very early time for Eg at least, presumably also for Chad where it is the most common expression for 2 and the first cons. has /č/ and /ʃ/ for variants, the second /ř/, /l/, /d/ and /Λ/; of the final augments, /y/ (or vowel) is the most common one. None of the historically attested Sem patterns agrees completely with a Chad one; however, the overall resemblance seems too difficult to attribute to pure chance coincidence. NB. the ESA (Chadr.) /$nyhn/ *2nd* too.

3: Hbr: aPal /ʃlʃ/, (late) /ʃlwʃ/; f. /(h)ʃlʃh/, cs. /ʃlwʃt/. Q = ; f. (also) /ʃlwʃh/, sf. /ʃlʃtm/; pl. /ʃlwʃym/, *(Z a)* /ʃlʃym/. Sam /ʃ̄êlaʃ/; f. /ʃ̄ēlâʃa/, cs. /-at/ (var. /ʃ̄ālâʃat/), sf. /ʃ̄ēlāʃatkímmä/, /-ātímmä/; pl. /ʃ̄ēlâʃem/. Pal /ʃaloʷʃ/ vii 9 etc.; cs. /ʃloʷʃ/ *MW 8* 22bis etc.; f. /ʃloʃaʰ/ *GS 3* 53; cs. /ʃloʷʃet/ xiv 11, /ʃel-/ ib. 15, /(b)ʃloʃet/ d i 21. Bab /ʃaloʃ/ Ea 12 Dt 14:28 etc., /-oʷʃ/ TK *61* 22 etc.; cs. /ʃ·loʃ/ Ka 2 Gn 18:6 etc.; f. /ʃloʃaʰ/ *Ant* 261 1S 30:12 etc., /ʃ·loʃaʰ·/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:10, /-oʷʃaʰ/ TK *82* 5bis etc.; cs. /ʃloʃät/ Eb 5 Jd 15:11 etc., /ʃ·l-/ *A.M.* 3 18 etc.; /(bi)ʃloʷʃät/ TK *233* 11 etc.; sf. /(ʃä)ʃloʃtan/ ib. *190* 2, /(li)ʃ·loʷʃtan/ ib. *203* 9, /ʃ·loʷʃ·tan/ ib. *201* 19f, /-ʃtan/ ib. *377* 8; pl. /ʃloʃiʸm/ Eb 5 Jd 14:12bis, /ʃ·l-/ *Ant* 483 *M*Eduy 7:5 etc., /ʃ·loʷʃiʸm/ TK *187* 7 etc., /ʃ̟·loʃ̟iʸm/ Ka 8 Ex 12:40f, /(wi̲)ʃloʃiʸm/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:15. Lat *salos* Jon 3:4 Hi.

Phoen /ʃlʃ/, (NPu) /ʃ&lʃ/, *salus*; f. /ʃlʃt/; pl. /ʃlʃm/. Ug /θlθ/; f. /θlθt/; pl. /θlθm/. Aram /tlåt/; f. /-tå'/; pl. /-tiʸn/. Syr =. Akk /ʃalaʃ/, (OAkk) /ala/; f. /ʃalāʃat/; pl. /ʃalāʃā/. Arab /θalāθ; f. /-θat/; pl. /-θūna/. ESA /ʃlθ/, (late Sab.) /θlθ/; f. /ʃlθt/, (Chadr.) /ʃl$t/; pl. /ʃlθy/, (late Sab.) /θlθy/. Mhr /$həlīθ/; f. /$āθáyt/. Soq /$ile/, /$ele/, /$a&te/; f. /Λád(e)heh/. G&z /$älas/, /$ls/; f.

/$älästu/; pl. /$älasa/. Te /säläs/; pl. /sälasa/. Har /ʃi’iʃti/, /ʃīʃti/; pl. /sāsa/. Ch Sdd /sost/, Wol /ʃeʃt/, /ʃest/; pl. Ch /sasa/, Sdd /salasa/, Wol /sasä/, /ʃestebakkal/.

The Wol varr. are my recordings; the second component of the pl. one is apparently related to /bäqqəl/ *100* which another (casual) informant indeed stated it to mean; my main Wol informant used /mato/ for *100*; this word is recorded by Leslau (Gur III p. 435) for Sdd only. As for the entry word, it does not seem to occur outside Sem and should accordingly have Sem etymology. The only plausible candidate I can think of is the post-biblical Hbr /ʃalʃälät/ *chain* from which the numeral could have been obtained through (dissimilatory) apocopation of the final consonant. It is true, of course, that this appears contrary to Aram Arab etc. which have /ʃ∼s/ in the Ns and /t∼θ/ in the Nn; but as our preliminary investigation of pre-Sem phonology in the introduction to Section Bb indicated that /θ/ is a relatively late phoneme, probably not even common Sem, and as numerals are wandering words, this discrepancy need not be an insurmountable obstacle; positive proof, however, is lacking.

4: Hbr: aPal /’rb&/; f. cs. /(l)’rb&t/. Q = ; /’rwh/ 3Q15 I 3; f. /’rb&h/, cs. /-&t/; pl. /-&ym/, (3Q15) /-&yn/. Sam /’ä́rbä/; f. /’ärbâ/, cs. /-ât/; pl. /-îm/. Pal /’arba&/ *Rev* 8 8, /’a$_2$-/ T-S H 16/9 9, /’a$_2$rba$_2$&/ x 14, /(l)’ar-/ *MW 8* 30; f. /(b)’arba$_2$&a$_2$^{h}/ ib. *6* 6, /’arb&a$_2$^{h}/ ib. *11* 2; cs. /(b)’ara$_2$b&a$_2$t/(!) xi 2; sf. /’a$_2$rb&a$_2$ta$_2$m/ *MW 13* 29; pl. /’arba&i^{y}m/ T-S H 16/9 8. Bab /’ärbä&/ TK *18* 4 etc., /(w·)’a̱r·bä&/ Ka 8 Ex 12:40; f. /’ärba&a^h/ TK *1* 15f etc., /’a̱r·b-/ Ka 13 Ex 27:16bis; cs. /(l)’ärbä&ät/ *Ant* 816 Ez 1:15 (etc.); sf. /(l·)’ärbä&ätam/(!) *Ant* 909 Ez 46:22 etc.; pl. /’ärba&i^{y}m/ Ea 12 Dt 9:18bis etc., /-r·b-/ TK *20* 3 (etc.). G pl. αρβαειμ 1S 4:18 (Sp). Lat *arbe* (*-ee* Vallarsi; Kl); pl. *arbaim* Jon 3:4 Hi.

Phoen /’rb&/; f. /-&t/, sf. (NPu) /(l)’rbtnm/; pl. /’rb&m/, (NPu) /&rbm/. Ug /’arb&/; f. /-&t/; pl. /’arb&m/. Aram /’arba&/; f. /’arb&å^h/, cs. /-&at/; pl. /-&i^{y}n/. Syr /’arba&/; f. /’arb&å’/; pl. /’arb&īn/. Akk /erba/, (OAss) /ar-/, (OAkk) /arba’(um); f. /erbet/, (OAss) /ar-/; pl. /erbā/. Arab /’arba&/; f. /-&at/; pl. /-&ūna/. ESA /’rb&/; f. /-&t/; pl. /-&y/. Mhr /árba/; f. /ərbōt/; ?pl. /ərbə&ayn/. Soq /’orbex/; f. /’erba&ax/. G&z /’ärba&/, /rb&/; f. /’ärba&tu/; pl. /’ärb&a/. Te /’ärba&/; pl. /’ärb&a/. Har /xarat/. Ch /arbät/, Sdd /arät(t)/, Wol /arat/; pl. Ch Sdd /arba/, Wol /arbä/, /aratbakkal/.

On Wol pl. var. cf. above (on 3). The Mhr pl. may be loan from Arab. The word is again confined to Sem. As for etymology, connection with the root /rbc/ = Aram /rb&/ is plausible, as this root is frequently and generally, it appears, primarily, used in connection with quadrupeds, although it is difficult to define the original meaning accurately; only that the numeral must then have originated in a language phonetically akin to Aram in this respect at least.

5: Hbr: aPal /xmʃ/. Q = ; f. /xmʃh/, cs. /-ʃt/; pl. /-ʃym/. Sam /&ắmmeʃ/; f. /ēmíʃʃā/, cs. /&ắmʃat/; pl. /ēmíʃʃem/. Pal /xameʃ/ b 20, /xa$_2$-/ *Rev* 8 20, /(la$_2$)xmeʃ/ *MW 13* 26; f. /(wa$_2$)xmiʃh/(!) e R 16. Bab /xameʃ/ Ka 13 Ex 38:1 etc., /-mäʃ/ TK *74* 18 etc., /-moʃ/(!) Eb 22 Ez 41:2.9; f. /xmiʃa^h/ TK *126* 21 etc., /x·m-/ ib. *71* 9 etc., /(wä)xm-/ ib. *124* 11 etc., /(hä)xä̱miʃ̟a^h/ Ka 6 Ex 16:1; cs. /xmeʃt/(!) Eb 5 Jd 18:7, /x·me^{y}ʃät/ TK *315* 15 etc., /xä̱meʃä̱ṯ/ Ka 17 Nm 3:47bis; sf. /x·myʃ̟tan/ (! + Tib /x(a)me^{y}ʃtan/) TK *48* 11, /x·mu^{w}ʃ·tan/(!) ib. 13; pl. /x·miʃi^{y}m/ Eb 22 Ez 40:29 etc., /xä̱miʃ̟i^{y}m/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:15 etc.

Phoen /xmʃ/, (NPu) /&mʃ/; f. /xmʃt/; pl. /xmʃm/, (NPu) /&mʃm/. Ug /χmʃ/; f. /-ʃt/; pl. /-ʃm/. Aram /x(a)me^{y}ʃ/; f. /xamʃå^h/, cs. /x(a)me^{y}ʃt/; pl. /xamʃi^{y}n/. Syr /xameʃ/; f. /xamʃå'/; pl. /xamʃīn/. Akk /χamiʃ/; f. /χamʃat/, (OAss var.) /χaʃʃat/; pl. (OAkk, M/late Bab) /χanʃā/, var. /χaʃʃā/. Arab /χams/; f. /-sat/; pl. /-sūna/. ESA /χms/; f. /-st/; pl. /-sn/, /-sy/. Mhr /χaymәh/, /χәmmōh/; f. /χәmhēt/;?pl. /χәmsayn/. Soq /xamoʃ/; f. /xemiʃ/. G&z /χäms/, /χms/; f. /χämstu/; pl. /χämsa/. Te /xäms/, (Leslau) /xamäs/; pl. /xmsa/, (Leslau) /xamsa/. Har /xammisti/. Ch /amәst/, Sdd Wol /amm-/; pl. Ch Sdd /amsa/, Wol /amsä/, /ammisbakkal/.

On the Wol var. cf. the discussion of 3 above. The Mhr pl. may be loan from Arab. It is tempting to speculate on the Berb equivalent (Tu /sәṃṃos/ etc.); but there seems to be no positive evidence for Berb /s/ corresponding to Hbr /x/ Arab /χ/; and as hardly any other Sem Nn seems to be original to the other branches of the phylum, it is hard to see why this one could be. Accordingly, the word should again have a Sem etymology, and the only plausible candidate seems to be the homonymous root used mostly with reference to groups of men, especially the army and other military gatherings. It would be possible to assume that gathering of men in a general sense would be the primary meaning, connection of army with the numeral as a five-part array result of folk-etymological reinterpretation; and if five people would seem too few to constitute a "crowd", let us remember that there are still languages today with accurate counting up to two only, "three" meaning also "a few" and numbers larger still subsumed under "many/ all"[1].

[1] E.g., Central Australian Pintupi (from the author's personal notes).

6: Hbr: aPal f. /ʃʃh/. Q /ʃʃ/; f. /ʃʃh/, cs. /ʃʃt/; pl./ʃʃym/, /-yn/. Sam /ʃeʃ/, (c. PTdt) /('éʃ)ʃaʃ/; f. /ʃíʃʃa/, cs. /-at/; pl. /ʃíʃʃem/. Pal pl. /ʃiʃi^{y}m/ *GS 2* 50. Bab /ʃeʃ/ Eb 5 Jd 18:11 etc.; /ʃ̟eʃ̟/ Ka 8 Ex 14:7 (etc.); f. /ʃiʃa^h/ TK *82* 17 etc., /ʃ̟i̟ʃ̟a^h/ Ka 13 Ex 28:10; cs. /ʃeʃät/ TK *246* 13, /-ä̱t/ Ka 5 Dt 5:13; pl. /ʃiʃi^{y}m/ TK *40* 21 etc.

Phoen /ʃʃ/, (NPu) /ʃʿʃ/; f. /ʃʃt/; pl. /ʃʃm/, (NPu) /ʃyʃm/. Ug /θθ/; f. /θθt/; pl. /θθm/. Aram /ʃe^{y}t/; f. /ʃittå'/, var. /'(y)ʃt'/, cs. /-at/; pl. /-i^{y}n/, var. /'ʃ(y)tyn/. Syr /ʃet/; f. /('e)ʃtå'/; pl. /('e)ʃtīn/. Akk f. /ʃeʃʃet/, /ʃi-/;?pl. /ʃūʃ(i)/, (late Bab) /ʃuʃʃu/, σωσσος. Arab /sitt/; f. /sittat/; pl. /sittūna/. ESA /sdθ/, /sθ/, /st/(?); f. /sdθt/, /sθt/; pl. /sdθy/, /sθy/, /sty/. Mhr /hәt/, /hēt/; f. /yәtēt/. Soq /híte/,

/’íte/, /yíte/; f. /hyat/. G&z /sssu/, /sds/; f. /sdstu/; pl. /sssa/. Te /ss/, /sädas/; pl. /sssa/. Har /siddisti/. Ch /sədəst/, Sdd Wol /-dd-/; varr. Sdd /siddist/, Wol /sə-/; pl. /sədsa/, Sdd /səlsa/, Wol /-sä/; varr. Sdd /silsa/, Wol /səddisbakkal/.

The Gur varr. are my recordings; on the last Wol one cf. 3 above. The original form appears to have been triconsonantal, with /d/ as the 2nd rad.; assuming that it was formed by apocopated reduplication of an originally biradical root (cf. 3 above), the other rad. is likely to have been /θ/; irregularities may be due to dissimilations and multiple borrowings. Again, the Berb equivalents show phonetic resemblance (Tu /səΛis/, Sus /sΛ-/), but convincing parallels to /Λ/ = Sem /d/ are lacking, although it would seem possible in an early LW; whether Eg /sys/ (orig. /srs/) could be a somewhat different corruption of the same prototype is not clear either. With */θd/ as the original consonantism I cannot suggest an etymology.

7: Hbr: Q /ʃb&/; f. /-&h/, cs. /-&t/; pl. /-&ym/, (3Q15) /-&yn/. Sam /ʃâbä/; f. /ʃābâ̂/, cs. /-bât/; pl. /-bîm/. Pal /ʃeba&/ *Rev* 8R 17; f. /ʃib&a^h/ xiv 30 etc., cs. /-&a$_2$t/ *GS 4* 134, /(be)ʃiba$_2$&a$_2$t/ xiii R 9. Bab /ʃäbä&/ Ea 12 Dt 15:1 etc.; cs. also /ʃbä&/ Kc 9 Ezr 2:66 etc., /ʃäbä&/ ib.:67; f. /(b·)ʃäb&a^h/ *Ant* 909 Ez 45:20 (etc.), /ʃäb·&a^h/ TK *242* 1 etc.; cs. /ʃäb&ät/ Eb 5 1S 10:8 etc., /-b·&-/ TK *113* 1 etc.; pl. /ʃäb&i^{y}m/ *Ant* 483 *MZ*eb 1:4 etc., /-b·&-/ TK *407* 11, /(w·hä̟)ʃä̟̠b·&i^{y}m/ Ka 17 Nm 3:46. Lat *saba* Is 4:1 Hi., f. = Jr 15:9 Hi.

Phoen /ʃb&/; f. /ʃb&t/; pl. /ʃb&m/, (NPu) /s-/(?). Ug /ʃb&/; f. /ʃb&t/; pl. /ʃb&m/. Aram /ʃba&/; f. /ʃib&å^h/, /ʃu-/, cs. /ʃib&at/; pl. /ʃib&i^{y}n/, /ʃu-/. Syr /ʃba&/; f. /ʃab&å’/; pl. /ʃab&īn/. Akk /sebe/, /seba/, (OAss) /ʃabe/; f. /sebet/. Arab /sab&/; f. /-&at/; pl. /-&ūna/. ESA /sb&/; f. /-&t/; pl. /-&y/, /-&hy/. Mhr /hōba/; f. /yəbáyt/. Soq /hóbex/, /hyó-/, /yhó-/, /yó-/, /yóbe&/; f. /hibé&eh/, /ʃibé&e/, /ʃá&t/. G&z /säb&u/, /sb&/; f. /säb&ätu/; pl. /säb&a/. Te /säbu&/; pl. /säb&a/. Har /sātti/. Ch Sdd /säbat/, Wol /sabt/, /sabat/; pl. Ch /səba/, Sdd /säba/, Wol /səbä/, /sabatbakkal/.

The latter Wol entries are my recordings; on the pl. one cf. 3 above. E-G and Vycichl consider Eg /sfχ(w)/ = Cpt /saʃf/ (with metathesis) related, but Baer has doubts; with voiced plosive plus voiced approximant in Sem vs. two voiceless fricatives in Eg, original cognation is hard to accept, but an early loan through some unusual channel (e.g., in commerce) may be a possibility; the same is the case at best with the Berb equivalents (Sus /sä/, Shilxa /sā/, Tu /əssa/) in which the loss of all but the first cons. must be assumed. The root appears then again confined to Sem, but this does not make etymological derivation easier. The best candidate seems to be /ʃb&/ III, although the Masoretes differentiate its sibilant from that of the numeral; that the split is late is indicated by the fact that the Hbr root appears to correspond to Arab /sbγ/ too besides /\$b&/. Semantically, equation of seven with abundance is no more surprising than calling five a crowd, particularly at a time when larger numbers were hardly in existence. However, some idiomatic connection, now forgotten, with /ʃb&/ referring to swearing cannot be ruled out, as number seven is frequently connected with cultic activities as is taking an oath too.

8: Hbr: aPal /(h)ʃmnh/. Q /ʃmnh/, /-n'/, /-wnh/; f.cs. /-wnt/; pl. /-wnym/. Sam /ʃāmâna/; f.cs. /-nat/; pl. /-nem/. Pal f. /(wbi)ʃmo^{w}na^{h}/ *MW 19* 26. Bab /ʃ·monä^{h}/ Yv 14 *M*Ndr 9:5, /-o^{w}nä^{h}/ TK *205* 11ff; /(wi)ʃ·mo^{w}nä^{h}/ ib. *9* 17; f. /ʃ·mona^{h}/ *A.M.* 3:5 /-o^{w}na^{h}/ TK *218* 19 etc., /(li)ʃ·mo^{w}na^{h}/ ib. *243* 20 (etc.), cs. /ʃ·mo^{w}nät/ ib. *244* 3; pl. /ʃ·moni^{y}m/ Eb 22 Jr 41:5 (etc.), /-o^{w}n-/ TK *246* 17 etc.

Phoen /ʃmnh/, /-n/, (NPu) /-n'/; pl. /-nm/, (NPu) /-n(')/. Ug /θmn/; f. /θmnt/; pl. /θmnym/. Aram /tamne^{y}/, /tmåne^{y}/; f. /tmånyå'/, var. /twmny'/, cs. /-nat/; pl. /-nan/, var. /twmnyn/. Syr /tmåne'/; f. /-nyå'/; pl. /-nīn/. Akk /samāne/, (OAss) /ʃa-/; f. (MAss?) /ʃamānat/. Arab /θamāni^{n}/; f. /-iyat/; pl. /-ūna/. ESA /θmn/, /-ny/; f. /-ny/, /-nyt/, /-nt/; pl. /-nyy/, (Min.) /θhmny/, /-nhy/. Mhr /θəmōni/; f. /θəmənyēt/. Soq /temen/, /-neh/; f. /temoni/. G&z /sämani/, /smn/; f. /sämäntu/; pl. /sämanaya/. Te /säman/, (Leslau) /sämän/; pl. /sämanya/. Har /sūt/. Ch /səm^{w}ət/, /sunt/, Sdd /səmmənt/, Wol =, /summut/; pl. Ch /səmra/, Sdd /sämanyä/, /-nya/, Wol /səmməntbakkal/.

The first and last Wol entries and the first Sdd pl. form are my recordings; on the Wol pl. cf. 3 above. Again, Eg-Cpt and some Berb equivalents show some phonetic resemblance with the Sem forms[1] which may be explicable in the same way as in the case of 7. As to etymology, there are two semantically tolerably plausible alternatives; one is the root /ʃmn/ *be fat* (cf. Section B), the other Arab (etc.) /θmn/ *be precious, valuable*; as the latter agrees better phonetically, it may be preferable, as the semantic connection is not obvious in either case.

9: Hbr: aPal /tʃ&/. Q =; f. /-&h/, cs. /-&t/; pl. /-&ym/. Sam /tíʃʃä/; f. /tiʃʃâ/, cs. /(el)tiʃʃât/; pl. /tiʃʃîm/. Bab /(w·)teʃä&/ Ka 2 Gn 17:24 (etc.); cs. also /t·ʃä&/ Ec 1 1Ch 9:9sm (etc.), /täʃä&/ Kc 9 Ezr 2:8; f. /tiʃ·&a^{h}/ TK *205* 11 etc.; cs. /-&ät/ ib. *316* 6 etc.; pl. /tiʃ·&i^{y}m/ Ka 2 Gn 17:24 etc.

Phoen /tʃ&/; pl. /tʃ&m/(?); (NPu) /tʃm/, /7yʃm/. Ug /tʃ&/; f. /-&t/; pl. /-&m/. Aram /tʃa&/; f. /tiʃ&å^{h}/, /-å'/; cs. /-at/; pl. /tiʃ&i^{y}n/. Syr /tʃa&/; f. /teʃ&å'/; pl. /teʃ&īn/. Akk /tiʃe/; f. /tiʃīt/, /te-/; pl. /te-ʃe-e/ (v. Soden, ZA 67 p. 235f, as quoted in JSS 24 p. 15 n. 3). Arab /tis&/; f. /-&at/; pl. /-&ūna/. ESA /ts&/; f. /-&t/; pl. /-&y/. Mhr /sε̄/; f. /sāt/. Soq /sax/; f. /se&eh/, /ts-/, /tis&a/. G&z /t(ä)s&u/, /ts&/; f. /t(ä)s&ätu/; pl. /t(ä)s&a/. Te /s&/, /ts&i/; pl. /sä&a/, /täs&a/.

Derivation of the SEth equivalents from the NEth ones appears too tortuous; to assume original connection with the Berb ones also seems too hazardous, but a connection like that assumed for 7 and 8 again does not seem entirely implausible. As for etymology, the root /yʃ&/ *be wide* seems semantically close enough to be acceptable, and as the first rad. is generally agreed to be a secondary root augment, the /t-/ replacing it in the numeral may be regarded as a nominal preformative or constituting a root var. The lack of it in some modern SAr and Te forms may be secondary, as alternative forms not looking like borrowings are found alongside them with /t-/ preserved. As to the old Phoen pl. form, Donner-Röllig's interpretation of the inscription (KAI no. 3) seems to me basically simpler and therefore preferable to Albright's, although some points remain uncertain.

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[1] On the Eg form cf. Section Bb s.v. /ʃmn/II.

10: Hbr: aPal pl. /&ʃrym/. Q /&ʃr/, (3Q15) /&sr/; f. /&ʃrh/, /-r'/, (3Q15) /&srh/, /-r'/; cs. /&ʃrt/; pl. /&ʃrym/, /-yn/. Sam /&âʃar/; f. /&āʃâra/ (var. /'-/), cs. /-at/; pl. /&íʃrem/ (var. /'-/).[2]Pal /&eʃer/ d ii 12, /-$-/ *GS 4* 31bis, /('rba$_2$&a$_2$^{h}) &aʃa$_2$r/ *Ed 30* 18, /(b)&a$_2$ʃer/(!) *Rev* 8 13; f. /&ʃara^h/ iv 28 etc., /&a$_2$ʃ-/ ixR 3, /(&a$_2$ʃa$_2$te^y) &eʃre^h/ v 7, cs. /(k)&a$_2$ʃeret/ *Or B* 19; pl. /(l)&e$ri^{y}m/ *MW 19* 30. Bab /&äʃär/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:3 etc.[3] /-$-/ TK *29* 7 etc., /-$ä̲r/ Ka 17 Ex 36:21, /(ʃ·mona^h) &aʃar/ *A.M.* 3:5 (etc.), /(biʃloʃa^h) &a$ar/ *Ant* 483 *MZ*eb 1:4 (etc.); f. /&ʃara^h/ TK *25* 6 etc., /&·ʃ-/ *A.M.* 4:19, /&ä$-/ TK *211* 2 (etc.), /(wä)&$-/ Eb 22 Jr 41:8, /&ä̲$-/ Ka 13 Ex 27:12 (2°), /(x·meʃ) &ä$re^h/ TK *186* 22 (etc.), /-$·re^h/ ib. 18 (etc.), /(&ʃth) &ä$ro^h/(!) Eb 22 Ez 40:49, cs. /&ä$ärät/ Ea 12 Dt 10:4, /(l)&-/ TK *156* 10; pl. /(me)&iʃri^{y}m/ *A.M.* 6:12 (etc.), /&i$-/ TK *254* 9 (etc.), /(w)&i$·-/ ib *54* 13, /&i̲$-/ Ka 13 Ex 27:11 etc. Lat f. *(aste) esre* Ex 40:49 Hi.

Phoen /&ʃr/, (Sidon 5th century, Pu) /&sr/, (NPu) /&s&r/, /&c&[r/; f. /&ʃrt/; pl. (Pu) /&ʃrm/, /&srm/, (NPu) /'srm/, /hsrm/, /xʃr[m/; *esrim, ysrim*. Ug /&ʃr/; f. /-rt/, (post /&ʃt/ etc.) /-rh/; pl. /-rm/. Aram /&(a)$ar/, /-s-/; f. /&a$rå^h/, /-s-/, /(xd') &ä$re^y/, /-s-/; pl. /&ä$ri^{y}n/, /-s-/. Syr /&sar/; f. /&esrå'/; pl. /&esrīn/. Akk /eʃer/; f. /eʃeret/; pl. /eʃrā/. Arab /&a$r/; f. /&a$arat/; pl. /&i$rūna/. ESA /&ʃr/; f. /-rt/; pl. /-ry/,?/-rnhn/. Mhr /'ō$ər/. Soq /&a$er/; f. /&e$ereh/; pl. /&e$oroh/, /&a$(e)reh/; (after Nn, e.g., /$ele/) /&e$arhen/ (=30). G&z /&ä$ru/, /&$r/; f. /&ä$ärtu/; pl. /&$ra/. Te /&äsr/; pl. /&sra/. Har /assir/. Ch /asər/, Sdd Wol /ass-/.

The alternative ESA pl. form could be Ns. In some Chad languages, the word for 10 is /sar(r)/; but without any trace of the Sem first syll. and in the absence of any representation in other non-Sem branches the resemblance may be coincidental. As for etymology, the homonymous root in Section B has a plausible meaning, referring as it does to groups, assemblies and crowds or to states and activities related to large numbers; semantically, it thus forms a parallel to 5 above, the concept of "crowd" being upgraded as people learn to count on the fingers of both hands.

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[2] Another pl. /&āʃârot/ (cf. Q /&wʃrwt/ etc.) is better classified as Ns.

[3] The form /&a$är/ *(Por* 195) is a misreading, cf. the facsimile (Yv 55 *MZ*ab 4:5).

SECTION D

PRONOUNS

Introductory remarks

Pronouns are placed into their own morphological category with greater reason than numerals, as their inflection, as far as we can speak about one at all, is both structurally and in detail more radically different from that of the noun, including as it does distinction between persons or analogous sub-categories and taking place mostly by replacement morphs.

Opinions differ to some extent as to what is to be included in the pronouns. Demonstrative elements are sometimes partly or wholly excluded because of their (basically) adjectival nature; but once it is realized that the adjective is a sub-category of the noun, there is no reason for omitting them. On the other hand, sometimes elements of nominal origin and still often used as common nouns are included on the grounds that they are used in functions in which true pronouns occur in other languages, sometimes including Semitic languages and even Hbr itself, as in the case of the relative particle alongside which elements of pronominal origin are occasionally found. In the present work, all the elements still used as common nouns are treated as such, and the relative particle is also considered a particle rather than a pronoun partly because of its nominal origin which makes it rather analogous to adverbs, partly because it often appears in functions in which it does not stand *pro nomine*, as a replacement for a common noun or proper name.

Pronouns being ultimately of deictic origin, the boundary against deictic particles is also somewhat vague; notably the so-called definite article is often affiliated with them. However, as this element never stands *pro nomine*, we do not consider it a pronoun either; and as its regular function is determination of the noun (or analogous expression) to which it is prefixed, we call it the *determinative particle* (PTdt) and classify it as a sub-category of deictic particles.

Personal pronouns are sometimes considered a secondary offshoot from the demonstrative ones; for Hbr, however, this appears to be true of the third person only, the constituent elements of the other persons being of more direct deictic origin; and as the personal pronouns are much more frequently used, we treat them first. Even in them, there is some difference of opinion as to whether to include the elements pre- or affixed to verbal stems representing the subject, and if so, which of them. As such elements stand *pro nomine* in the first and second persons, these are included here; but the preformatives of the 3rd person appear to be of more direct deictic extraction, as they often stand alongside a noun as the subject and even where this is not the case, the subject is conceivably either elliptically omitted or virtually implied, cf. also the fact that there is no 3rd pers. afformative in sg. masc., and the fem. and pl. afformatives are of nominal origin.

List of entries and discussion

a) *Personal pronoun*

Hbr has four different series of personal pronoun; but although they show notable phonological differences in the historically attested forms, they are still recognizably derivable from a common prototype. They are therefore discussed here together. In the arrangement of the material, the forms of the so-called independent series, consisting of separate words, are quoted first, then the forms used as suffixes to nouns, verbs and certain particles, then those used as afformatives to form the afformative conjugation of the verb, and finally those used as preformatives in the preformative conjugation; the latter two consist of first and second persons only. In the cognate language material, the arrangement is similar, as far as relevant. Genders and numbers are grouped and discussed separately.

1st pers.: Sg.

Hbr: aPal /’ny/; /-y/, /-ny/; /-ty/, /-t-/; /’-/. Q /’ny/, /’ny’/,/’nky/, /’nwky/; /-y/, /-y’/, /-ny/, /-ny’/; /-ty/, /-ty’/, /-t/;/’-/. Sam /’âni/[1], /’ānâki/; /-i/, /-ni/; /-ti/; /’V-/. Pal /’ni^{y}/ vi 24 etc., /’a$_{2}$ni^{y}/ xi 4 etc., /(w)’ani^{y}/ iv 21 etc., /’ani^{y}/ *MW 3* 21 etc. (ixR 21ps), /’noki^{y}/ iv 21 etc., /’anoki^{y}/ T-S H 16/9 R 17; /-i^{y}/ iv 19 etc., /-(a)y/ c Ps 27:2,/-(a)i^{y}/ ib. 38:3 etc., /-(a)i^{yy}/(!) b 24, /-ni^{y}/ ivR 3 etc.; /-ti^{y}/ iv 21 etc.; /’V-/ ib., ivR 2, ixR 5.24bis etc. Bab /’ni^{y}/ TK *12* 14 etc., /’·ni^{y}/ *Ant* 444 Nm 14:35 etc., /’äni^{y}/ TK *18* 12 etc., /:’a̱ni^{y}/ Ka 5 Gn 40:16, /(wä)’-/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:17, /’ani^{y}/ TK *7* 16 etc. (Ka 2 Lv 26:24 etc. ps), /(ʃä)ni^{y}/ TK *24* 4, /(ʃ·)ni^{y}/ ib. *219* 5 etc., /’anoki^{y}/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:5 etc.;?/’än-/(?) *Ant* 280 Jr 34:13; /-i^{y}/ *Ant* 261 1S 29:8 etc., /-ni^{y}/ TK *21* 13 etc.; /-(ä)y/ Yv 16 *M*Ndr 11:4 etc.; /-ti^{y}/ TK *140* 22 etc.; /’V-/ *Ant* 325 Ez 37:3, *Ant* 816 Ez 2:1, Yv 63 *M*Yad 4:15bis.16(!) etc. G ανι Ps 89:28.48 Hex (etc.), ανωχι(!)[2] Ps 46:11 Hex; -ι, -ει, -(α)ι Ps 31:23 Hex etc., -η ib.:6, -νι Ps 30:4 etc., -νη ib.:2 Hex; -θι ib.:7.8 etc., -θ Ps 89:36 Hex; ε- Ps 18:38bis Hex etc., α- ib. etc., η- Ps 31:2

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[1] The Sam final vowels are basically anceps, though usually realized as long.

[2] The final vowel is present in a ligature indicated by the high upright “horn”.

Hex, ι- Ps 49:6 Hex. Lat *-i* Hos 2:18 Hi. etc., *-(a)i* Is 21:11 Hi. etc., *-ni* Prv 8:22 Hi. etc.; *-thi* Gn 4:1 Hi. etc.; *e-* Is 7:12 Hi., *a-* Hos 11:8 Hi.

Phoen /’nk/, /’nky/,?/’k/, /’lk/ (Abydos),?/’l/ (ib.), *anechi, -ch; anych*; /-/, /-y/, *-i*, /-n/. Ug /’an/, /’ank/, /a-na-ku/; /-/, /-y/, /-n/(?); /-t/; /’a-/, /’i-/. Aram /’n’/, /’·na’/, (inscr,) /’nh/, /(-)n’/, /-na’/; /-y/, /-i^{y}/, /-(ä)y/, /-ny/, /-(ä)ni^{y}/; /-yt/, /-t/, /-i^{y}t/; /’-/, /’i-/, /’ä-/, /’y-/, /’e^{y}-/, /’·-/. Syr /’enå’/; /-(y)/, /-(a)n(y)/; /-et/; /’-/, /’e-/. Amor /’anā/, /’anāku/; /ya(’um)/;?/’a-/. Akk /anāku/; /-ī/, /-ya/, /-’a/, /-ni/; /-(ā)ku/; /a-/. Arab /’anā/; /-ī/, /-ya/, /-nī/; /-tu/; /’a-/, /’(u)-/. Mhr /ho(h)/; /-i/, /-yɛ/, /-əy/; /-k/; /ə-/. Soq /ho/, /hån/; /-i/; /-k/; /ə-/. G&z /’änä/; /-i/, /-yä/, /-ni/; /-ku/; /’(ə)-/, /’ä-/. Te /’ana/; /-ye/, /-ni/, /-ne/; /-ko/; /’ə-/. Har /ān/; /-e/, /-(e)ñ/; /-χu/; /ə-/, (Leslau) /i-/. Ch /əya/; /-(ä)na/, /-e(m)/, /-(i)n/, /-ni(m)/; /-χ^{w}(əm)/; /ä-/, /nə-/; Sdd /ädi/; /-ddi/, /(ye)di/; /-hu/; /ä-/, /nä-/; Wol /ihe/, /iye/, /əni/; /(ye)ni/, /(lə)ña/; /-ku/, /-ko(an)/, /-hu/;?. Bed /anī/, /’ane/; /-i/, /-/, /anēb/, /hēb/; /-a-/, /-/; /’a-/, /’(V)-/. Bil /an/; /yi/, /y/; /-kun/, /-ġun/;?. Som /ān/, /anə/, /anigV/; /-(e)y/, /i/; /-/. Om: Ari /i-/ *my*, /in/ *me*; Southern Om /-it/ 1st sg.; Proto-Ari-Kafa */’ana/ (Maji /ina/, Shako /in/, /nata/, Ari-Banna */inta/ *I*; Caf auxiliary /ano/; Fleming). Berb: Rif /ne’ʃ/ *I*; Fass /neč/ = ; /-(ī)yed/, /-īd/, /-di-/ *me*; /-i/, /-ennu/ *my, (to) me*; /-γ/; /ad-/ 1.sg.; Sus /n^{e}kk/, /-kki/, /-kkin/; /-i/, /-a/, /yi/; /-(e)γ/; /-/; Shilxa /nki/; /-i/; /-γ/, /-χ/; /-/; Tu /näk/, /näkkunan/; /-i/, /-e/, /-(h)in/, /-nnu/, /hi/; /-(ä)γ/. Chad: Hsa /nī/; /-na/, /-nā/, /nāwa/, /ni/, /(ma)ni/, /(mi)ni/, /(mi)n/; /nā/, /na/, /inā/; /in/, /(zā)n/; Ron /yin/, (Fyer, Bokkos, Daffo) /ya/; /-(y)in/; /’i-/, /yi-/; Gis /(’i)ya/ =. Eg /ynk/; /wy/, /-y/. Cpt /anok/, /ang/; /-i/.

The third Sdd entry and all but the first Wol ones are my recordings; of the latter, some may have been influenced by Amh. In Cush, there are several more attestations, including Or Konso /ana/, Sid /ani/, Quara Iraqw /an/, Warazi /anno/ *I*. The principal elements appear to be /n/- and /k/-containing; on the theory of deictic origins for pronouns, these may be related to the Hbr /hinne^{h}/ and /ko^{h}/ (cf. Section E below) both of which refer to what is present or taking place here and now. The nasal element may have been present everywhere, although in SAr only a vestige of it remains in Soq; in the sf., it is a secondary hiatus-filler; in Phoen found in 3.pl. too (cf. also C. Krahmalkov in JSS 15 p. 181ff); in Gur, it may have developed into /y/ through prepalatalization; except in Sdd where the present form could be explicable through the assumption of denasalization, but this does not seem to have parallels elsewhere. The /k/-element is absent in many languages, whether originally or secondarily is difficult to decide, as pronouns are often apt to lose unnecessary elements; in others, /t/ appears instead, in Sem in the verbal afformatives only, in Om in the independent forms too, but not very widely anywhere; the Sdd /d/ is difficult to derive from that too, as parallels are lacking again; even in the verbal afformative, /k/ has become /h/ in Sdd itself, as widely elsewhere in SEth; the sporadic /χ/ and in Berb widespread

/γ/ are apparently traceable to /k/ likewise (cf. Shilxa), although elsewhere in Berb, the latter usually alternates with /q/; the relationship of /t/ to /k/ will be discussed below in connection with the 2nd pers. The suffixed forms, however, could have been (semi)vocalic originally, as the nasal, where it occurs, seems to have originated as a glide between two vowels or partly under the influence of the independent form. There is no positive evidence for a consonant apart from the initial /'/ (which could be secondary) in the verbal preformative either.

Pl.

Hbr: aPal /nxnw/ (Lch); /-nw/ (sf.). Q /'nxnw/, /nxnw/, /'nw/; /-nw/; /-nw/; /n-/. Sam /'ānânnu/; /-nu/; /-nu/; /n(V)-/. Pal /'a$_2$naxnu^w/ T-S H 16/9 16, /'naxnu^w/ *Or S* 6, /(w)'anxa$_2$nu^w/ ib. 9, /'anu^w/ ib. 4; /-nu^w/ iv 19 etc.; /-nu^w/ vR 4 etc.; /ni^y-/ viR 17, /na-/ vi 6, /na$_2$-/ iv 18, /(w)ni-/ ib., /(w)no-/ d i 3, etc. Bab /'·näxnw/(!) Ea 12 Dt 1:41, /'·naxnu^w/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:8(ps), /'ä̲näxnu^w/ Ka 5 Dt 5:3, /'ä̲näxä̲nu^w/ Kc 10 Neh 4:17, /naxno̲^{w}/ Ka 6 Gn 42:11(ps), /'anu^w/ TK *131* 4 etc.; /-nu^w/ *Ant* 483 *M*Eduy 7:6 etc.; /-nu^w/ TK *71* 5^{mg}bis etc., /-no^w/ *MO* 192; /ni-/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:32 etc.; /(ʃä)ni^y-/ TK *119* 5 etc., /no^w-/ ib. *43* 13 (etc.), /n·(&ä)-/ (Q!) TK *66* 16 etc., /ne-/ ib. *98* 13 etc., /(w)na-/ *Ant* 339 Jr 35:11 (etc.). G -; -νου Ps 46:8 Hex etc.; -νου ib. 48:10 (etc.); ν(ι)- ib. 46:3. Lat *-nu: our, (to) us* Is 6:8 Jr 23:6 Hi.

Phoen /'nxn/; /-nu/ (Am); /-n/; -. Ug -; /-n/; -; /n-/. Aram /'nn/, /nn/, /'·näxna'/, /näxna'/, /'änän/; /-n/, /-nn/, /-na'/, /-nän/; /-n/, /-n'/, /-nn/, /-na'/, /-nän/; /n-/, /ny-/, /ni-/, /ni^y-/, /n(ä)-/. Syr /'nxnn/, /xnan/; /-(a)n/; /-n/, /-nan/; /ne-/, /n(a)-/. Akk /nīnu/, /nīni/, (Ass) /nēnu/, (NAss, NBab) /anē/īnu/; /-ni/; /-(ā)nu/, (Ass) /-(ā)ni/; /ni-/; /nu-/. Arab /naxnu/; /-nā/; /-nā/; /na-/, /nu-/. Mhr /nəxā/; /-(ə)n/; /-(ə)n/; /nə-/. Soq /xan/, (/hən/?); /-ən/; /-ən/; /nə-/. G&z /nxnä/; /-nä/; /-nä/; /n(ä)-/. Te /xəna/; /-na/; /-na/; /nə-/, /'ən-/. Har /əñña/, /əññāč/, /ənnāč/; /-na/, /-ña/; /-na/; /nə-/, (Leslau) /ni-/, /nä-/. Ch /yəna/; /-(ä)nda/, /-(ä)ndra/, /nrä(m)/; /-nä(m)/; /nə-/, /(a)n-/; Sdd /əña/; /-ña/, /-nǟ(m)/; /-nä(m)/, /-no/; /nə-/; Wol /iñña/, /iña/, /əñä/; /-nå(n)/; /-nä(n)/, /-nå(n)/. Bed /hinin/; /-n/, /-hōn/; /-n-/; /n(i)-/. Bil /yin/; /yinā/, /yinat/;?/-n-/. Som /an/, /annu/, /nu/, /VnnagV/, /unnə/; /na/, /-nə/, /nə/; /-n-/. Om: /nō/, /nōna/ *we* (Fleming); Zaisse /nuntā/ =; Ciara /nu/, /nōka/ =; Basketo /nu/ =; Janjero /innō/ =; Darasa /ninke/, /nenki/ =; Caf /nu/ =. Berb: Rif /n(e)'ʃʃin/, /n'ʃnin/ =; Sus /n^{e}k^{u}ni(n)/, f. /n^{e}kk^{u}nti(n)/ =; /nåγ/ *ours*, /(y)aγ/ *us*; /-(V?)/; /n-/ 1.Pl.; Fass /neččen/, f. /neččent/;/-(en)naγ/, /-(ā)naγ/; -; /n-/, /(a)n-/; Shilxa /nukni/, f. /nuknti/; /-nγ/, /-aγ/; -; /n-/; Tu /näkkăniΛ/, f. /näkkănätiΛ/; /-(k)näγ/, /-(h)ānäγ/; -; /n-/. Chad: Hsa /mū/; /-(m/r)mu/, /mu/, /(ma)mu/, /(ma)na/; /mu/; Ron (Fyer) /nyi/ (excl.); /-anyi/, /-(t)inyi/; /'i/, /yi/ ... /nyi/; (Bokkos) /nin/; /-(am)inin/, /-nin/; /ni/;(Scha) /nih/; /-

(ka)ni/, /-ni/; /ni/; (Kulere) /yini/; /-nih/, /-ini/; /ni/; Gis /miya/, (excl.) /('i)ndra/; /-m(i)ya/, /-andra/; /nd(i)ri/. Eg /ynn/; =, /-n/; /n/. Cpt /anon/, /an(n)-/; /-n/, /t(e)n/.

As in sg., the front oral nasal appears universal, although in some Chad languages (Hsa Gis), it has largely disappeared, in Hsa only rudimentarily remaining besides the apparently secondary /m/-prefix. On the other hand, the velar stop has much smaller distribution, occurring as such in some Om Berb languages only, although the uvular spirant and prepalatalized affricate-sibilants evidently derive from it too; whether the Som /g/ is related is not obvious; ultimately it may be, although it is structurally attached differently from Berb /k/, but the Om /k/ is compatible with both. On the other hand still, the Berb /k/ could be due to influence from sg., as the Berb forms show other secondary features, such as differentiation of genders and Tu final /Λ/. In Sem, /x/ appears widely in a corresponding position and may be common Sem in origin; seeing that /χ/ is found alternating with both /k/ and /x/, although in different connections, I once considered the possibility of the Sem pl. /x/ having originated from the sg. /k/. However, as the preliminary discussion of pre-Sem phonology (in the introduction to Section Bb) indicated that /x/ and /k/ were different phonemes as early as the available material enables us to judge, while the origins of /χ/ are traceable only to the later parts of common Sem period at the earliest, this must now be considered improbable, although /x/ is not found in other early Sem pronominal or deictic elements. That partly different elements were used to form the equivalent of *we* from those for *I* is well conceivable too, as the former is not really plural of the latter ("more than one I"), but rather a collective expression ("I and those with me"); in the second and third persons, the situation is different, true plurality being at least conceivable in the second ("you-and-you-and-you ..." with accompanying gesture) and the rule in the third. The second Wol entry is my recording, the last Bil one conjectured on the basis of southern Agaw, cf. Bed Som too. There are again more Cush attestations, including Quara /anän/, Or /nuy/, Sid /ninke/, Warazi /inne/, Iraqw /aten/ *we*.

2nd pers.: Sg.m.

Hbr: aPal -; /-k/; /-t/; /t-/. Q /'th/, (1QH 5:32) /(w)'t/; /-kh/, /-k/; /-th/, /-t/; /t-/. Sam /'átta/; /-(a)k/; /-ta/; /t(V)-/. Pal /'ata^{h}/ *GS 3* 159 etc., /-a$_{2}$^{h}/ ivR 3 etc., /(wa$_{2}$)'ta^{h}/(!) *MW* Ps 55:14, /'a$_{2}$ta$_{2}$^{h}/ ib. *13* 16, /'at/(!) ib. *6* 15; /-(a/a$_{2}$)k/, /-ka/ (cf. *Materials I* p.36); /-ta^{h}/ iv 15 etc., /-ta/ viR 3 etc., /-ta$_{2}$^{h}/ iv 12 etc.; /ti-/ iv 25 etc., /ti^{y}-/ ixR 8 etc., /to-/ ivR 7 etc., /te-/ xii 27 etc., /ta-/ iv 24 etc., /ta$_{2}$-/ iv 26 etc., /t-/ v 16 etc. Bab /'äta^{h}/ Ea 12 Dt 14:2 etc., /'ä̟-/ Ka 5 Ex 33:12 etc., /'ä̟ta$^{h.}$/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:18, /'ät̟a^{h}/ TK *401* 17, /'ät/(!) ib. *47* 15 etc.;

/-ka/ *Ant* 325 Ez 38:4 etc., /-(a)k/ *Ant* 816 Ez 2:1 etc.(ps); /-ta/ *Ant* 325 Ez 37:12 etc., /-ta^{h}/ *Ant 117* Jd 1:15 etc.; /ti-/ *Ant* 910 Ez 12:6 etc., /tä-/ TK *13* 4 etc., /t·(&ä)-/(!) ib. *373* 9 etc., /to-/ *Ant* 910 Ez 12:18 etc., /t-/ *Ant* 816 Ez 3:3bis etc., /ta-/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:16 etc. G αθθα Ps 18:28f etc., (ου) αθ(!) Ps 89:39 Hex; -(α)χ ib.:52 etc., -εχ Ps 35:18 etc. Hex; -θ Ps 31:23 etc., -θα ib.:20bis 30:8 35:22 Hex; θ- Ps 18:36 etc., θ(ω)- ib.:28, θ(η)- Ps 32:8, (ου)θε- Ps 18:36bis 48:8, θα- Ps 35:13 Hex. Lat -; *-ach* Hab 3:13 etc., *-iah*(!) Am 4:12, *-cha* Hos 8:1 Hi.; *-th* Jr 3:12 etc., *-thi*(!) Is 7:14 Hi.; (*tha-* Is 21:13; pl.) Hi.

Phoen /'t/; /-k/, *-ca*, var. *-ch*; /-t/; /t-/. Ug /'at/; /-k/; /-t/; /t-/. Aram /'t/, /'nt/, /(w)t/, /'ät/; /-k/, /-(y)k/, /-(a)k/; /-t/, /-th/, /-t'/, /-ta(')/; /t-/, /ty-/, /ti-/, /ti^{y}-/, /t·(&i^{y})-/, /tä-/, /t·-/. Syr /'a(n)t/; /-(å)k/; /-t/; /te-/, /t-/. Amor /'atta/; -. Akk /attā/; /-ka/, /-ku/; /-(ā)ta/, /-(ā)t/, (OAss) /-(ā)ti/; /ta-/, /tu-/. Arab /'anta/; /-ka/; /-ta/; /ta-/, /tu-/. Mhr /hēt/; /-ək/, /-kε/, /-ūk/; /-k/; /tə-/. Soq /ē/, (/hən/, Leslau /het/); /-k/; /-k/; /tə-/, (Leslau) /te-/. G&z /'äntä/; /-kä/; /-kä/; /t-/, /tä-/. Te /'ənta/; /-ka/; /-ka/; /tə-/. Har /aχāχ/; /-χa/, /-aχ/, /-(e)χ/; /-χi/; /tə-/, (Leslau) /ti-/, /-t-/. Ch /åχå/, (Leslau) /aχä/; /-(å)χä/, /(-nä)χə(m)/; /-χä/; /tə-/; Sdd /dähä/; /-dähä/, /-(nnə)hä(m)/, /-kä/, /-χo/; /-kä(m)/; /tə-/; Wol /å̄tä/, (Leslau) /atä/, (myself) /antto/; /-aha/, /-kä/, /-hå̄(n)/, /-əhä/; /-kä/, /-kā(n)/, /-χa/; /tə-/. Bed /(bar)ūk/; /-k/, /-hōk/; /-ti-/, /-t-/; /ti-/, /t-/. Bil /entī/, /intį̄/; /ku/, /-kā̆/; /-r-/,?/-t-/. Som /ad(ə)/, /adigV/; /-a/, /kū/, /kə/; /-t-/. Berb:Sus /kiy/, /kiyi(n); /k/, /-(k)k/; /-t/; /t-/; Fass /ʃek/, /-ek/, /-āk/, /-(e)ʃek/, /-ʃ(e)k-/; /-d/; /t-/; Shilxa /kī/; /k/; /-t/; /t-/; Tu /kăy/, /kăyunan/; /-(ə)k/, /-ī̆k/, /-kăy/; /-äd/; /t-/. Chad: Hsa /kai/; /-(n/r)ka/, /(ma)ka/; /kā̆/; Ron (Fyer) /ho/, /hå/; /-o/, /-å/; /'a/, /ha/; (Bokkos) /ha/; /-a/; /ha/; (Kulere) /yah/, /ya/; /-yah/; /yā̆/; Gis /ka/; /-(a)w/, /-u/; /kə/, /ki/. Eg /čwt/, /ntk/; /kw/, /čw/, /-k/. Cpt /ntok/, /ntk/; /-k/.

There are again several more Cush attestations, including Quara /ent/, obl. /kī/, /kūt/; Or /sī/, obl. =, /kanke/; Sid /ati/, obl. =, /atira/; Warazi /ačo/, obl. /haχu/; Iraqw /kuŋ/, obl. /ku/. Om, however, has /n/ for the main consonantal element which can hardly be directly connected, particularly as 1.sg has /t/; it appears then that Om parted company with the rest of S-H before the composition of pronouns was fixed. /n/ does occur elsewhere too, but apparently only as an auxiliary, in Sem Cush Eg pre-, in Berb postpositively; the main consonantal elements are /t/ and /k/, with occasional phonetic varr., /d/, /r/, /s/, /č/ for the former, /χ/, /h/, /'/, /g/, /ʃ/ for the latter. The two occur in the same morph in the Eg-Cpt independent form only, evidently a relatively late compound; otherwise their distribution is largely complementary, but different in different branches of the phylum; in Sem, /t/ preponderates, while in Chad, only /k/ seems to be original. As similar variation — though on a smaller scale — occurs in the first person too, the question arises whether both may have a common origin, seeing that /k/ and /t/ occur as allophones of one and the same phoneme in some languages and could have been that at a pre-Sem stage of our phylum too.[3] Conceivably, the unequal distribution of the two sounds in different parts of the phylum could reflect relatively free allophonic variation at the time of the origin of the basic pronominal elements. On the other hand, however, at least some degree of analogous variation would be expected among deictic particles which seem to have served as building blocks for pronouns, but it seems that there, the relevant elements have distinct origins. The /t/-element in the pronoun can hardly be distinct from that characterizing the feminine gender in numerous constructions; both are conceivable as *objectival*, the 2nd pers. as the *addressee* compared with the 1st pers. as the *speaker*; the latter is at the same time more *active*, a characteristic commonly attributed to the masculine gender in opposition to the more passive feminine; cf. also the fact that in the Som verbal system, with gender distinction in the sg. third person only, its masc. is inflected like the 1st pers. and fem. like the 2nd. As this element is hardly connectable with any ancient deictic /k/-element, original identity of the pronominal /t/- and /k/-elements must be deemed unlikely. The most plausible candidate for the latter may be the prototype of the PTpr /k-/ to which Hbr /ko^{h}/ in the meaning, *so*, may be related, cf. also /kåkå^{h}/, /ken/. The last Bil entry is again conjectured on the basis of southern Agaw, cf. Bed Som.

Sg.f.

Hbr: Q /'t/ 2Q Rt 3:16; /-k/; /-ty/, /-t/; /t-/. Sam /'ätti/; /-(e)k/, /-kī/; /-ti/; /t(V)-/. Pal /'a$_2$t/ *MW* Jr 2:20; /-(y)k/ d ii 23, /-(e^{y})k/ *GS 1* 6 etc., /-(i^{y})k/(!) ib. 8bis, /-ek/ ib. 4.10 etc.; /-t/ ib. 8bis etc.; /ti^{y}-/ *MW 3* 18. Bab /'äti^{y}/(!) Eb 10 Ez 36:13, /'ät/ Eb 22 Ez 16:52 etc.; /-ek/ ib.:56 etc., /-(ay)ik/ ib. (ps) etc., /-(i^{y})k/ ib. etc., /-(äy)ik/ ib.:55 etc., /('o^{w}t)ak/ ib.:57 etc. /-ok/(!) ib.:31 etc.; /-t·/ ib.:43(1°), /-t/ ib. (2°) etc.; /-ty/(!) ib.:51(ps); /ti-/ ib.:54 etc., /(wä)ta-/ ib.:7, /-t·(&ä)-/ ib.:13 etc., /-t(ä)-/ ib.(!) etc., /-t·-/ ib.:18 etc., /te-/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:8. Lat -; -*(ai)ch* Ez 27:4ter Hi.;?-*thi* Is 7:14 Hi.; -.

Phoen /'t/; /-k/, (Pu) /-ky/; /-t/; -. Ug /'at/; /-k/; /-t/; /t-/. Aram /'t/, /'nt/, /'ät/; /-(y)k/, /-i^{y}ki^{y}/; /-t/, /-tyn/; /t-/, /t·-/, /ti-/, /tä-/. Syr /'a(n)ty/; /-(e)ky/; /-ty/; /te-/, /t(a-)/. Akk /attī/; /-kĭ̄/; /-(ā)ti/; /ta-/, /tu-/. Arab /'anti/; /-ki/; /-ti/; /ta-/, /tu-/. Mhr /hēt/; /-əʃ/, /-ʃε/, /-ε̄ʃ/; /-ʃ/; /tə-/. Soq /ī/(, /hən/, Leslau /hit/); /-ʃ/; /-ʃ/;/tə-/, (Leslau) /te-/. G&z /'änti/; /-ki/; /t-/, /tä-/. Te /'ənti/; /-ki/; /-(k)ki/; /-ki/; /tə-/. Har /aχāx′/, (Leslau) /aχāʃ/; /-χāʃ/, /-(e)ʃ/; /-ʃi/; /tə-/, (Leslau) /ti-/, /tu-/, /-č-/. Ch /å̄x′(a)/, (Leslau) /ax′(a)/; /-(ä)x′/, /-(nä)x′ə(m)/; /-(ä)x′/, /-x′/; /tə-/, /ta-/; Sdd /däʃ/; /-däʃ/, /-(nnə)ʃə(m)/; /-ʃ/, /-ʃə(m)/; /tə-/; Wol /å̄ʃi/, (Leslau) /aʃi/, (myself) /anči/; /-aʃ/, /-ʃå(n)/; /-ʃ/, /-ʃā(n)/; /tə-/. Bed

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[3] See, for the time being, the discussion of /t/ in the introduction to Section Bb above.

/(bar)tūk/; /-k/, /-hōk/; /-ti-/, /-t-/; /ti-/, /t-/. Bil = masc. Som = masc. Berb: Sus /kĕm/, /kĕmmi(n)/; /k/, /-(k)k/; /-t/; /t-/; Fass /ʃem/; /-em/, /-ām/, /-(e)ʃem/, /-ʃ(e)m/-; /-d/; /t-/; Shilxa /kimi/; /km/; /-t/; /t-/; Tu /käm/, /kämmunan/; /-(ə)m/, /-ī̆m/, /-käm/; /-äd/; /t-/. Chad: Hsa /kē/; /-(n/r)ki/, /(ma/mi)ki/; /ki/, /kin/, /kyā/; Ron (Fyer) /yiʃ/; /-iʃ/; /ʃi/; (Bokkos) /ʃiʃ/; /-uʃ/; /ʃi/; (Kulere) /yiky/, /yik/; /-eky/; /ki/, /kya/; Gis = masc. Eg /čmt/, /ntč̇/, (late) /ntt/; /-č/, /(-)čn/, /čm/, (late) /-t/. Cpt /nto/, nte-/; /-(e)/.

In Cush, there are again more attestations, generally parallelling those in masc., where not identical (cf. Bil Som above). Etymology is evidently the same as for masc., with minor structural differentiation, mostly by the /i/ vowel which has sometimes led to secondary phonetic consequences.

Pl.m.

Hbr: aPal -; /-km/; /-tm/; -. Q /'tmh/, /'tm/; /-kmh/, /-km/; /-tmh/, /-tm/; /t-/. Sam /'attímma/; /-kímma/, /-kímmä/; /-tímma/,/-tímmä/; /t(V)-/. Pal /'atem/ xi 6, /'a$_2$tem/ *GS 3* 119; /-kem/ vii 19 etc.; /-tem/ viiR 7 etc.; /ti-/ vR 30 etc., /te-/ vii 33, /to-/ viR 22 etc., /ti^{y}-/ vi 30 etc., /ti(y)-/ vR 29, /t-/ ib. 30 etc. Bab /'ätäm/ Ea 12 Dt 14:1 etc., /'ä̟täm/ Ka 6 Gn 42:9 etc., /'ätem/ TK *443* 8 (later hand!); /-käm/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:34 etc.; /-täm/ ib.: 43 etc.; /tä-/ TK *392* 22 etc., /t(&ä)-/ ib. 23 etc., /t(&ä)-/ ib. *369* 3 etc., /ti-/ *Ant* 325 Ez 33:25 etc., /(wä)ta-/ *Ant* 280 Jr 34:15 etc., /to-/ TK *11* 20 etc., /te-/ ib. *187* 17 etc., /t-/ ib. *405* 2 etc., /t(ä)-/ ib. 6 etc. G -; -χεμ Mal 2:13 Hex (Field), -(ε)χεμ Ps 31:25 Hex; -; θ- Ps 32:9 Hex, θ(ε)- Mal 2:13 Hex (Field). Lat -; *-(e)chem* Am 5:26 Hi.; *-them* Hos 10:13 Hi.; *tha-* Is 21:13 Hi.

Phoen -; -; -; /t-/. Ug /'atm/; /-km/; /-tm/; /t-/. Aram /'twn/, /twn/, /'ätu^{w}n/, (imp.) /'ntm/; /-(y)kwn/, /-(e^{y})ko^{w}n/; /-twn/, /-tu^{w}n/; /t-/, /ti-/, /tä-/, /t-/. Syr /'a(n)tōn/; /-kōn/; /-tōn/; /te-/, /t(a)-/. Akk /attunu/; /-kunu/, /-kun/; /-(ā)tunu/; /ta-/, /tu-/. Arab /'antum(u)/; /-kum(u)/; /-tum/; /ta-/, /tu-/. Mhr /'ətēm/; /-(i/ī)kəm/; /-kəm/; /tə-/. Soq /tən/, (Leslau) /tin/(,/ten/); /kən/; /kən/; /tə-/. G&z /'äntmmu/; /-kmmu/; /-kmmu/; /t-/, /tä-/. Te /'əntum/; /-kum/, /-(k)kum/; /-kum/; /tə-/. Har /aχāχāč/, /aχāχu/; /-χo/; /-(e)χu/; /tə-/, (Leslau) /ti-/, /tŭ-/, /-t-/. Ch /åχwå̄/, (Leslau) /aχu/; /-(ä)χu/, /-(nä)χu(m); /-χu/, /-(ä)χu/; /tə-/, /ta-/; Sdd /dähəmŭ/, (Leslau) /dähəm/, (myself) /dähäm/; /-dähum/, /-(na)hməmu/(!); /-kəmu/, (Hetzron) /-həm(u)/; /tə-/; Wol /å̄tum/, (Leslau) /atum/, (myself) /ənnanta/; /-ahum/, /-hmw(å̄n)/; /-kum/, /-(ä)hum/; /tə-/. Bed /(bar)āk/, /(bar)ākna/; /-kna/, /-hōkna/; /-t-/; /t-/, /ti-/. Bil /entin/, /intin/; /-kŭm/;?/-t-/. Som /isəng/, /idin/, /VdinkV/; /səng/, /-īn(a)/, /-idin/; /-t-/, /ti-/, /ta-/. Berb: Sus /kunni(n)/; /-k^{u}ĕm/, /-un/;?/-m/, /t-/; Fass /ʃekwen/; /-(ā)wen/, /-(e)ʃ(e)kwen/; /-m/; /t-/; Shilxa /kuni/; /-kun/; /-m/; /t-/; Tu /kăwăniΛ/, /VggăniΛ/; /-(k)wän/, /-(kă/ī)wän/; /-äm/; /t-/. Chad: Hsa /kū/; /-(n/r)ku/, /(ma/mu)ku/; /ku/, /kun/, /kwā/; Ron (Fyer) /won/; /-u/; /'u/, /wu/;

(Bokkos) /hun/; /-u/; /hu/; (Kulere) /yuk/, /yok/; /-ok/; /ku/, /kwa/; Gis /kom/, /('i)kumu/; /-(a)kom/, /-(a/u)kum/; /kə/, /kumu/. Eg /ntčn/, (late var.) /nttn/; /(-)čn/, (var.) /(-)tn/. Cpt /ntåtn/, /ntetn-/; /-tn(e)/.

Again, the basic consonantal element is the same as in sg.; the original mark for plurality appears to be the labial nasal, although this has often, particularly in Cush Berb Eg-Cpt been transformed into an oral one, and in some languages, particularly in Chad, liquefied into a labialized vowel and occasionally turned semivowel, transposed or lost altogether; the liquefying process would be more difficult to understand on the assumption of /n/ as the original pl. marker. The /m/-element is no doubt connected with the same element in noun pl. and with this, may ultimately derive from the interrogative and indefinite /ma/, although the semantic link is by no means obvious; however, indefinite pronominal elements are partly collective in nature, and from collectivity there is a small step to plurality;[4] moreover, in the 2nd pers.pl. pronoun, the notion of collectivity is still inherent, as it may mean also "thou and those with thee".

Pl.f.

Hbr: Sam /(w)etten/ (!B-CH /(w)a-/); /-ken/; /-ten/; /t(V)-/. Bab /(w)'ätän/, /(w)'ätänh/ *MO* 198 (=Eb 24 Ez 34:17.31; Yeivin's facsimile is partly missing, partly illegible); /-kän/ Eb 22 Ez 13:21bis etc.; /-tän/ ib. etc.; /ti-/ ib.:23 etc.

Phoen -; -; -; /t-/. Ug -; /-kn/; /-tn/; /t-/. Aram /'äti^{y}n/; /-(y)kyn/, /-ke^{y}n/; /-ti^{y}n/; /ti-/. Syr /'a(n)tēn/; /-kēn/; /-tēn/; /te-/, /t(a)-/. Akk /attina/; /-kina/, /-kin/; /-(ā)tina/; /ta-/, /tu-/. Arab /'antunna/; /-kunna/; /-tunna/; /ta-/, /tu-/. Mhr /'ətēn/; /-(i/ī)kən/; /-kən-/; /tə-/. Soq = masc. G&z /'äntn/; /-kn/; /-kn/; /t-/, /tä-/. Te /'əntən/; /-kən/, /-(k)kən/; /-kən/; /tə-/. Har = masc. Ch /å̄χmå̄/, (Leslau) /aχma/; /-(ä)χmå̄/, /-(nä)χmå̄(m)/; /-χəma(m)/, /-(ä)χmå/; /tə-/; Sdd /dähmå/, (Leslau) /dähma/; /-dahmå/, (Hetzron) /-dähma/, /-(na)hmå̄(m)/; /-kəmå̄(m)/, (Hetzron) /-həma/; /tə-/; Wol = masc. Bed = masc. Bil /entin/, /intin/; /-kin/;?/-t-/. Som = masc. Berb: Sus /kunnīnti/; /-k^{u}ěnt/, /-unt/;?/-mt/; /t-/; Fass /ʃekmet/, /ʃekwent/; /-(ā)kmet/, /-(ā)went/, /-(e)ʃekmet/, /-(e)ʃekwent/; /-met/; /t-/; Shilxa /kuninti/; /-kunt/, /-unt/; /-mt/; /t-/; Tu /kämätiΛ/, /VggämätΛ/; /-(ə/ī)kmät/, /-kämät/; /-mät/; /t-/. Chad: Hsa = masc. Ron = masc. Gis = masc. Eg = masc. Cpt = masc.

The forms are secondarily differentiated from masc., where difference exists; the etymology is thus essentially the same. The differentiation takes place mostly by vocalic variation or the addition of the /t/-element, familiar as a fem. marker from nominal and verbal flexion; occasionally also by modification of the nasal. The last Bil entry is again conjectural, based on the analogy of the closest cognates.

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[4] E.g., the English *some* is basically collective, but often used in a pluralistic sense; in Central Australian Pintupi, its equivalent /-ya/ is occasionally used as a pl. marker (my personal observation; normally, numbers are not distinguished).

3rd pers. Although the Hbr forms are identical with the basic forms of the demonstrative pronoun for the farther object which usage is conceivably more original, it is considered more proper to discuss it here, as it shares some characteristics with the personal pronoun not shared by the other demonstratives, notably its suffixal use; and in some cognate languages, its etymological equivalent is no longer used as a demonstrative. Verbal formatives, however, are lacking or non-pronominal in the 3rd pers., and so we have only the separate forms and suffixes to discuss here.

Sg.m.

Hbr: aPal /h'/ (Ard); /-h/, /-(n)w/. Q /hw'/, /hw'h/, /hw'h'/, /-hw/, (3Q15) /hw/; /-hw/, /-w/, /-w'/, /-(y)hw/. Sam /'û/; (var. /'ô/), (c. PTdt) /'ā'û/; /-u/, /-o/. Pal /hu^{w}'/ v 24 etc., /ho^{w}'/(!) ix 11qtr etc., /hw/ viR 32; /-hu^{w}/ xiii 30 etc., /-ho^{w}/ xiv 4.11 etc., /-(n)u^{w}/ xiii 6 etc., /(l)u^{w}/(!) vii 22, cf. xiii 9, b 15, /-(a$_{2}^{y}$)w/ iv 11 etc., /-o^{w}/ iv 12 etc., /-o^{h}/ *MW* Dn 11:10. Bab /hu^{w}'/ Ka 6 Gn 42:6bis etc., /(wma)hu^{w}'/ TK *8* 17 etc., /(la')u^{w}/ Yv 75 *M*Sheb 2:9pm (/u/ erasa), /(la')w/ *A.M.* 6:9 etc.; /-o^{w}/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:1bis etc., /-hu^{w}/ *Ant* 280 Jr 34:3 etc., /-(i^{y})u^{w}/(!) TK *407* 7 etc., /-(i^{y})w/ *A.M.* 5:3 etc., /-(a^{y})w/ ib. etc., /-(o)hu^{w}/(!) *Ant* 909 Ez 47:12 (etc.). G ου Ps 18:31 Hex etc., (αφφ)ω 2K 2:14 (etc.; Field); -ου Ps 35:25 Hex etc., -ω 46:4 etc., -(α)υ 89:31 etc., -υι ib.:46 etc. Lat *hu* Ex 16:15 (Sp); -*o* Hab 2:4 Hi. etc., -*(a)u*, var. -*(e)u* Ez 40:21 Hi. etc.

Phoen /h'/, (bybl. emph.) /h't/, (Pu) *u*; /-h/, /-w/, /-y/, (Am) /-u/, (Pu) /-y'/, /-'/, /-m/, -*im*, -*em*, -*ym*. Ug /hw/, (obl.) /hwt/; /-h/, /-(n)h/, /-(n)/, /-(nn)/. Aram /hw'/, /(w/d)w/, /'yhw'/, /hu^{w}'/, /'e^{y}hu^{w}'/; /-(y)h/, /-(w)hy/, /-(w)y/, /-(e)^{y}h/, /-(o^{w})hi^{y}/. Syr /hū/; /-(e)h/, /-(w)(h)y/. Amor /ʃū/. Akk /ʃū/; /-ʃu/, /-ʃ/. Arab /huwa/, /(wa)hwa/; /-hu/, /-(i)hi/. ESA ?(qat.) /sw/; /-hw/, /-h/, (min.) /-s/, /-sw/, (qat.) /-sww/, (chadr. var.) /-θ/. Mhr /ha(h)/; /-əh/, /-hɛ/, /-īh/. Soq /yhe/, (var. Leslau) /hye/; /-ʃ/, (postvocalic var.) /-h/. G&z /w'tu/; /-hu/, /-u/, /-o/. Te /hətu/; /-hu/, /-(y)u/, /-(y/w)o/. ?Eg /swt/, /ntf/; /sw/, /-f/. ?Cpt /ntof/; /-f/.

The main consonantal element is either a sibilant or the glottal fricative; as there is interchange between these sounds even within the same language (particularly in modern SAr), it does not seem too hazardous[5] to assume that the above listed Sem forms are etymologically related. In SEth and elsewhere in the phylum, however, the basic element appears to be different, usually /k/- or /t/-containing, and although sibilants occasionally appear, they seem to have been secondarily derived from those stops, whereas there is no indication of this kind of parentage for the Sem sibilant forms. The only possible exception is Eg(-Cpt), but even there, the derivation of /-f/ causes phonetic difficulties, and the sibilant too could be unrelated to the Sem one, cf. the comment on the other branches of the phylum; the final /-t/ of the ancient form does have parallels in most sub-branches of Sem, but even in them it could be of secondary (objectival) origin.

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[5] Despite Rundgren (et al.); details in Part Three.

Sg.f.

Hbr: Q /hy’/, /hy’h/, (*Mur* 42:4) /hy/; /-h/, /-h’/, /-’h/, /-hh/. Sam /’î/, (c. PTdt) /’ā’î/; /-a/, /-ä/, /-â/. Pal /(we$_2$)hi^y’/ x 7 (etc.); /-h/ iv 8 etc., /-h̟/ vii 6, /-ha$_2$/ xiR 21, /-ha/ d ii 20. Bab /hi^y’/ Eb 5 Jd 18:28 bis etc., /hi^w’/ Ka 5 Dt 2:20 etc.; /-ah/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:14 etc., /-ah̟/ TK *135* 2 etc., /-ha/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:13 etc. G -; -α Ps 46:6 Hex etc. Lat -; -*a* Ez 7:13 Hi. etc.

Phoen /h’/, (NPu) /hy/; /-h/, /-y/, /-’/, -*e*,?/-m/. Ug /hy/, (obl.) /hyt/; /-h/, /-(n)h/, /-(n)/, /-(nn)/. Aram /hy’/, /hy/, /’y/, /(d)y/, /’yhy/, /hi^y’/; /-h/, /-h’/, /-(y)h/, /-(ä)h/, /-(ä)ha/. Syr /hī/; /-(å)h/. Amor /ʃī/. Akk /ʃī/; /-ʃa/, /-ʃ/. Arab /hiya/, /(wa)hya/; /-hā/. ESA /-/; /-h/, (min.) /-s/. Mhr /sē(h)/; /-əs/, /-sɛ/, /-īs/. Soq /se/; /-s/. G&z /y’ti/; /-ha/, /-a/. Te /həta/; /-a/, /-ha/, /-(y/w)a/. ?Eg /stt/, /nts/; /sy/, /-s/. ?Cpt /ntos/; /-s/.

The forms are based, mostly at least, on the masc. ones, therefore the preceding comments, *mutatis mutandis*, apply here too. The differentiating element is usually — ultimately in G&z too — the substitution of the /i/ vowel in the separate form and /a/ in the sf. for the masc. /u/ , in modern SAr (Eg?) consonantal developments.

Pl.m.

Hbr: aPal -; /-hm/, /-m/. Q /hmh/, /hm/; /-(y)hm/, /-(y)hmh/, /-m/, /-mh/. Sam /’ímmä/, /’ímma/; /-ímmä/, /-ímma/, /-(ā)mu/, /(bi/ē)mmä/, /(lā̄)mma/. Pal /hem/ ixR 19 etc., /he$_2$m/ *Rev* 1 25 etc., /him/ xivR 12pm, /hema^h/ *MW 9* 30 etc.,/hema$_2$^{h}/ *Or A* 28, /he$_2$ma^h/ *MW* Jr 2:26pm (?; /he-/ sm; or vice versa?); /-hem/ viiR 32 etc., /-(a)m/ iv 16 etc., /-(a$_2$)mo^w/ *Or A* 25 (etc.), /-mu^w/ b 15. Bab /häm/ *Ant* 117 Jd 1:22 etc., /häma^h/ *Ant* 909 Ez 47:12 etc.; /-häm/ *Ant* 789 Zch 12:8 etc., /(me)häma^h/ Ec 1 Eccl 12:12pm (/-he-/ sm) (etc.), /-(a)m/ TK *376* 21bis etc., /-(ä)m/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:34 etc., /-(a)mo^w/ Ec 51 Ps 2:4 etc., /-(e)mu^w/ (!) ib.:3 (1°). G εμ Ps 9:7 (Field); -(α)μ, -(η)μ, -εμ, -(α)υμ, -(η)μω Ps 18:39.41f 35:16.21 etc. Hex. Lat -; -*(a)m*, -*em* Is 13:10 14:21 Zch 5:6 Hi.

Phoen /hmt/; /-hm/ (bybl.), /-m/, (Am) /-(a)mu/, /-nm/, (Pu) -*(a/y)nnym*.

Ug /hm/, (obl.) /hmt/; /-hm/. Aram /’ynwn/, /hynwn/, /yynwn/, /(w/d)ynwn/, /hymwn/, /hymw/, /’i^{y}nu^{w}n/, /hi^{y}nu^{w}n/; /-(y)hwn/, /-(e^{y})ho^{w}n/, /-(y)nwn/, /-(n)i^{y}nu^{w}n/, /-wn/, /-hwm/. Syr /hennōn/; /-hōn/, /-’ennōn/. Akk /ʃunu/; /-ʃunu/, /-ʃun/. Arab /hum/, /humu/; /-hum/, /-humu/, /-(i)him(u/i)/. ESA -; /-hm(w)/, (min/qat.) /-sm/. Mhr /hēm/; /-(i/ī)həm/. Soq /yhən/, (Leslau) /yhen/; /-(y)hən/, (Leslau) /-hin/, (postconsonantal) /-ʃin/. G&z /’muntu/, /w’tomu/; /-homu/, /-omu/. Te /hətom/; /-om/, /-hom/, /-(y/w)om/. ?Eg /ntsn/; /(-)sn/. ?Cpt /ntow/; /-u/, /-w/.

Based on the sg. mostly with the nasal augment discussed in 2.pl.m. The relevance of the Cpt forms is still more uncertain, depending on whether the final (semi)vowel is connected with the sg.m. vowel which possibility appears remote.

Pl.f.

Hbr: Q /hnh/; /-hnh/, /-hn/. Sam /’ínnä/; /-ínnä/. Pal ?/hn/ vR 19; -. Bab /häna^{h}/ TK *70* 19 etc., /häna^{h}/ Ka 8 Ex 1:19; /-hän/ Eb 22 Ez 16:47 etc., /-häna^{h}/ ib.:51 etc.

Phoen /hmt/ (! = masc.); -. Ug /hn/; /-hn/. Aram /’ynyn/, /hynyn/; /’ini^{y}n/; /-(y)hyn/, /-he^{y}n/, /-(y)nyn/, /-(n)i^{y}ni^{y}n/. Syr /hennēn/; /-hēn/, /-’ennēn/. Amor /ʃina/, /ʃini/; -. Akk /ʃina/; /-ʃina/, /-ʃin/. Arab /hunna/; /-hunna/, /-(i)hinna/. ESA -; /-hn/, (min/qat.) /-sn/. Mhr /sēn/; /-(i/ī)sən/. Soq /sɛn/, (Leslau) /sen/; /-sən/, (Leslau) /-sen/. G&z /’mantu/, /w’ton/; /-hon/, /-on/. Te /hətän/; /-han/, /-än/, /-(y/w)än/. ?Eg = masc. ?Cpt = masc.

Based on the masc. pattern with modifications analogous to those in the 2nd pers. The Pal entry, besides being unvocalized, could be the short form of the PTdc as well. The Phoen form could be vocalically differentiated (cf. G&z), but could also imply that the masc. form is used for both genders.

b) *Demonstrative pronoun*

In the demonstrative category, three basic elements are found in Hbr, with /z/, /l/ and /h/ as the basic consonantal elements. The first of these serves as the basis of the sg. forms for the nearer object, the second for the corresponding pl. forms, the third for the far or farther object, while somewhat varying combinations of the first two or all of them are sometimes used to refer to objects at an intermediary distance. The forms for the far(ther) object being indistinguishable from the 3rd pers. of the personal pronoun already discussed above, it is sufficient for lexical purposes to record and briefly discuss here the first two elements and the attested combinations with their etymological equivalents in cognate languages in this part of the work.

Nearer object: Sg.m.

Hbr: aPal /z/, /zh/. Q /zh/, (3Q15) /z’/. Sam /zē/, /(kâ)ze/, (c. PTdt) /’éz(z)e/(! B-CH /-zz-/ throughout). Pal /ze^{h}/ xii 21bis etc., (c. PTdt) /(ha$_{2}$)ze^{h}/ T-S H 16/9 R 1, /(mha)ze^{h}/(!) *GS 3* 66 (ms.). Bab /zä^{h}/ Ka 5 Gn 40:18 etc., (c. PTdt) /(hä)zä^{h}/ Ea 12 Dt 9:27 etc., /(hä̟)zä$^{h.}$/ Ka 1 Dt 34:6 (etc.), /(hä)zä̱^{h}/(!) *Ant* 117 Jd 1:21(ps) etc. G ζε Ps 49:14 Hex.

Phoen /z/, /z’/, /’z/, (bybl., Ur) /zn/, (NPu) /h’z/, /’hz/, /hyz/, /&ʃ/, /s/, /st/, /’st/, *syth, sith*. ?Ug /hnd/. Aram /dyn/, /dn’/, /hdyn/, /de^{y}n/, /d·nan/, /hade^{y}n/. ?Syr /hånå/, /hån/. Arab /δā/, /hāδā/. ESA /δn/. Mhr /δōməh/. Soq /da/, /dədha/, (Leslau) /de/, /dena/. G&z /z/, /zntu/. ?Har /yī/. Ch /zə/, /zəχ/; Sdd /zi/;?Wol /yeho/.

The Wol entry is my recording; it could be influenced by Amh. The relevance of it and the Har entry also depends on whether the transformation of /z/ to /y/ can be accepted; phonetically, this appears not impossible, as the articulation bases of the two are not widely apart; and although the transformation, if actually happened, has remained very limited, this could mean just that an additional contributing factor was required for it; the problem will be discussed in Part Two. The basic consonant is /z$\sim$δ$\sim$d/, often secondarily augmented by various consonantal and vocalic elements; in Syr, the main cons. seems to have been elided altogether, cf. fem. below and similar phenomena elsewhere in Aram; the identity of the Ug /-d/ is not certain either, cf. Gordon, UT and the relative below.

Sg.f.

Hbr: aPal /z’t/, (late) /zw/, /zw’/. Q /z’t/, /z’wt/, /zw’t/, /zwt/. Sam /zê’ot/. Pal /z’ot/ ivR 23 etc., /zo’t/ T-S H 16/9 R 23 etc. Bab /zo’t/ *Ant* 444 Nm 14:35 etc., /(hä)zo’t/ ib. etc., /-z’ot/ *Ant* 909 Ez 45:16 etc., /zo’̱t/ Ka 1 Dt 34:4, /zo’·t/ Ka 8 Ex 13:14 etc., /(hä̟)z-/ Ka 5 Dt 5:3, /zo^{w}/ TK *19* 15(bis) etc. G ζωθ Ps 49:2 Hex etc.

Phoen /z/, /z’/, /’z/,(NPu) /st/. ?Ug = masc. Aram /d’/, /dh/, /hd’/, /’d’/, /’yd’/, /da’/, /hada’/. Syr /håde’/, /håd/, /hådå’ ((h)y)/. Arab /δī/, /δih/, /δihī̆/, /hāδih(i)/, /hāδī/. ESA /δt/. Mhr /δīməh/. Soq /dəʃ/, /didha/, (Leslau) /deʃ/, /deʃna/. G&z /za/, /zati/. ?Har /ətta/. Ch Sdd ?Wol = masc.

Based on masc., differentiated by means of the fem. afformative /-t/ and/or vocalic modifications or secondary phonetic developments.

Pl.c.

Hbr: aPal (late) /’lw/. Q /’lh/. Sam /’ílla/, /’íllä/, /(’ā)’íllä/. Pal /’ele^{h}/ vii 3 etc.; /’e^{y}l̟u^{w}/ e 12(bis). Bab /’elä^{h}/ Ea 12 Nm 35:29 etc., /’elä̱^{h}/ Ka Dt 5:3, /’elä̱$^{h.}$/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:9, /(ka)’olä^{h}/(!) *Ant* 908 Jr 18:13; /(ha)’el/ TK *390* 10;

/'elu^{w}/ ib. *157* 20 (etc.), /'e^{y}lu^{w}/ ib. *8* 14 etc., /(w)'i^{y}lu^{w}/ ib. *7* 1 (etc.); /hälalu^{w}/ ib. *157* 21 etc., /häläl u^{w}/ ib. *390* 13 etc. Lat *ella* Jr 2:34 Hi.

Phoen /'l/, (NPu) /'l'/, *ily*, (varr.) *illu, aly*. Aram /'ylyn/, /(w)ylyn/, /hlyn/, /hylyn/, /hln/, /'lyyn/, /'ile^{y}n/, /ha'ile^{y}n/. Syr /hålēn/. Akk /ullū/ *that*. Arab /'ulā('i)/, /hā'ulā('i)/. ESA /'ln/, /'lt/, (min.) /'hlt/. Mhr /əlyōməh/. Soq /əlha/, (Leslau) /elhe/, /elhena/. G&z /'llu/, f. /'lla/. Te /'əllom/, f. /'əllän/; cf. /'əlli/, f. /'əlla/ sg.

The basic element is the lateral, although the initial glottal too appears ancient. Gemination may be secondary, being confined to parts of NSem and NEth; separation of genders in the latter is an innovation too. The Arab PTdt may be related, as also /l/-containing relative and deictic elements in other cognate languages also.

Objects at intermediary distances.

Hbr: Q /hlz/ (*Mur* 24 F 10). Sam /'állaz/ (Gn 24:65 37:19). Pal /(w)laz (l)laz/ vii 2. Bab /hälaz/ TK *55* (6.)7bis etc.; /hälazä^{h}/ Codex New York 152 Gn 24:65 37:19.

Arab /'allaδī/ seems hardly comparable, as its final element is different (cf. on the nearer obj. sg.m. above), the first Hbr element is lacking altogether, and its function as a relative is also quite different. The compound may thus be a relatively recent (Hbr only?) innovation.

c) *Relative pronouns*

The common biblical /'(a)ʃär/ being of nominal origin, it will be discussed in the next section. Two other elements occur in our materials ordinarily in the relative function; one of these may be cognate with the demonstrative /z/-element and is therefore discussed first, although its overall occurrence is rather scanty.

Hbr: Pal /zu^{w}/ d i 13 etc.; /ze^{h}/(!) iv 5. Bab /zu^{w}/ Ec 1 Ps 31:5 etc., /zä^{h}/ Ec 22 Ps 68:9. G ζου Ps 31:5 32:8 Hex. Lat *zo* ad Hg 1:1 Hi. (? = *iste*).

Phoen (bybl., Klmw) /z/. Ug /d/, /du-ú/, (f.&pl.) /dt/, var. (hapax) /δ-/. Aram /dy/, /d-/, /di^{y}/, /d-/, /di-/. Syr /d-/, /da-/, /dī(l)-/. Amor /zu/ (=/δu/ Gelb) *he of* ... Arab /δū/, /'allaδī/; f. /δāt/, /'allatī/. ESA /δ-/, /δt-/, (qat.) /δw/, /δm/, /δtm/; (du.) /δy/. Mhr /δ(ə)-/, /l(ə)-/. Soq /di/. G&z /zä-/. Har /zī/, /z-/. ?Ch Sdd Wol /yä-/.

The Eg /z/ *man, somebody, anybody* seems semantically too remote; the nexus with professional terms approaching the meaning of Arab /δū/ is secondary and apparently created through the dative PTpr /n/: *man for* ....

The other pronoun too has a sibilant for the main element, but as the two seem to remain strictly apart in early times, without conceivably transitional variants, it seems too hazardous to assume a common origin for them. The attestations are:

Hbr: aPal /ʃ-/. Q =, /ʃy-/, (*Mur* 24 C 7) /ʃ’-/. Pal /ʃa$_2$-/ xi 9, /ʃe-/ d i 21 etc., /ʃe$_2$-/ T-S H 16/9 9, /ʃ-/ *GS 2* 72. Bab /ʃ-/ TK *24* 3 etc., /ʃ·-/ ib. *31* 8 etc., /ʃä-/ ib. *1* 6 etc., /ʃ̟ä-/ ib. *23* 4 etc., /ʃa(’adam)/ ib. *300* 19.

Phoen /ʃ-/, /’ʃ-/, (NPu) /&ʃ-/, /ʃ&-/, /ʃ’-/, υς, *ys-*, *sy-*, *si-*. ?Ug /ʃ-/ (Aistleitner; + Npr /ʃb&l/ = /ʃu-Ba&l/). Aram (imp.) /ʃ-/. Akk /ʃa/, (OAkk) /$(u/i/a)/, f. /ʃāt/, pl. /ʃūt/.

The Aram entry (from Nerab) could be due to foreign influence. The OAkk spelling usually implies equivalence with Arab /θ/; this would agree with the local PTa /ʃåm/, and as */-am/ occurs elsewhere as an adverbial afformative, it could conceivably be related to the present pronoun. True, the semantic link is not at all obvious, but the adverb too is deictic in nature, and the converse development of /’(a)ʃär/ indicates that the notion of locality was conceivable as one of more general relativity. As the Ug Npr could be of foreign (Can) origin, attestation in Ug too is uncertain.

d) *Indefinite and interrogative pronoun*

The Hbr forms of this pronoun derive from one basic element, alternative Sem expressions remaining on deictic-adverbial level in this language. The pronominal usage is mostly interrogative, but as the nominal preformative /ma-/ is obviously and the plural afformative also probably related, and besides indefinite also relative usage is attested for the independent forms too, the element can hardly have been purely interrogative in origin, although such usage may have always coexisted alongside more general indefinite one from which the relative usage is easily derivable. The occasional negative use (in Arab etc.) may have originated from a rhetorical question, cf. /’e^{y}n/.

As the differentiation of the form referring to entities conceived as personal has taken place by different means in different languages, we record and discuss it together with the apparently more original form now mostly referring to impersonal entities.

Hbr: aPal /mh/; -. Q /mh/; /my/, /my’/. Sam /mā/, /(kā)ma/; /mî/, /mī(-)/. Pal /ma^h/ ixR 30 etc., /ma$_2^h$/ viiR 1 etc., /me^h/ c Ps 39:5 *MW* Jr 2:23; /mi^y/ ix 10 etc., /me$_2^y$/ c Ps 39:7. Bab /mä^h/ Eb 5 Jd 18:14 etc., /mä̟$^{h\cdot}$/ Ka 8 Ex 13:14 etc., /ma^h/ Ea 12 Dt 10:12 etc., /mä^y/(!) Eb 5 Jd 13:17 sm (/mi^y/ pm), /ma’ / TK *60* 3, /mä(hu^w’)/ ib. *7* 13 (etc.), /(w)ma(hu^w’)/ ib. *8* 17 (etc.); /mi^y/ Ka 13 Nm 24:9 etc., /mi^y(y̟iten)/(!) Kc 1 Iob 11:5, /mi^y(-ʃ·hu^w’)/ TK *27* 4 (etc.). G μα Ps 89:47, μη ib.:48, με(β-) Ps 30:10 Hex; μι Ps 89:48, (χι)μι(!) 18:32 Hex. Lat *ma* Am 4:13 (Is 2:22) Hi.

Phoen /m('ʃ)/; /my/, (Pu) *mi*. Ug /mh/; /my/. Aram /mh/, /m'(y)/, /m(hw)/, /ma'/, /ma-/, /mä(huʷ)/; /m'n/, /mn-/, /män/. Syr /må'/, /mån/, /månå'/, /mōn/; /man/, /mann-/. Amor /mā/; /manna/. Akk /mīn/, /minū/; /mann/, (OAkk OBab var.) /man/. Arab /mā/; /man/. ESA (emph.) /-mw/, (min.) /-m/, (qat. var.) /-myw/. Mhr /ma/, /mā/; /mōn/. Soq /mon/, /-m(e)hon/. G&z /mi/, /mnt/, /-mä/; /männu/. Te /mi/; /män/. Har /mən/, (Leslau) /min/; /mān/. Ch /mər/; /mʷan/; Sdd /mən/; /mā/, (Leslau) /ma/, (myself) /man/; Wol /mən/, (myself) /mənənk/; /må̄ni/, (Leslau) /ma/, (myself) /mankə/. Bil /-mā/ PTir. Som /mahā/, /mey/ *what?* Om: Caf /āmō/, /ammō/, /āmā/ =; Janjero /āmba/ =; Ciara /amā/ =. Berb:Rif /mi/, /mĩ/, /min/ =, *(that) which*; Sus /mä/ =, *which? (he) who*; Fass /māi/ *what? how?;*?; /māmmō/ *who?*; Shilxa /ma/, /man/ *what(?), who(?), anything*; Tu /ma/ *what?*; /mi/ *who?* Chad: Hsa /mē/;?/wā/; Ron (Fyer) /mi/, (Bokkos) /-mi/, (Daffo) /ma-/, (Scha) /ma/, (Kulere) /'a-mū/ *what?*;?(Fyer) /wa/, (Bokkos) /-wa/, (Daffo) /wa-/, (Scha) /fa/, (Kulere) /fā-/ *who?*; Gis /me/, /m(ī)ke/ *what?*;?/wa (ka)/ *who?* Eg /m/ *what? who? which?* Cpt /nim/ =.

The basic element is everywhere the labial nasal, although this has been occasionally denasalized, particularly in the Chad personal forms, unless these have different origins; elsewhere, differentiation usually takes place by vocalic modification or consonantal (mostly nasal) augmentation; occasionally, augmentation has taken place otherwise too. In Cush, the element has been largely supplanted by others, although perhaps the Quara (Bed) (semi-) vowel might be another result of denasalization; in Warazi too, Fleming has recorded /mo'o/ *what?*, and in Sid, Cerulli has /mā(y)/ and my own notes /may/ for it.

A reduplicated form in a general indefinite sense, *anything* remains.

Hbr: ?aPal /m'wmh/ (?Lch iii 13). Q /m'wmh/, ?(*Z a* 16:13) /m'wm/. Sam /mē'ũmä/. Bab /m'uʷmaʰ/ Ea 12 Dt 13:18.

Phoen /mnm/. Ug /mnm/.

As in Phoen, /n/ appears to have been frequently created as a glide particularly in pronominal constructions, this may be one of such cases. The Ug form may have been created the same way, as no /n/ appears in the Ug simple pronoun. The Akk /mamman/ is roughly comparable, but has evidently different origins.

SECTION E

PARTICLES

Introductory remarks

This section comprises the rest of the lexical material not included in the preceding ones. They are comprehensively called *particles* (PT), as they are generally small in extent; more importantly, they share the characteristic of being essentially indeclinable; where inflection-like phenomena are found, they are remnants of that in the earlier history of the words many of which have nominal origins; the ability to take suffixed pronouns is largely of the same origin, except for interjections; this feature, however, is not inflectional. On the other hand, nominal origins make it occasionally difficult to distinguish between a noun and a particle, particularly as a part of some composite prepositions; the criterion adopted here is that a compound regularly used in its concrete nominal sense is not considered a composite preposition, whereas one usually with a more abstract or figurative connotation is included here; thus, e.g., /l&e^{y}ne^y/ is not considered a preposition, but /lipne^y/ is. This brings us also to the semantic criterion for particles, to wit, that they do not have substantial meaning of their own, but *modify* the meanings of the other morphemes to which they are attached or (in the case of pure interjections) are so vague as not to have any well-defined meaning at all.

Because of the lack of inflection, the morphological terminology too is largely based on the syntactical usage; to indicate that the designation is morphological, the general designation of particles is prefixed to that specifying the subcategory. Of these, the following are distinguished here: a) *adverbs* (PTa), among which *negations* (PTn) and the *interrogative* adverb (PTir) are further singled out because of their special character; b) *prepositions* (PTpr) and *conjunctions* (PTcj); c) certain other particles of special character each in its own category, viz., the *relative* (PTrel), *indefinite* (PTid) and *existential* (PTex) particles as well as the negation of the latter (PTexn);[1] d) *interjections* (PTij) among which *deictic particles* (PTd) are also included;

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[1] On the other hand, the so-called *nota accusativi* (!) or sign of object is not considered a special case, as it is not construed differently from other prepositions; the reason why it is singled out in traditional grammars is apparently that it is used mainly in contexts in which accusative case appears in languages which do have cases of noun — however, nothing like its regular equivalent.

out of these, the so-called definite article or *determinative particle* (PTdt) is further specified.

Not all the particles, however, belong to only one of these subcategories; therefore, to avoid unnecessary repetition in this lexical part, all the particles are listed below together in an alphabetical order (of the Hebrew alphabet); the subcategory is specified in the beginning of the Hbr entry by means of the abbreviations just given.

List of entries and discussion

'BL: PTa/cj *truly, indeed; but (indeed)*. Hbr: Sam /'âbal/, (= B-CH Pet) /âbel/. Pal /'ba$_2$l/ d iiR 17, /'aba$_2$l/ *Or S* 6. Bab /'äbal/ *A.M.* 3:3 etc.

Related to /bl/ below (q.v.).

'DWT: PTpr: /&al-/ *because of*. Hbr: Sam /&al 'êdot/. Pal /&a$_2$l 'o^{w}do^{w}t/ *Or A* 47.

Arab /'dy/ *D* is structurally difficult and also the meaning, to *cause, induce* seems secondary; the root /'wd/ agrees formally and seems to me semantically at least as close, cf. /'awdat/ *burden, weight*; /'awad/ *inclination, want* and the fact that the prep. is mostly used with reference to something burdensome or else in fulfilment of something promised as a reward for faithful service.

'DYN: PTa *still, yet*. Hbr: Bab /'ädäyyin/ TK *340* 17.

Var. of /&dyn/, cf. /&d/ below.

'HH: PTij *ah! alas!* Hbr: Bab /'ähah/ Eb 22 Jr 32:17. G Jd 6:22 α α BAcko, ααα MNy*b$_2$. αλα x, ω m; rell aliter / om. Lat Ez 4:14 *ah ah ah* A'(Hi.).

Syr /'ah/, /ahå(h)/. Arab /'āh(ā), /'awwah/, /'awh(i)/. G&z /'ä/, /'o/, /'äh/.

The unity of the entry is doubtful; the expressions are onomatopoeic and there is considerable variety of situations in which they are used. The Arab ESA verbs are evidently secondary derivatives from the interjection, although in ESA, this does not happen to be attested.

'W: PTcj *or*. Hbr: aPal /'w/. Q =. Sam /'ū/, /ū/. Pal /'o^w/ xivR 12 etc. Bab = Ea 12 Dt 14:21 etc.; pl.(!) /'·wayi^{y}m/ TK *99* 18 etc., /(me)-'au^{w}yi^{y}m/(!) ib. *100* 4 etc., cs. /'·waye/, /-e^y/ ib. 2 etc.

Phoen /'w/ (KAI no. 159:8). Ug /'u(-)/. Aram /'o^w/. Syr /'aw/. Akk /ū/. Arab /'aw/. ESA /'w/. G&z /'äw/. ?Har /awinum/ *or (else); but also*. ?Ch /wem/, Sdd /wäyyəʃ/, Wol /we/.

The Bab plural forms should perhaps be classified as nouns, as they are not used for syntactical purposes. The SEth forms are doubtful because of the final augmentations, in Har also because of the rather deviating meanings; in Gur, the lack of initial /'/ suggests derivation from /(w(a)/ *and* and by means of the final augment, although in Wol, this must then be supposed to have worn off. Originally, the word may have been imperative of /'wV/, cf. the Lat parallel (K-B^{3} s.v.).

'WY: PTij *ouch! woe!* Hbr: Q /'wy/, (1QIs^{a} 6:5) /'y-/. Sam /'ûwwi/, /'ûiy/. Bab /'o^{w}y/ Eb 5 1S 4:7 etc., /'o^{w}i^{y}/(!) TK *196* 18. Lat *oi* Is 24:16 Hi.

Cf. Ug /'u-/?(Aistleitner), Aram Syr /wåy/, Akk /ū'a/, Arab /way/, G&z /wäy/. However, the expression being onomatopoeic, the variety of forms suggests more than one independent origin.

'WLY: PTa *perhaps, maybe*. Q /'wly/ (1QIs^{a} 37:4 corr.? 47:12 aliter). Sam /'ûli/. Pal /'u^{w}lay/ vii 16, /-a$_{2}$y/ d ii 15. Bab /'u^{w}läy/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:2 etc.

Derivation unclear; basic meaning possibility which is perhaps connectable with a root /'wl/ *be strong*; but its attestation in Hbr cannot be regarded as certain either. The context of the attestations does not favour interpretation involving negation.

'WLM: PTa/cj *but (rather), on the contrary*. Hbr: Q /'wlm/ (Sir 44:10). Sam /(wē)'ûlam/, /(w)ûlam/. Bab /(w·)'u^{w}lam/ Ka 8 Ex 9:16 etc. G ουλαμ "Hbr" (739; ουαλ- 615'; ουλα 57' 550) Gn 28:19 = LXX (ουαλ-*C*').

A Lat *aelam* I am unable to verify. The entry may be related to the preceding one, differentiated semantically by means of the afformative.

'Z(Y): PTa *then*. Hbr: aPal /'z/. Q =, (*Mur* 42:5) /'zy/. Sam /'az/, /'äz/, /(mîyy)az/. Pal /'az/ vi l etc., /'a$_{2}$z/ *GS 4* 45 etc. Bab /'az/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:7 etc.

Ug /'id/ *when*, /'idk/ *then*. Aram /'(ä)dayin/ =. Arab /'iδ/ =; *when, since*. ESA /'δ/ *when*. G&z /y'ze/ *now*. Te /'äze/ =.

Pal /'edayyin/ *Ed 19* 20 is a loan from Aram (Dn 7:19). The entry is apparently cognate with the PNd sg. for the nearer object. With PTpr /min/ it functions occasionally as a conjunction or preposition.

'XR: PTa *behind; afterwards*. Hbr: aPal /'xr/. Q /'xwr/. Sam /'â'er/. Pal /'axo^{w}r/ *MW 8* 14 etc. Bab /(w·)'äxär/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:39 Eb 5 Jd 19:5.

Aram (imp.) /'xr/.

PTpr *behind, after*. Hbr: Q /'xr/, /'xry/; sf. =; /-'k/, /-ykh/, /-yhm/. Sam /'â'er/, /'ā'ûrī/, sf. =, /-rek/, /-ro/, /'ā'ūrîyyä/, /-înu/, /-īkímmä/, /-īyyímmä/, /-īyyínnä/. Pal /'xa$_{2}$r/ d i 8 etc., /'axa$_{2}$r/ *MW 13* 10, /-ar/ ib. *18* 1, sf. /'axre^{y}k/ xiR 25 etc., /'a$_{2}$xra^{y}w/ xiiR 2, /-ra$_{2}$^{y}w/ *GS 2* 17, /-a$_{2}$ra$_{2}$^{y}w/ xiiiR 20, /-re^{y}hem/ *MW 20* 12. Bab /'äxär/ Eb 5 1S 10:5 etc., /'äxre^{y}/ Eb 22 Jr 36:27 etc., /'äx·re^{y}/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:14 etc., /'äxä̲re^{y}/ Ka 6 Gn 41:39, sf. /(me)'äxray/ TK *391* 1(ps), /'äxrä^{y}ka/ ib. *176* 1, /-ra^{y}w/ ib. *160* 6 etc., /-·ra^{y}w/ Ka 2 Gn 17:19 (etc.), /-rä^{y}ha/ TK *157* 1 etc., /-·re^{y}käm/ Ea 12 Dt 11:4, /-re^{y}häm/ ib. 10:15 etc., /-ä̲re^{y}häm/ Ka

6 Ex 14:28 etc., /-re^{y}m/(!) TK *93* 14pm (/-re^{y}häm/ sm). G sf. (ου)δαρηεμ(!) Ps 49:14 Hex.

Phoen /'xr ('ʃ)/ (PTcj). Ug /'aχr/ (PTa/cj). Aram (imp.) /'xry/.

Forms composite adverbs with the postpositive PTa's /kk/, /kn/. The whole entry is derived from the root /'xr/ (cf. Section B).

Prefixation of the pronominal element /ma-/ leads to a contracted /mxr(t)/ PTa *tomorrow, the following day*. Hbr: aPal /mxr/. Q =. Sam /mâ̄r/, /(mim)mā'êret/. Bab /maxar/ Ka 8 Ex 13:14 etc.

The suggested derivation from Akk /maχār/ suffers again from the fact that the supposed root and the derived particle occur exclusively in different languages; the semantic link is by no means obvious either.

'Y: PTa/ir *where? what? which?* Hbr: ?aPal sf. /'yhw/ (K-B^3). Q /'y/, /'yh/, sf. /'ym/. Sam /'ä́yye/, /(w)ä́yye/. Pal /(w)'a$_2$ye^h/ vii 4, /-e$_2^h$/ *MW* Jr 2:28pm. Bab /'e^y/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:8 etc., /'äye^h/ Eb 10 Is 51:13. G αιη Ps 89:50 Hex.

PTn *not*. Hbr: Pal /(l)'i^y/ d ii 16. Bab /(ʃ·)'e^y/ TK *193* 7 etc.

Phoen /'y/ PTexn; /'ybl/ *only*. Ug /'iy/ *where?* /'ay/ *any* (?Gordon). Aram /'ay/, /'e^y/ *where?* (Syr in compounds only.) Amor /'ayya(n)/, /'ayyi/, /'iyya/ *where?* Akk /ai/, /ē/, /ā/, /ya/ *where? not*; /ayyu/ *which?* Arab /'ayy/ *which? what?* ESA (qat., min.) /'y/, /-yw/ *any (one/thing)*. ?Mhr /hībō(h)/ *how?* Soq ?/('i)fo/ = ; /'ē/ *not*. G&z /'äy/ *who? what? which?* /'äyte/ *where?* /'i-/ not. Te /'i-/ = ; /'äyi/ *which?* f. /'äya/ also: *where?* (=/'ttäya/). Har /'āy/ *which?* /'āyde/ *where?* Ch /e/, /ete/, Sdd /yitti/, Wol /ayne/, (myself) /ayint/ *where?* Som /ayyo/, /iyyo/, /ēy/ *who?* ?/intē/ *where?* Eg /yw/ PTn.

In Cush also: Sid /'ay/ *who(m)?*, /-y'o/ *whose?* Or /'ēñu/ *who(m)?* The basic reference appears to be local, but this has often been weakened or lost altogether (cf. similar development in /'ʃr/ below) with a qualifying or even substantival pronominal expression as a result; or also, through rhetorical usage, a negation. The basic element is often reinforced by others most of which also modify the meaning. One of these, the compound with the PNd for the nearer object, develops into a qualifying pronominal element often written together: Bab /'e^{y}zä^h/ TK *20* 9 etc., f. /'e^{y}zo^w/ ib. *10* 6 etc., /-zu^w/ ib. *338* 22 etc.

Other compounds, as a rule written as one word, include the following:

/'yk/ PTa *how?* Hbr: Q /'yk/, /'ykh/, /hykh/. Sam /'ík/, /(w)ik/, /'îkä/. Pal /'e^{y}k/ ivR 12 etc., /(w)'e$_2^y$k/ *MW* Jr 2:21pm, /(w)hek/(!) ib. Dn 10:17; /'e^{y}ka^h/ ivR 8 etc. Bab /'e^{y}k/ Eb 5 1S 16:2 etc., /'e^{y}ka^h/ Eb 22 Jr 48:17, /he^y'ak/ TK *180* 19 etc., /-ak̲/ ib. *87* 13, /-äk/ ib. *400* 10 etc., /he'ak/ ib. *180* 14.

Ug /'ik/ *how? why?* Aram /he^{y}k/, /he^y k-/ *as*; /'e^{y}k/ = ; *how?* Syr /'ayk/ *as, like, about*; /'aykaw/ *how? why?* /'aykan(nå)/ *how?*.

Arab /wayka/ seems to me far-fetched.

/'yk(n)/ PTa *where?* Hbr: Bab /'e^{y}kan/ TK *9* 8 (etc.), /-ḵ-/ ib. *23* 8 etc.
Aram /'e^{y}kå'/. Syr /'aykå'/. Akk /ayyikiam/, /-kā/, /ēkā(ma)/, /ēkānu/.

/'yn/ PTa *where?*; PTexn. Hbr: aPal /'yn/, sf. (1. pl.) /...nnw/. Q /'yn/, sf. /(w)'ynnw/, /-'nnw/ (3.sg.), /'ynmh/. Sam /'în/, /(miyy)ā'în/, sf. /'īnínni/, /'înak/, /īnínnu/, /-nna/, /'īnĭkímma/ (!B-CH /ink-/); dir. /'âna/. Pal /'ayyin/ x 15, /(k)a$_{2}$'yyin/(!) *Rev* 1R 11, /(k)'ayyin/ *Or A* 45 etc., /'e^{y}n/ xii 18 etc.; sf. /(w)'e^{y}neni^{y}/ *MW 12* 16, /-e$_{2}$ny/(!) c Ps 39:14; /(w)'e^{y}nenu^{w}/ (1.pl.) T-S H 16/9 R 12; /(w)e$_{2}$'^{y}na$_{2}$m/ xiiiR 15pm, /(w)'e^{y}nam/ ib.sm; /(we$_{2}$ʃ)'e^{y}na$_{2}$n/ T-S H 16/9 10; dir. /'ana^{h}/ *GS 2* 46; /(&ad) 'ana$_{2}^{h}$/ *MW 8* 26. Bab /(me)'äyin/ Eb 5 Jd 17:9 etc., /-i̱n/ Ka 6 Gn 42:7, /'e^{y}n/ Ka 8 Ex 9:14 etc., /'en/ Yv 107 *M*Ber 5:4 (etc.); sf. /'e^{y}ni^{y}/ TK *9* 6 etc.; /-nu^{w}/ ib. *21* 6 etc., /-no^{w}/ ib. *20* 17^{mg} etc., /(w·)'e^{y}nänu^{w}/ Eb 22 Jr 50:20; /'e^{y}nah/(!) TK *35* 4 etc., /(ʃ·)'e^{y}na$\underset{+}{h}$/ ib. *55* 2 etc.; /'e^{y}n·käm/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:39; /'e^{y}nam/ *Ant* 325 Ez 33:32, /-an/ TK *9* 10 etc. (masc.); ib. 13 (fem.); dir. /(w·)'ana^{h}/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:8 (etc.). G ηv Ps 32:9 etc. Hex.
Mo /'n/. ?Phoen /(b)'n/ *without* (?CIS I 5522:9); (Pu) sf. *ynny* (?Poenulus 1009). Ug /'in/ PTexn. ?Aram /'i^{y}n/ PTir. Akk /ayyānu/, (late Bab) /ayyinna/ *where (from)?* /yānu/, /ya'nu/, /-na/ *is not*. Arab /'ayna/ *where?* G&z /'n-/ PTn.

Bab /'i^{y}n/ (*Por* 146) I am unable to verify. As generally accepted, the use as a negation has developed through rhetorical questions.

/'yph/ PTa *where?* Hbr: Q /'ypw/. Sam /'îfa/. Bab /'e^{y}po^{h}/ *Ant* 339 Jr 36:19, /'epo^{w}'/(!) Eb 10 Is 49:21.

The second Bab entry spelling suggests derivation from /'pw'/ (cf. below) also feasible semantically in the context. The relevance of the SAr Eth comparisons (Leslau, *Contributions* p.10) depends on Jd 8:18 which is not extant in our materials and moreover, belongs to a passage in which several other words are evidently corrupt.

'K: PTa *only, rather, indeed, however*. Hbr: Q /'k/. Sam /äk/. Pal /'a$_{2}$k/ c Ps 39:7 etc. Bab /'äk/ *Ant* 909 Ez 46:17 etc. Lat *ach* Jr 32:30 Hi. ?G&z /-ke/, Te /'ä(k)ke/ (Leslau, *Contributions* p.10).

The derivation of the particle is uncertain; there are several /k/-containing elements semantically fairly close, such as the next entry or the deictic /ki^{y}/; therefore the relevance of the Eth comparisons also remains uncertain.

'KN: PTa *indeed, however*. Hbr: Q /'kn/, (1QIs^{a} 40:7; sm!) /hkn/. Sam /'âken/. Bab /'aken/ Eb 10 Is 49:4. G αχηv Ps 31:23 Hex.
?Syr /'aken/ *then*. ?Aram /håke^{y}n/, Akk /akanna/ *so*.

Again, the derivation is uncertain (connected with the root /kwn/?) and with it, the comparisons too.

'L: PTn *(do) not!* Hbr: aPal /'l/. Q =. Sam /äl/, /'äl/. Pal /'al/ v 16 etc., /'a$_2$l/ *MW* Jr 1:7 etc. Bab /'äl/ Ka 2 Gn 18:3 etc. G ελ Ps 31:2 etc., ελ- (proclitic) 35:22bis Hex Gn 49:4 Epiph (Field).

Phoen /'l/. Ug /'al/. Aram (Zkr, Sfire, imp.) /'l/. Akk /ul/, /ul(l)a/. ESA /'l/ *not, none.* Mhr /'əl ... lā/ *do not!.* Soq /'al/ =; *not.* G&z /'äl(b+sf.)/ *not (have / be).* Te /'älu belä/ *deny.* Har /al-/ PTn *non-*. Ch /aru barä/ *deny*; Sdd Wol /alä/ *without.*

Probably related to /l'/ below. A Bab /'il/ (Sp) I cannot verify; but in the passage (2S 1:21), confusion with the next entry is not inconceivable.

'L(Y): PTpr *to, towards, for, at.* Hbr: aPal /'l/, sf. /'ly/, /'lk/. Q /'l/, sf. /'ly/; /'lyk/, /-kh/; /'lyk/, /-ky/; /'lyw/, /'lw/ (*Mur* 45:7), /'lyhyhw/(!) (1QS 5:25); /'lyh/, /-h'/; /'lynw/, (*Mur* 42:5) /'lnw/; /'lykm/, /-kmh/; /'lyhm/, /-yhmh/, (2Q Jr 42:9) /-whymh/(!). Sam /'äl/, /äl/, sf. /'îli/, /-lek/, /-lo/, /'īlîyyä/, /-înu/, /-īkímmä/, /-īyyímmä/, /-īyyínnä/. Pal /'el/ iv 14 etc., /'e$_2$l/ *Ed 1* 2, /'le^{y}/ ib. *5* 19; sf. /'e$_2$lay/ *MW* Jr 1:14; /'ele^{y}k/ ix 18 etc., /'elyka/(!) c Ps 40:6; /'elyyik/(!f.) *MW 23* 3; /'ele^{y}nu^{w}/ xi 1. Bab /'il/ Ea 12 Dt 13:17 etc., /'i̱l/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:6 etc., /'el/ Ka 2 Gn 18:6 etc. (Ea 12 Dt 11:13pm), /'äl/ TK *11* 9 etc.; sf. /'eläy/ *Ant* 789 Zch 12:10 etc.; /'elä^{y}ka/ Eb 5 1S 3:17 etc.; /'ela^{y}w/ Ka 1 Dt 34:4 etc.; /'elä^{y}ha/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:13 etc.; /'ele^{y}nw/(!) Eb 5 1S 4:3; /'·le^{y}käm/ Eb 22 Jr 25:4 etc.; /'·le^{y}häm/ *Ant* 910 Ez 12:23 etc., /-ehäm/ Eb 22 Jr 25:17 etc., /'ä̱lehäm/ Ka 6 Gn 42:7.9; /'ä̱le^{y}hän/ Ka 8 Ex 1:17, /-ehän/ ib.:19. G ελ Ps 30:10 etc. Hex; sf. ηλαι Gn 43:23 "Hbr" (M), ιλει Ps 31:3 Hex; ηλαχ Ps 30:9 etc. Hex; ηλαυ Ps 32:6 36:3 Hex. Lat *al-* Hos 8:1, sf. *elai* Is 21:11 Hi.

Phoen /'l/ *to.* ?Ug /le-e/ (cf. BASOR 200 p. 16). Aram (Zkr, Sfire, imp.) /'l/. Arab /'ila^{y}/. Te /'l(+sf.)/.

May be cognate with /l/ below.

'L': PTcj *if, except, but (rather).* Hbr: Bab /'ela'/ *A.M.* 1:1 etc., /'e^{y}la'/ ib. 3:9 etc., /'i^{y}la'/ TK *7* 18 etc., /'ila'/ ib. *201* 1 etc.

Aram /'ellå'/.

LW from Aram in Hbr; created through contraction /'in/+/lå'/.

'LW: PTcj *if (perchance).* Hbr: Bab /'i^{y}lu^{w}/ TK *20* 17 etc. /-l̟-/ ib. *203* 12 etc., /'e^{y}lu^{w}/ Yv 14 *M*Ndr 9:4, /(k·)'-/ ib. 13 *M*Ndr 8:11 etc., /(k)-'i^{y}lu^{w}/ TK *297* 22 (!/kylw/ kt pm).

Aram /'illu^{w}/.

LW from Aram in Hbr; created through contraction /'in/+/lū/. Phoen /'l/ could be a parallel formation.

'LMNY: PTid *some, a certain.* Hbr: G 1S 21:3 αλμωνι Adlpqtz, -μονι cx, -μονειμ h^{mg}(?); εμμωνειν efsw, λεμ- y; εμμονιμ m, μεμωνιμ a$_2$, μαεμωνει B; 2K 6:8 ελμωνι; ελιμ- B*, ερμ- o.

Derivation obscure, vocalism perhaps influenced by /plny/ (see below) always preceding.

'M: PTcj *if*. Hbr: aPal /'m/. Q /'m/. Sam /'äm/, /'ä́m-/ (+encl.). Pal /'im/ v 18 etc. Bab /'im/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:9 etc., /'i̲m/ Ka 8 Ex 16:4 etc. G εμ Ps 89:31f Hex.

Phoen /'m/. Ug /hm/, /'im/. Aram /'in/, /'i^{y}n/, /'im/, /hen/, /he^{y}n/, /hi^{y}n/. Syr /'en/. Arab /'in/; ?/'am/, /'immā/ *either / or*. ESA /hm/, /hn/. Mhr /hām/. G&z /'m(mä)/. Bil (Chamir Quara) /-än/. ?Eg /my/ *if, as*. ?Cpt /ma/ *if*.

The Eg-Cpt entry seems to presuppose transposition, but the initial glottal could be secondary in Sem; however, the particle is rarely attested and the conditional connotation could be secondary.

'MN: PTa *truly, indeed, so be it*. Hbr: Q /'mn/. Sam /'âmen/. Pal /(w)'amen/ v 14 (etc.). Bab /'amen/ Ea 12 Dt 27:15f etc. G αμην Ps 89:53(bis) Hex etc. Lat *amen* Is 65:16 Hi.

Aram /'åmen/. Syr /'åmēn/. Arab /'āmīn/, /'a-/. G&z /'ämen/.

The entries from other languages are loans from Hbr, directly or via Gr. The Hbr word derives from the root /'mn/ (see Section B). Another derivate from that root is

'MNM: PTa *truly, indeed*. Q /'mnm/. Sam /'āmēnímmä/. Pal /'o^{w}mnam/ e R 13.

The Sam form suggests that the afformative was originally pronominal or conceived as such secondarily.

'Mʃ: PTa *last night, yesterday*. Hbr: aPal /'mʃ/. Sam /'âmeʃ/. Bab /'ämäʃ/ TK *128* 4 etc., /'amäʃ/ (ct!) ib. *106* 19 etc.

Akk /amʃali/, /-la/. Arab /'amsi^{n}/. Mhr /yəmʃē/. Soq /'imʃin/. Bed /amse/, /-si/.

The Bed entry may be loan from Arab; but the word derives from the root /mʃV/ which appears to be common Sem Eg. Cf. Dolgopolsky p. 142.

'N': PTij *ah, prithee*. Hbr: Q /'nh/. Bab /'an̟a'/ TK *340* 18bis etc. G αννα Ps 118:25bis "Hbr" (Or; Field after Montfaucon). Lat *anna* ib. & Jon 4:2 Hi.

Probably an emphatic form of /n'/ below.

'P: PTa/cj *and, even, also*. Hbr: Q /'p/. Sam /'áf/, (interr.) /'âf/. Pal /'a$_{2}$p/ *Ed 5* 5 (etc.). Bab /'äp/ Ka 2 Lv 26:24 etc., /'ä̲p/ Ka 5 Dt 2:20, /'äp̲/ TK *414* 1, /'ap/ Yv 25 *M*Gitt 1:1. G αφ Ps 89:28.44 Hex.

Phoen /'p/; ?/p-/ *and*. Ug /'ap/; ?/p-/ *and, then, but*. Aram /'ap/, /'u^{w}p/. Syr /'åp/, /'ōp/. ?Arab /fa-/ *(and) then, after, consequently; (in order) that; (as to) ... (certainly)*. ?ESA /f-/ *and, then, so*.

Could plausibly be understood as an emphatic form of the simple cj /p-/, /f-/; but the absence of the latter in Hbr Aram does not favour that interpretation. A compound with the 3.m.sg. personal pronoun may be

'PW': PTa *then, so, in that case.* Hbr: Q /'pw'/, /'pw/, /'phw/, ?/'p hw'h/. Sam /'âfū/, /'âfo/. Pal /'eʸpoʰ/ d iiR 23. ?Bab /'epoʷ'/ Eb 10 Is 49:21 (for /'yph/ MT). G 2K 10:10 αφφω; απφω efmnsw, αμφω hv; om. borc$_2$e$_2$; ?(for /'p hw'/ MT) 2K 2:14 αφφω; απφω Nd*fimnp$^{a?}$q-uw, αμφω b'ehe$_2$, ααφω c$_2$*.

The context in Is 49:21 and 2K 2:14 is ambiguous enough to make this interpretation feasible. The vocalism in Pal Bab (=Tib) may have been influenced by /'yph/ (cf. above, under /'y/), leading then to scribal confusion too. A compound with /'lw/ (cf. above) is

'PLW: PTa/cj *even (if)*. Hbr: Bab /'äpiʸluʷ/ *A.M.* 4:18 etc., /'·p-/ TK *18* 1 etc., /'p-/ ib. 3 etc.
Aram /'(a)piʸluʷ/, /-ll-/.

LW from Aram in Hbr.

'PS: /- ky/ PTcj *only that/because*. Hbr: Q /'ps ky/. Sam /'âfes kī/. Bab /'äpäs kiʸ/ Ea 12 Dt 15:4 etc.

Based on the noun */'aps/ (root /'ps/, Section B) and PTcj /ky/ below. The Phoen /'ps/, even if meaning *only*, may have developed that connotation separately.

'PʃR: PTa/cj *possibly, it is possible (that)*. Hbr: Bab /'ipʃar/ *Ant* 483 *MZ*eb 1:6 etc., /'iʸp·ʃar/ TK *34* 8 etc.
Aram /'äpʃår/, /'i-/.

LW from Aram in Hbr; derivation obscure. The semantically close /'ipʃiʸ/ may have originated as an abbreviation, partly reinterpreted as containing 1.sg.sf.; cf., e.g., TK *413* 1ter vs. ib. 2.

'CL: PTpr *beside, with*. Hbr: Q /'cl/, (*Mur*) /h-/; sf. /'clk/. Sam /'êcel/, sf. /'íclī/, /-la/. Bab /'ecäl/ TK *35* 13 etc., /'eʸcäl ib. *254* 14 etc., sf. /'ic·liʸ/ ib. *128* 1, /-·lak/ ib. *127* 22 etc., /-·loʷ/ ib. *106* 19 etc., /-loʷ/ *A.M.* 5:1 etc.; /-laḥ̟/ Yv 78 *M*Sheb 4:9, /-·laḥ̟/ TK *190* 5. Lat *asel* ad Mic 1:11 Hi.
Phoen /(b)'cl/;?(NPu) /&c'l/.

From the root /'cl/ (Section B). A Bab /'äcäl/ (*Por* 109) I cannot verify.

'ʃR: PTrel. Hbr: aPal /'ʃr/. Q =. Sam /'êʃar/, var. /â̂ʃar/. Pal /'ʃer/ ivR 2 a.fr., /'e$_2$ʃer/ ix 14 etc., /'aʃer/ xi 13, /(w)a'ʃer/(!) T-S H 16/9 R 6, /'a$_2$ʃe$_2$r/ ib. 17. Bab /'äʃär/ *Ant* 908 Jr 19:2 etc., /'ä̱ʃär/ *Ant* 793 Gn 1:7 etc., /'·ʃär/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:1 etc., /'ʃär/ Ea 12 Dt 9:19 etc., /'ʃä̱r/ *Ant* 789 Zch 12:10. G εσερ Ps 31:8 etc. Hex; ασερ Ps 1:1 (Sp). Lat *aser* Is 2:22, *eser* Ez 40:49 Hi.
Mo /'ʃr/.

Originally Ns *place*, from the root /'ʃr/ (Section B).

'ʃRY: PTij *hail (to)! happy ...!* Hbr: Q /'ʃry/, sf. /'ʃrykmh/. Sam sf. /'āʃârak/. Pal /'aʃreʸ/ *MW 23* 25, sf. /'aʃroʷ/ ib. *9* 13. Bab /'äʃreʸ/ TK *84* 21, /'ä̱̟ʃreʸ/ Kc 1 Ps 34:9. G εσρη Ps 1:1 (Sp).

Derived from the root /'ʃr/II (Section B).

’T: PTpr (sign of determined object). Hbr: aPal /’t/; sf. /’th/ (3.m.), /’tm/. Q /’t/, (*Mur*) /t-/; sf. /’wty/, /’wtk/, /-kh/, /-w/, /-wh/, /-h/, /-nw/; /’tkm/, /-kmh/; /’wtm/, /-mh/. Sam /’it/, sf. /’ûti/, /-tak/, /-tek/, /-tu/, /-ta/; /’ūtânu/; /’itkímmä/; /’ūtímmä/; /-īyyínnä/, var. /-ínnä/. Pal /’et/ ivR 6 etc., /’e$_2$t/ *Ed 4* 6 etc., /’it/ *MW* Ez 13:20 (1°); sf. /’o^{w}to^{w}/ d iR 14, /-tah/ ivR 9, /-th̟/ *MW 16* 27 (etc.), /-tanu^{w}/ *GS 4* 138, /’etkem/ *Ed 10* 9 etc., /’o^{w}tam/ *GS 3* 43 etc., /-a$_2$m/ ib. 42 etc. Bab /’et/ Ea 12 Dt 9:21 etc., /’et̲/ ib.: 22 etc.; /’e̲t/ Ka 13 Ex 27:7 etc., sf. /’o^{w}ti^{y}/ Eb 5 Jd 19:18 etc. /’eti^{y}/ (!) *Ant* 280 Jr 33:22; /’otka/ *Ant* 325 Ez 38:4, /’o^{w}t·ka/ Ka 5 Gn 40:19 etc., /’otak/ *Ant* 816 Ez 2:1 etc. (ps), /’o^{w}-/ TK *373* 13 bis (ct!), Eb 5 Jd 13:15 etc. (ps); (f.) = Eb 22 Ez 16:39bis; /’oto^{w}/ *Ant* 444 Ex 37:11 etc., /’o^{w}-/ TK *18* 10 etc., /’e-/(!) *Ant* 908 Jr 27:7 etc.; /’otah/ Ea 12 Dt 11:12 etc., /(w·)’o^{w}-/ *Ant* 910 Ez 12;13, /’o^{w}tah̟/ TK *135* 2; /’otanu^{w}/ Ka 8 Ex 16:3 etc., /’o^{w}-/ Eb 22 Jr 21:2, /’etänu^{w}/(!) ib. 42:2(ps); /’etkäm/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:34 etc., /-t·k-/ Ea 12 Dt 9:16 etc.; /’otam/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:6 etc., /’o^{w}-/ Eb 22 Ez 16:33 etc., /’e-/(!) *Ant* 280 Jr 34:16 etc.; /’ethän/ Eb 22 Ez 16:60f, /-t·h-/ TK *304* 22 etc., /(w·)’et̲hän/ ib. *380* 17, /’et̲·hän/ ib. 15, /’o^{w}tan/ *A.M.* 1:1f etc. G εθ, εθ- Ps 28:9 Hex etc.; sf. ωθι Ps 31:6 Hex. Lat *eth* Hab 3:13 Hi.

Phoen /’t/, (Sidon, Pu) /’yt/, (Pu) /t/, *yth*. Mo /’t/. Ya /wt/. Aram /yåt/, (Zkr Sfire) /’yt/, (imp. Nab Palm) /yt/, /wt/. Syr /yåt/. ?Arab /’iyyā/. Mhr /t(ə)-/. Soq /t-/.

The Arab entry lacking the otherwise universal /t/ must be considered doubtful. G&z /kiya/ is rather remote semantically too. Primitive form is hardly reconstructible, but /w/ may be more original than /y/, cf. the Hbr vocalism suggesting prothetic /’/ liquefying it. In late Hbr, the form with 3.pers.sf. is also used as PNd.

’T II: PTpr *with*. Hbr: aPal /’t/, sf, /’ty/, /’tk/, /’th/(m.), /’tkm/, /’tm/. Q /’t/, sf. /’ty/, /’tk/, /-kh/, /-w/, /-nw/, /-kmh/, /-m/, /-mh/. Sam /’it/, /’ít/ (!B-CH /at/, Pet /et/); sf. /’ítti/, /’íttak/, /’íttu/, /’ítta/, /’ittânu/, /’itkímmä/ (!B-CH /at-/, Pet /et-/); /’ittímmä/, /’ēt-/ (=B-CH; Pet /et-/ ter, /ett-/ qtr). Pal /’e$_2$t/ *Ed 4* 8; sf. /(me)’iti^{y}/ viR 11 (etc.); /’itka/ *MW* Jr 1:8, /(w)’i^{y}tak/ e R 15; /’i^{y}to^{w}/ *Kbr* 12:3; /(m)’i^{y}th̟/ *MW 13* 25; /’i^{y}tam/ *Rev* 8R 11. Bab /’it̟/ Ea 12 Dt 15:3 etc., /’i̲t/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:9, /’et/ ib.:13 etc., /(me)’et/ *Ant* 812 Dt 18:3bis etc., /-’ot/(!) *Ant* 280 Jr 34:1 etc.; sf. /’iti^{y}/ Eb 5 Jd 16:15 etc.; /’it·ka/ Ea 12 Dt 10:21 etc., /’i̟tak/ (!ps?) Ka 5 Gn 40:14, /’i̟tak·/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:18bis etc. (ps), /’itak/ TK *398* 8 (ct!) etc., /’o^{w}tak/ (!ps) *Ant* 908 Jr 19:10; (f.) = Eb 22 Ez 16:60, /’etak/ (!) ib.:62; /’ito^{w}/ TK *7* 2 etc., /’i̟to^{w}/ Ka 13 Ex 28:1 etc., /’eto^{w}/(!) Eb 22 Ez 17:13; /’i̟tanu^{w}/ Ka 5 Dt 5:3, ?/’o^{w}tanu^{w}/ Eb 22 Jr 21:2; /’itam/ TK *346* 20, /’i̟tam/ Ka 8 Ex 12:38 etc.

Phoen /'t/, *yth: with, to.* ?Ug /ht/ *with* (?Aistleitner). Akk /itti/, /ittu/, /itte-/, (Am) /itta-/ *with, at.* ?Soq /'id/ *to(wards), at, with.* ?AK /id/ *to, into, with.* ?G&z /w(ä)'d/ *to(wards), beside.* ?Te /'t/ *at, on, in, by, (affected) with, because of, against; while.* ?Tu /(ə)d/, /də/ *with, in, of; and (also).* ?Chad: Ron (Fyer) /ti/ *at, with, through; of.*

As the etymology of the particle is unclear, the more remote comparisons are uncertain. The Chad entry could as well be related to the preceding entry, as it is also used as a sign of (pronominal) object. In Hbr too, contamination with the preceding entry has taken place; sometimes (e.g., Jr 21:2 above) it is not clear which one is meant.

B: PTpr *in, amongst, (up)on, with, by (means of), on account of, during, in the course of.* Hbr: aPal /b-/; sf. /bkm/. Q /b-/; /'(byt)/ 1QpHab 11:6; sf. /by/, /by'/; /bk/, /bkh/; /bk/, /bky/; /bw/, /bwh/; /bh/, /bh'/; /bnw/; /bkm/, /bkmh/; /bhm/, /bhmh/, /bm/, /bmh/. Sam /ef-/, /eb-/, /ev-/, /b(ā)-/, /bē̆-/; sf. /bī/, /bak/, /bek/, /bū/, /bā/, /bânu/, /bākímmä/; /bímmä/, /bî-/, /bê-/; /bênnä/. Pal /b-/ xR 1 etc., /bi-/ iv 21 etc., /bi^{y}-/ ivR 5 etc., /be-/ xivR 6 etc., /be$_{2}$-/ ix 1 etc., /ba$_{2}$-/ xii 1 etc.; sf. /bi^{y}/ T-S H 16/9 R 6 etc.; /bḵa/ *MW* Ps 71:1 etc., /ba$_{2}$k/ c Ps 31:20(ps), /bak/ *Ed 7* 1 etc. (ct); (f.) = *GS 2* 76; /bo^{w}/ iv 12 etc.; /bah/ viR 3 etc., /ba$_{2}$h/ *GS 1* 28, /bh̟/ vii 6; /banu^{w}/ xi 3 etc.; /bakem/ vii 21 etc.; /bam/ iv 16 a.fr., /bahem/ viiR 18 etc., /bamo^{w}/ *Rev* 8 14.26, /ba$_{2}$mo^{w}/ *Or A* 25. Bab /b-/ Eb 5 1S 2:36 etc., /b·-/ Ka 1 Dt 34:4 etc., /bä-/ Ka 5 Gn 40:16 etc., /bi-/ TK *1* 9 etc., /bi̲-/ Ka 13 Nm 30:6 etc.; sf. /bi^{y}/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:38 etc.; /bka/ *Ant* 261 1S 28:22, /b·ka/ *Ant* 812 Dt 18:10(pm); /bo^{w}/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:17 etc., /bah/ Ka 5 Dt 2:20 etc., /bah̟/ *Ant* 444 Nm 14:30 etc.; /banu^{w}/ TK *391* 3; /bakäm/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:41; /bäm/ ib.:34 etc., /bam/ TK *376* 21bis etc., /bahäm/ *Ant* 908 Jr 18:23 etc. (!TK *403* 3 = fem.), /bahän/ (!masc.) *A.M.* 5:12 etc. G β- Ps 30:7 etc., βα- ib.:6 etc., βε- 31:8 etc., βη- 89:51, (ου)εβ- 49:7 Hex; sf. βακ Is 26:3 "Hbr" Epiph. (Field), βαχ Ps 18:30 etc. Hex; βω ib.:31 etc.; βαμ 49:15 Hex. Lat *ba-* Ps 118:26 Hi. (Field); sf. *bahem* ad Gn 14:5 Hi.

Phoen /b-/, *b(y)-*. Ug /b-/. Aram /b-/. Syr /b-/. ?Akk /ba(ʃū)/. Arab /bi-/. ESA /b-/. Mhr /b(ə)-/. Soq =, (Leslau) /be/, /bi-/. G&z /bä/. Te /'b/, /b-(+sf.)/. Har /-be/. Gur /bä-/. ?Eg /m/, /'m-(+sf.)/ (Gordon, RSO 32 p. 274); or /bw/ *place, region*; *preformative for abstracta* (Behnk, ZÄS 62 p. 81).

Eg /m/ does not normally correspond to Sem /b/; as for /bw/, it is strange that no prepositional usage has developed in Eg, while in Sem, there is no trace of the noun.

For compounds involving /b-/ see under the respective major components.

BD: /(m)l-/ PTa/pr *apart (from)*. Hbr: Q /lbd/, /mlbd/; sf. /lbdy/, /-dkh/, /-dw/. Sam /’élbad/, /míl-/; sf. /’elbéddī/, /-báddak/, /-bắddu/, /millē-béddu/; /’elbédda/, /’älbaddākímmä/; /’elbeddímmä/, /-ínnä/. Pal /lbad/ *Ed 7* 8; sf. /lbadak/ xii 31, /lba$_2$d̟eka/ *MW* Ps 71:16(ps); /lbado^w/ xi 20. Bab /lbäd/ *Ant* 812 Dt 18:8(pm), /l·bad/ *Ant* 789 Zch 12:12 etc. (ps&ct), /l·bäd mi̟-/ Ka 8 Ex 12:37, /(bi)lbäd/ TK *6* 1 etc., /(wbi)lbad (ʃ-)/ *A.M.* 4:11; sf. /lbädäka/ TK *373* 13(ps); /l·bädam/ Eb 22 Ez 14:16.18.

Based on Ns /bad/, see the root /bd(d)/ (Section B). An extended form of PTa is

/lbdd/ *apart, by itself.* Hbr: Sam /’elbâdad/. Pal /lba$_2$da$_2$d/ *MW 10* 1.

B7X: /(l/b)-/ PTa *safely, carefree*. Hbr: Q /lb7x/. Sam /bê7ā/, /’elb-/. Pal /be7ax/ *MW 10* 22; /be7a$_2$x/ viR 1 etc., /lb-/ *Or A* 49, /(w)bb-/ *GS 3* 52.

Based on the root /b7x/ (Section B).

BYN: PTpr *between*. Hbr: Q /byn/(.../(w)byn/); sf. /byny/, /bynkmh/, /bynyhmh/. Sam /bin(.../(u)bin/), /(míb)bin/; sf. /bîni/, /-nak/, /-nu/; /bīnânu/, /bīnātânu/; /(u)bī̆nkímmä/, /bīnímmä/, /bīnātímmä/. Pal /be^{y}n/ xR 12 (etc.), /be^{y}n... lbe^{y}n/ xivR 24, /be^{y}n... le-/ xiiR 17 (pm; /...la$_2$-/ sm); sf. /be^{y}ne^{y}hem/ ixR 6 etc., /be^{y}ne^{y}mo^w/ xii 20. Bab /be^{y}n/ *Ant* 793 Gn 1:4 etc., /(äl)ben/(!) TK *138* 11 (etc.), /be^{y}n... wbe^{y}n/ ib. *23* 6 etc., /be$^{(y)}$n... l-/ ib. *27* 3; sf. /be^{y}ni^y w·be^{y}nä^{y}ka/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:8 etc., /be^{y}ne^{y}nw w·be^{y}ne^{y}käm/(!) Kb 2 Jos 22:28, /be^{y}ne^{y}häm/ TK *1* 13 etc., /be^{y}notam/ Eb 22 Jr 25:16, /be^{y}ne^{y}hän/ (! masc.) *A.M.* 1:3 etc.
Phoen (Cypr.) /bn...wbn/ *either...or*. Ug /bn/. Aram /be^{y}n/, /-nåt/. Arab /bayna/. ESA /byn/. Mhr /əm-mən/, /mənwī-/. Soq /(me-)bīn/. AK /bīn-/. G&z /bäbäynä/ *between, concerning, because of.* Te /’b bäyn/ *between.*

Based on the root /byn/ (Section B). Akk /birt/ seems hardly related.

BL(Y): PTn/pr/cj *not, without (that)*. Hbr: Q /bl/, /bly/, /(l)blty/. Sam /(bā/mib)bâlī/, /bíltī/, /- em/, /(äl/mib)bíltī/. Pal /ba$_2$l/ xiiR 12 (etc.), /baly/(!) ib. 22; /lbal/ xR 13 etc., /lba$_2$l/ *MW 25* 23; /beli^y/ xivR 24, /bli^y/ xiv 21 etc.; sf. /bilto^w/ xiiR 2 etc. Bab /bäl/ *A.M.* 1:10ter etc.; /(mi)bli^y/ Ea 12 Dt 9:28, /-b·li^y/ Eb 22 Ez 14:15, /(hä̱mi̟)b·li^y/ Ka 8 Ex 14:11; /lbälti^y/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:20 etc., /l·b-/ *Ant* 280 Jr 34:9 etc., /l·bä̱l·ti^y/ Ka 8 Ex 9:17. G βαλ Ps 30:7 Hex etc.
Phoen /bl/, /’(y)bl/ *not*; /blt/ *only*. Ug /bl/ *not*. Akk /bal(a)/, /balī-/ *without*. Arab /bal/ *no, but, rather*. ?G&z /’nbälä/ *except, unless.*

Related to the root /blV/ (Section B). A compound with /&d(y)/ (see below):

/bl&dy/ PTpr *without, regardless of.* Hbr: Q /(hm)bl&dy/; sf.

/(m)bl&dy/, /-ykh/, /-yw/. Sam /bālâdī/ (!B-CH /-ddi/); sf. /(mib)bālâddi/, /(u)bālâddek/. Pal /(wm)ba$_2$l&de^{y}k/(!) *GS 3* 160. G (μεβ)βελαδη Ps 18:32 Hex.

B&D: PTpr *behind, through, after, across, (caring) for*. Hbr: Q /b&d/, sf. /-dy/, /-dk/, /-dkmh/. Sam /bêd/, sf. /-ddi/, /-ddak/, /-ddu/, /bēddímmä/. Pal /(mi)b&ad/ *MW 17* 8, /b&a$_2$d/ xiiiR 29 etc., /be$_2$&ad/ xR 14 (ms.); sf. /ba$_2$&di^y/ *GS 2* 4 etc., /-de^{y}nu^w/ *MW 8* 2, /-dam/ xiiR 22 etc., /ba&dam/ *Rev* 8R 23. Bab /b&äd/ Eb 5 1S 12:19, /b·&äd/ *Ant* 789 Zch 12:8 etc.; sf. /b&ädo^w/ TK *340* 13 etc., /b·&-/ ib. 17 etc., /b&ädenw/(!) *Ant* 339 Jr 37:3.

Ug /b&d/. ?Aram (imp.; sf.?) /b&dh/. Arab /ba&du/. ESA /b&d/. Mhr /(əm/mən)bād/. Soq /(min) ba&d/.

Derived from a root /b&d/ (not extant in our materials; cf. Arab).

GLL: /b-/ PTpr *on account of*. Hbr: Sam /evgâlal/, sf. /-gālâlak/, /-gālâlek/, /-gālalkímma/ (!B-CH /afgē-/ throughout). Bab /big·läl/ TK *48* 20 etc., /-g̱-/ ib. *49* 1 etc.

Aram /(min) biglal/. Arab /min ğalal/, /min 'iğlāl/.

Based on the root /gl(l)/ (Section B), although the semantic connection is by no means obvious (cf. K-B^3, Arab).

GM: PTa/cj *(and) also, even*. Hbr: aPal /gm/. Q =. Sam /gäm/. Pal /gam/ ivR 21 etc., /(w)ga$_2$m/ iv 12 etc. Bab /gäm/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:16 etc., /gä̱m/ Ka 8 Ex 12:31bis etc. G γαμ Ps 49:3bis Hex.

Mo /gm/. ?Phoen (NPu) /gm/ *sum total, perfection (?)*. Ya /gm/.

Apparently connected with the root /gm(m)/ (Section B), although in Hbr, the connection is not obvious (but cf. Arab). Derivation from Ug /g/ *voice* is an ingenious conjecture, but hardly anything more.

H: PTdt *the*. Hbr: aPal /h-/. Q =, /h'-/. Sam /'a-/, /'ā-/, /'ä-/, /'e-/. Pal /ha-/ xiR 2 a.fr., /ha$_2$-/ xi 16 a.fr., /he-/ iv 11 etc. Bab /hä-/ *Ant* 280 Jr 33:22 a.fr., /hä̟-/ *Ant* 793 Gn 1:1 etc., /ha-/ ib. etc. G α- Ps 18:31 35:28 etc. Hex (etc.), α-(+gemination) Ps 49:7 etc. Hex (etc.). Lat *a-* Is 2:22 Zph 1:10 Hi. etc., *a*-(+gemination) Mal 3:9 Hi. etc.

Mo /h-/. Phoen =, (Pu) /'-/, *a-*, (NPu) /&-/, /x-/. Arab (Lih Tham Saf) /h-/.

Probably of deictic origin, cf. /h'/ below; without any trace of another cons. in the above forms, derivation from a */hal/ or */han/ is hard to accept, as /l/ of the Arab PTdt is not assimilated to all consonants, and */han/ is geographically remote and scantily attested.

H II: PTir. Hbr: aPal /h-/. Q =. Sam /'ā/, /'ä-(+gemination)/. Pal /ha-/ *MW 17* 4, /ha$_2$-/ c Ps 30:10. Bab /h·-/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:13 etc., /hä/- *Ant* 816 Jr 44:9 etc., /hä̱-/ Ka 6 Gn 41:38 etc. G α- Ps 30:10bis Hex.

?Ug /'a-/? /h-/? Aram /h(a)-/. Arab /'a-/.

The Chad attestation in Ron (Fyer) /-(h)a/ may be coincidental, cf. Finnish colloquial /häh/ used in the same sense.

H': PTd *lo! here you are!* Hbr: ?Q /h&/ (Sir 41:2). Sam /'â/. Bab /he'/ Eb 22 Ez 16:43 etc., /ha'/ TK *11* 9 etc.

Aram /hå'/, /hå-/. Syr /hå'/. Arab /hā/. Soq /ha/, /'ehe/. AK /hā/. Berb: Sus /hā/, Shilxa /ha/, Tu /he/. ?Eg /h'/, /hy/, /'hy/.

As for most interjections, more than one independent origin cannot be ruled out. The Phoen /(w)h'/ is in a broken context and even so, interpretation as a pronoun (cf. KAI) seems more plausible.

H'X: PTij (of malicious or other pleasure). Hbr: Q /h'x/. Bab /ha'ax/ Eb 10 Ez 36:2 etc. G αααα (!bis) Ps 35:21, αα ib.:25 Hex.

Parallels quoted in K-B^{3} are phonetically too remote to be accepted as cognate.

HWY: PTa *consequently*. Hbr: Bab /hauwwe^{y}/(!) TK *297* 16 etc.

Aram /håwe^{y}/.

LW from Aram in Hbr.

HWY II: PTij *ah! woe!*. Hbr: Q /hwy/. Pal /ho^{w}y/ vii 6. Bab /(w·)ho^{w}y/ *Ant* 280 Jr 34:5 (etc.), /ho^{w}i^{y}/(!) Eb 22 Jr 22:13.18bis, /(w·)-/ ib.:18bis. G Zph 3:18 (for /hyw/ MT) ουαι; ωι A' (Ziegler; οι Field). Lat *oi* Is 29:1 Hi.

Cf. /'wy/ above.

HYDD: PTij (shout for joy, war-cry). Hbr: Q /hydd/. Bab /he^{y}dad/ Eb 22 Jr 25:30. G Jr 25:30 οιδε; ηδαδ A' (86); 48:33ter αιδε; ηδαβ αιλεα L^{-59}, ηδαδ 51-407-449; ηδαδ αιδε Thdt, ηδαδ... ηδαδ A' (86), αδαδ αδαδ θ' (Syh); 51:14 ηδαδ A'(86), αδαδ Θ' (Syh).

Cf. Syr /hādāy/ (see K-B^{3}).

HL'H: PTij *farther, onwards*. Hbr: Q /(w/m)hl'h/. Sam /(w)ālâ/. Bab /(wa)hal'a^{h}/ 1S 10:3.

Aram /hal(lå')/, /(l)hal'å^{h}/. Syr /lhal/.

Akk /aχula/ seems phonetically remote.

HLM: PTa *hither, here*. Hbr: Sam /'ålam/. Bab /h·lom/ Eb 5 Jd 18:3 etc.

Ug /hlm/. Arab /halumma/.

HLN: PTa *farther, further on; hither*. Hbr: Bab /läh·lan/ TK *21* 9bis etc., /-hl-/ ib. *193* 7 etc., /(w)lhälan/ Yv 28 *M*Gitt 5:6.

Ug /hln/ *then*, /hlny/ *here*. Aram /lhallån/.

LW from Aram in Hbr.

HN(H): PTd/cj *lo! behold! if*. Hbr: aPal /hn/, /hnh/. Q =, sf. /hnny/, /hnkh/, /hnnw/, /hnwmh/(!). Sam /än/, /'ínna/, /(w)ênnä/; sf. /'innâni/, /'ínnak/, /'ínnek/, /'innânu/, /(w)innākímmä/, /-innímmä/. Pal /hen/ e 9, /he$_{2}$n/ b 24 etc., /hine^{h}/ *GS 1* 58bis etc., /-e$_{2}^{h}$/ c Ps 40:8 etc.; sf. /hinni^{y}/ *Or A* 18 etc.; (f.) /hinak/ *GS 2* 12, /hi^{y}na$_{2}$k/ (!ms.) ib.30. Bab /hen/ Ea 12 Dt 10:14, /hi^{y}n/ TK *25* 22 etc., /hine^{h}/ *Ant* 910 Ez 21:5 etc., /(w·)hi̟ne^{h}/ *Ant* 795 Gn 15:17 etc., /-e$^{h\cdot}$/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:12 etc.,

/hino^{h}/(!) Eb 22 Jr 23:19; sf. /(w·)hi̲n·ni^{y}/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:13 etc., /hi-/ Ka 8 Ex 9:18 etc., /hinäni^{y}/ *Ant* 908 Jr 19:3 etc., /-nen-/ Eb 5 1S 3:4.16 etc. (ps); (f.) /hi̟nak/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:11; /hinam/ Eb 5 1S 12:2. Phoen /hn/; *hynny*. Ug /hn/. Aram /hen/, /'i$^{(y)}$n/, (imp. Nab. Palm.) /hn/, /'n/. Syr /'en/ *if*. Arab /'in/, /'inna/. ?Soq /'ine/.

The usage as a cj in Hbr may have been influenced by Aram where the particle has fallen together with /'m/ above.

HNH: PTa (dir.) *hither*. Hbr: Q /hnh/. Sam /'ânä/. Pal /hena^{h}/ xiii 5. Bab /hena^{h}/ *Ant* 795 Gn 15:16.

Phoen (NPu) /'n'/ *here*. Ug /hn/ = ; *?hither*. Arab /hunā/ *here*.

HP&M: PTa *(for) once*. Hbr: Sam /ebbâm/.

Cf. /p&m/ in Section B.

HRBH: PTa *much, greatly*. Hbr: Q /hrbh/. Sam /árbā/. Pal /ha$_{2}$rbe^{h}/ d iR 6 bis. Bab /härbe^{y}/ TK *198* 2 etc., /-r·b-/ ib. *70* 21bis etc., /(mo)härbo^{h}/(!) Eb 22 Jr 42:2.

Originally /rbV/ *H* nvb (cf. Section B).

HRY: PTd *see, behold!* Hbr: Bab /h·re^{y}/ *A.M.* 2:7 etc.; sf. /h·re^{y}ni^{y}/ ib.:6 etc.

Originally imperative of /r'V/ (Section B) with prothetic vowel.

W: PTcj *and, then, also, (together) with, that is, or, so, but*. Hbr: aPal /w-/. Q =. Sam =, /u-/, /'u-/, /we-/, /wi-/, /wu-/, /uw-/, /-/. Pal /w-/ iv 1bis a.fr., /wa$_{2}$-/ ix 6sm etc., /wa-/ c Ps 29:10 etc., /we-/ xiv 21pm etc., /we$_{2}$-/ ivR 17pm etc., /wi-/ c Ps 39:3 etc., /u^{w}-/ *Ed 1* 7 etc. Bab /w-/ Ea 12 Dt 9:15 a.fr., /w·-/ Ka 1 Dt 33:8 a.fr., /wä-/ Ka 2 Gn 17:19 a.fr., /wa-/ Ea 12 Dt 9:15 etc., /wi-/ Ka 2 Gn 17:20 etc., /wi̲-/ Ka 1 Dt 33:9bis etc., /wä̟-/ ib. 34:4 etc. G ου- Ps 18:27 bis Hex a.fr., ουα- Ps 32:9 44:19 Hex etc., ουαθ- Ps 89:39 Hex, ουε- Ps 35:21 30:12(?) Hex, ?ω(φαζ) Prv 8:19 Σ' (Field after Nobil). Lat *u-* Ez 40:49 Hi. etc.

Phoen /w-/, *u-*, *y-*, ου-. Ug /w-/. Aram /w-/, /wa-/, /u^{w}-/. Syr /w-/. Akk /u/. Arab /wa-/. ESA /w-/. Mhr /w(ə)-/, /əw-/. Soq /w(ə)-/, /wa-/, /we-/, /wu-/, /ū(-)/. G&z /wä-/. Te =. Har /-wa/. Wol /-wä/. Bed /-wa/.

The Bed entry may be loan from Sem, as there are no other non-Sem attestations; the scarcity of attestation in SEth may be due to Cush influence. A verbal etymology is hardly provable; as for Eg /yw/, it is strange that where the verb is attested, the cj is not and vice versa; the Arab accusative may more plausibly be understood as a relic from the period when inactive subject was equated with the object vs. the active subject in an ergative case, cf. its occurrence with /kwn/ etc.

ZWLT(Y): PTpr *except, apart from; only*. Hbr: Q /zwlt/, sf. /-ty/, /-tk/, /-tkh/, /-th/, /-tm/. Sam /zūlâtī/. Pal /zu^{w}la$_{2}$t/ *Rev* 4:1R 23, sf. /zu^{w}l-tak/(!) *GS 4* 128. Bab sf. /zwltäk/(!) *Ant* 366 1Ch 17:20(ps). G ζουλαθι Ps 18:32 Hex.

Derived from the root /zwl/ (Section B).

XLYLH: PTij *far be it...!* Hbr: Sam /'ālîlā/. Pal /xali^{y}la^h/ *MW 17* 10.

Possibly related to root /xl(l)/ (Section B).

XMT: /m-/ PTpr *because of, in consequence of*. Hbr: Bab /mix·mät/ TK *63* 14 etc., /mi^{y}x·mat/(!) ib. *396* 1, /(ʃä)mex·mät/ Yv 49 *M*Maksh 2:2; sf. /mex·matah/ ib.

Aram /mex(a)mat/.

LW from Aram in Hbr.

XNM: PTa *gratis, unmerited, without reason, in vain*. Hbr: Q /xnm/. Sam /'ínnam/. Pal /xinam/ *MW* Ez 14:23, /xi^y-/ ixR 28. Bab /xinam/ TK *1* 20 etc., /xi^y-/ ib. 18 etc., /xi̟-/ Ka 17 Nm 11:5, /(l·)xinäm/(!) Eb 22 Ez 14:23. G εvvαμ Ps 35:19 Hex.

Phoen /xnm/.

From the root /xn(n)/ (Section B).

7RM: PTpr/cj *before, not yet*. Hbr: Q /7rm/. Sam /7ârem/, /(äf)7êrem/. Pal /7erem/ vii 21 etc., /(b)7ere$_2$m/ c Ps 39:14. Bab /7äräm/ Eb 5 1S 3:3 etc., /(b·)7ärä̱m/ Ka 8 Ex 1:19, /7-/ ib. 12:34.

Etymology obscure (cf. K-B^3).

YXD(W): PTa *(all) together*. Hbr: Q /yxd/, /-dw/, /-dyw/. Sam /yâddu/. Pal /yxad/(!) *GS 4* 100 etc., /yaxad/ xi 19 etc., /-a$_2$d/ iv 18 etc., /ya$_2$xa$_2$d/ c Ps 41:8, /-xda$_2$w/ vii 3 etc., /-xd̟-/ *MW* Ps 55:15, /yexda$_2$w/ ib. 71:10. Bab /yäxdaw/ Eb 22 Jr 50:4 etc., /-x·d-/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:6bis etc. G ιααδ Ps 49:3, -δε(!) ib.:11, ιδαυ(!) 35:26 Hex.

?Phoen /'xdy/ *together(?)*.

Derived from the root /yxd/ (Section B); the afformative /-w/ obscure; assumption of imitation of /lpnyw/ satisfies only the late var. /yxdyw/.

Yʃ: PTex *there is*. Hbr: Q /yʃ/. Sam /yéʃ/, /-yeʃ/, /yéʃ-/; (interr.) /'âyeʃ/; sf. /yâʃak/, /yáʃnu/, /('ā)yäʃkímmä/; f. /yâʃat/ (Gn 23:8 for /yʃ 't/ MT). Pal /yeʃ/ ix 28 etc., /(wi)yeʃ/ d iR 2. Bab /yeʃ/ *Ant* 260 Jr 31:6 etc., /(ʃä)yyeʃ/ TK *410* 13 etc. Lat *is* Gn 30:18 Hi.

Phoen (Pu) *ys, us, s*. Ug /'iθ/. Aram /'i^{y}t(ay)/. Syr /'īt/. Akk /iʃū/ *have*, /laʃʃu/ *not have*. Arab /lys/ *not be*.

NB. Arab /s/. Originally perhaps a noun, but hardly meaning *property*.

K: PTpr *as, like, about, according to; when, at the time of*. Hbr: aPal /k-/. Q =, /kmw/, /kmw'/, *(Mur)* /kmh/; sf. /kmwny/, /kmwkh/, /kmwhw/, /kmwh/, /-hh/; /kmwnw/, /kmwhm/. Sam /k-/, /kā-/, /kâ-/, /kâmu/; sf. /kāmûnī/, /kâmok/, /kāmê'u/, /kāmûwwä/, /kāmûnu/, /kākímmä/, /kā'ínnä/. Pal /k-/ iv 6 etc., /ke-/ xiiR 14, /ke$_2$-/ xi 7, /ka$_2$-/ ixR 2, /ki-/ e 12; /kmo^w/ e R 2 etc., /ka$_2$mo^w/ ivR 18 etc.; sf.

/kmo^{w}k/ *Ed 7* 1, /kamo^{w}k/ ix 10, /kakem/ *GS 3* 85. Bab /k-/ Ea 12 Dt 1:41 etc., /k·-/ ib. 10:4 etc., /ka-/ Eb 5 Jd 15:7 etc., /ki-/ ib. 14:11 etc., /kä-/ TK *1* 21 etc., /ko-/ ib. *9* 8; /k·mo^{w}/ Kc 1 Iob 10:22 etc. /k·mo^{w}t/ TK *24* 9 etc.; sf. /kamoni^{y}/ Ka 8 Ex 9:14 etc., /-o^{w}ka/ Ka 5 Dt 5:14 etc., /-ohu^{w}/ Ka 8 Ex 9:18, /-o^{w}hu^{w}/ TK *465* 17 etc., /(ʃä)k̟moto^{w}/ ib. *171* 9 etc., /kamo^{w}ha/ ib. *137* 11 etc., /k·mo^{w}tah̟/ ib. *207* 15 etc., /-tam/ ib. 14 etc. G χ- Ps 18:34 etc., χα- ib.:43 etc., χι- 32:9, χε- 35:14; χαμω 89:47 Hex (etc.). Lat *cha-* Is 14:19 Hi.
Phoen /k-/, /km/. Ug =. Aram /k-/, /kmå’/. Syr /(’a)kwåt/. Amor /ka-/, /ki-/, /kama/(, /kima/). Akk /kī/, /kīma/. Arab /ka-/, /kamā/. ESA /km(w)/, /kwmw/. G&z /kämä/. Te /kəm/. Har /-kut/. Ch /(yä...) χäma/, Sdd /(yä...) kom/, /- hom/. ?Chad: Hsa /kamā/, /-ar/, /-an/, Gis /kā/.

Sam /kā’immä/ in *Materials II* is a mistake. The Chad entries, although semantically plausible and phonologically possible, must be considered uncertain in the absence of attestations in the other branches of the phylum. Suffixation of PTrel produces a

PTa/cj *as, when, because, as if*. Hbr: aPal /k’ʃr/. Q =. Sam /kā’âʃar/. Pal /k’aʃer/ vi 23 etc., /ka’ʃer/(!) T-S H 16/9 R 24. Bab /k’äʃär/ *Ant* 812 Dt 18:2 etc., /k·’-/ *Ant* 909 Ez 46:7 etc., /kä’·ʃär/ Ka 2 Gn 17:23, /kä’äʃär/ Ka 5 Gn 40:14 etc.

Parallel to this is the prefixable

PTcj =. Hbr: Bab /kʃä-/ Ec 1 Eccl 5:14 etc., /k·ʃä-/ ib. 12:7 etc.

Cf. Phoen /km ’ʃ/, Akk /kī ʃa/. Suffixation of the PNir/id produces a

PTa *how much / many?/!* Hbr: Sam /kâma/. Pal /kma$_{2}^{h}$/ vii 10. Bab /käma^{h}/ TK *6* 11 (bis) etc., /käma’/ ib. *211* 2. G χαμμα Ps 35:17 Hex.

A Bab /k·ma^{h}/ (*Por* 8 n. 4) I am unable to verify. Cf. Aram /kmå^{h}’/, Syr /(’a)kmå’/, Mhr /kəm/, Soq /kem/, Te /käm/.

K’N: PTa *here*. Hbr: Bab /ka’n/ *Ant* 483 *M*Eduy 7:1 etc., /k̟-/ TK *344* 8; /kan/ ib. *21* 8 etc., /k̟-/ ib. 6 etc.
Aram /kå’n/, /kån/.

LW from Aram in Hbr.

KBR: PTa *long ago, already*. Hbr: Pal /kba$_{2}$r/ vR19, /ka$_{2}$bar/ T-S H 16/9 10. Bab /k·bar/ TK *20* 9 etc., /k·b̲ar/ Ec 1 Eccl 1:10 etc.
Aram /kbår/. Syr /(’a)kbar/.

Probably from the root /kbr/ (Section B); LW from Aram in Hbr.

KH: PTa *here, now, thus, so*. Hbr: Q /kh/, /kwh/. Sam /kā/. Bab /ko^{h}/ *Ant* 908 Jr 18:13 etc.; /ke^{h}/(!) Eb 22 Jr 25:15.
Phoen (Pu) /k’/, *choth, ynnochoth, (la)chchu: here*. Aram /kå’^{h}/ =. Syr /-kå’/ =. Soq /(-)χa/ =.?Eg /k’/ *indeed, so, then*.

Apparently related to /k’n/ above and maybe ultimately to /k/. The Eg entry may be of independent derivation. A reduplicated derivate:

/kk(h)/ PTa *thus, so*. Hbr: Q /kkh/. Sam /kâkā/. Pal /(l)ka$_2$k/ *Or C* 1. Bab /kakaʰ/ Eb 22 Jr 22:8, /k̟ak̠aʰ/ TK *42* 22: /kak/ ib. *71* 7 etc., /käk/ ib. *11* 3 (etc.), /k̟ak̠/ ib. *119* 19 etc., /(l)k̟ak̠/(!) ib. *131* 3, /(l·)-/(!) ib. *105* 3bis, /(l·piʸ)-/(!) ib. *123* 14, /(l·piʸ) k̟ak̠/(!) ib. *137* 2.

Akk /kikī/ *how?!* seems to have a different origin.

KY: PTd/cj *behold, indeed; for, that, because, but, rather, when, if, although*. Hbr: aPal /ky/. Q =, /ky'/. Sam /kī(-)/, /kî-(+encl.)/. Pal /kiʸ/ iv 11 etc. Bab /kiʸ/ *Ant* 793 Gn 1:4 etc., /(w)k̠iʸ/ TK *90* 22 etc. G χι Ps 18:28f Hex etc. Lat *chi* Is 2:22 Hi.

Mo /ky/. Phoen =, /k-/, (NPu) /kx/, /k&/, *chy, ch-*. Ug /k-/, /km/, /ky/. Aram /kiʸ/. Akk /kī/, /kīma/.

May be ultimately related to /k/. Combination with the conditional subjunction produces

/- 'm/ PTcj *except, but only (if)*. Hbr: aPal /ky 'm/. Q =, /ky' 'm/, /ky'm/, /k'm/. Sam /kî-em/, /kî 'em/. Pal /kiʸ 'im/ *Ed 6* 4 etc. Bab /kiʸ 'im/(!) Eb 22 Jr 22:12, /kiʸ 'i̱m/ Ka 5 Gn 40:14.

For other compounds cf. under the other main components, respectively.

KYWN: /- ʃ-/ PTcj *as soon as*. Hbr: Bab /keʸwan ʃä-/ Yv 77 *M*Sheb 4:10(!) etc.

Aram =.

LW from Aram in Hbr.

KYCD: PTa *how? in what manner?* Hbr: Bab /keʸcäd/ TK *1* 17 etc., /kecäd/ ib. *10* 11.

Aram /keʸcad/.

Contraction from /k'eʸ zäʰ cad/, cf. /k'eʸzcäd/ TK *88* 16, /k·'eʸz cäd/ ib. *1* 14 (etc.).

KLWM: PTid *anything (at all)*. Hbr: Bab /k·luʷm/ *Ant* 483 *M*Eduy 7:1 etc.

Aram =.

Contraction from /kol m'uʷmaʰ/?

KLPY: PTpr *towards, opposite, against*. Hbr: Q /klpy/ (3Q15). Bab /k·läpeʸ/ TK *23* 9 etc., /-p̟eʸ/ ib. *292* 6.

Aram =.

Contraction from /k/+/l/+/'appeʸ/? LW from Aram in Hbr.

KN: PTa *so*. Hbr: aPal /kn/. Q =. Sam /ken/. Pal /ken/ ivR 18 etc. Bab /ken/ Eb 5 1S 10:5 etc., /k̠en/ Eb 10 Is 51:6 etc., /keʸn/ *Ant* 280 Jr 33:22 etc. G χεν Ps 46:3 Hex. Lat *chen* Zch 11:11 Hi.

Phoen /kn/, *chen: thus*. Ug /kn/. Aram /ken/, /keʸn/. ?Syr /ken/ *then, afterwards*. ESA /kn/ *thus*.

Probably from the root /kwn/ (Section B); original meaning *firmly, properly, correctly*; Akk /akanna/, /kannā/ hardly connectable (cf. v. Soden). In Sam, B-CH has /ken/ in Gn 1:7.9.11.15.24.30 25:22 48:18 Nm

12:7 Dt 18:14, /kan/ everywhere else (about 165 times; compounds with /l-/ obscure) without discernible consistent semantic difference; Pet has /ken/ everywhere, and so Ritter and Schaade, except that the latter mostly specifies a closer allophone (ė), once a broader one (ę) besides the unqualified /e/. Accordingly, /a/ appears to be a recent development.

Prefixation of PTpr /l-/ or /&l/ produces compounds with causal connotation:

/lkn/, /&l kn/ PTcj *therefore*. Hbr: Q /lkn/, /&l kn/. Sam /él-ken/, /&ál-ken/. Pal /lken/ *Or A* 50 etc., /le$_2$ken/ ib. 37 etc.; /&a$_2$l ken/ vii 3 etc. Bab /laken/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:30 etc., /lakon/(!) *Ant* 908 Jr 18:13 etc.; /&1 ken/(!) Ea 12 Dt 10:9. G αλ χεν Ps 46:3 Hex.

KRX: /&l -/ PTpr *against one's will*. Hbr: Bab sf. /&l kuʷr·xoʷ/(!) TK *415* 11 etc., /&äl kuʷrx·käm/ ib. *240* 2 etc., /&l kuʷr·xam/(!) ib. *417* 10. Aram /(b)&al kårx-/.

From the root /krx/ *H coerce* (not found in our materials). The prep. /&l/ is often left unvocalized in TK etc., as also some other often recurring items.

L: PTpr *to, towards, for, until, while, after, with regard to, as, according to, on account of, of*. Hbr: aPal /l-/, sf. /ly/, /lk/, /lhm/. Q /l-/; sf. /ly/, /ly'/; /lk/, /lkh/; /lw/, /lw'/, (*Mur*) /lh/; /lh/; /lnw/; /lkm/, /lkmh/; /lḥm/, /lhmh/, /lmw/, (*Mur*) /lhn/; /lhn/, /lhnh/. Sam /l-/, /el-/, /lā̆-/, /lā̄̆-/, /lē̆-/, /lī̆-/, /le-(+11-)/, /lí-/; sf. /lī/, /lî/; /lak/; /lek/, /lik/, /(mā)lîkī/; /lū/, /lû/; /lā̄/, /lâ̄/; /lânu/; /lākímmä/; /lêmmä/, /lâ̄mma/, /lâmu/; /lênnä/. Pal /l-/ ivR 5 etc., /la-/ iv 6 etc., /(w)li-/ iv 11 etc., /le$_2$-/ iv 22 etc., /lä-/ xiii 15 etc., /liʸ-/ ix 2 etc., /la$_2$-/ xR 12bis etc., /le-/ xiiR 21 etc.; sf. /liʸ/ T-S H 16/9 R 5 etc.; /lak/ v 9 etc., /leka/ c Ps 39:8, /la$_2$k/ ib. 41:5ps; /laka/(!) ib. *4* 129 (2°), /(w)laka/ ib. 137f; (f.) /lak/ *GS 2* 61 etc.; /loʷ/ ivR 10bis etc., /luʷ/(!) vii 22; /lah/ v 13 etc., /lha/ (!) *MW 17* 3; /lnuʷ/ ivR 24, /(w)lanuʷ/ v 9 etc., /la-/ T-S H 16/9 10 etc., /la$_2$-/ ib.; /lakem/ vR 27 etc.; /lahem/ xii 6 etc., /lamoʷ/ ivR 28 etc. Bab /l-/ TK *1* 7 etc., /l·-/ ib. 6bis etc., /la-/ Ka 1 Dt 33:12 etc., /li-/ Ka 2 Gn 17:19 etc.; sf. /liʸ/ TK *12* 1 etc.; /lak/ ib. *127* 17 etc., /lka/ ib. *302* 7, /l·ka/ ib. 5 etc., /lak·/ Ka 1 Dt 33:29ps etc.; (f.) /lak/ *Ant* 260 Jr 30:15 etc.; /loʷ/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:1bis etc.; /lah/ ib. 16:6 etc., /lah̟/ *Ant* 117 Jd 1:14, /läh/(!) TK *28* 12bis etc.; /lanuʷ/ Ka 5 Dt 2:29 etc.; /lakäm/ Ka 8 Ex 16:4 etc.; /lahäm/ *Ant* 117 Jd 1:19 etc.; /lahän/ Ka 8 Ex 1:18, /lahänh/(!) *Ant* 816 Ez 1:23 etc. G λ- Ps 30:7 Hex etc., λα- ib.:8 etc., α- (!) ib.:5 etc., λε- Ps 12:9 "Hbr" Chr (Field); sf. λι Ps 18:36 etc. Hex; λακ(!) Ps 110:3 "Hbr" Epiph (Field; -χ Sp); λω Ps 89:29bis Hex; λανου Ps 46:2.12 Hex; λαμου Ps 28:8 etc. Hex. Lat *la-* Is 28:10qtr etc. Hi.; sf. *li* Is 24:16; *lach* (!var. *lac* = Sp) Jon 4:4; *lo* Is 49:6; *lanu* Is 6:8; *lachem* Is 2:22, *laem* Mic 7:13, *lahem* Is 33:7 Hi.

Phoen /l-/, *la-, le-, li-, ly-*. Ug /l-/, /ln/. Aram /l-/. Syr /l-/. Amor sf. /liya/, /laka/, /luhu/. Akk (late) /la-/. Arab /li-/. ESA /l-/. ?Mhr /l(ə)-/ *against, on; so that.* Soq /l-/ *to; that*; /le-/ *(for) each.* AK /l-/, /le-/, /li-/ *to, towards.* G&z /lä-/. Te /’əl(+sf.)/. Har /-le/. Sdd /lä/, /nä/, Wol /lä/. Bil /-l/. Som /la/, /lə/ *(together) with*; /-lä/ *having* (cf. /la(hāy)/ *have*).

For more Cush attestations see Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 248f. However, Eg /r/ is hardly connectable, cf. Cpt /e-/, /ero-/; Eg /n/ also is more naturally connected with Akk /ana/ (Baer); on Cpt /la-/ cf. Vycichl s.v.

Suffixation of PNir produces

/lmh/ PTa *why?* Hbr: Q /lmh/. Sam /lâ̂ma/. Pal /lama^{h}/ (!ms.) *MW* Jr 2:28. Bab /lama^{h}/ Eb 22 Jr 20:18 etc.; /(w)läma^{h}/ TK *69* 13 (etc.). G λαμα Ps 49:6 Hex.

Cf. Phoen /lm/ *lest*. For other compounds of /l-/ see the respective other main components.

L’: PTn *no! not*. Hbr: aPal /l’/. Q /l’/, /lw’/. Sam /lā/. Pal /lo’/ iv 13 a.fr., /la’/(!) *MW 17* 5, /(l)lo^{w}’/ ib. *19* 28 etc. Bab /lo’/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:16 a.fr. G λω Ps 32:6 etc. Hex; (ου)λα Ps 92:7 “Hbr” (264, Field); λω(ιαβιν)(!) ib.; (ου)λω Ps 18:37 etc. Hex. Lat *lo* Is 49:6, *(u)lo* 7:12 Hi.
Ug /l-/. Aram /lå’/, (Sfire etc.) /l-/. Syr /lå’/. Akk /lā/. Arab /lā/, /lam/, /lan/. ESA /l’/. Mhr /’əl/, /lā/, /’əl... lā/. Soq /lā/. Bil /-lā/, /lī/. Som /(-)lā/.

For possible other cognates in Cush cf. Reinisch, Bilin-Wb p. 250. The particle may be ultimately related to /’l/ above. Prefixation of PTir produces through rhetorical usage

/hl(w)’/ PTa (*is not?!=) surely!* Hbr: Q /hlw’/. Sam /’ālû/. Pal /hlo^{w}’/(!) xivR 3 etc. Bab /h·lo’/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:9 etc., /hä-/ Ka 8 Ex 14:12, /(wä)h·-/ TK *149* 2 etc., /(wä)h·lo^{w}’/ ib. 19 etc., /-hl-/ ib. *28* 4; /h·l-/ Eb 5 1S 10:1 etc.

Suffixation of PNd for the farther object produces another compound used in much the same sense as the simple particle except for a substantivized form which forms plural also:

/l’w/, /lw/ PTn; *negation, prohibition*. Hbr: Bab /la’w/ *A.M.* 6:9 etc., /l’aw/(!) TK *49* 16 etc., /l’a^{y}w/(!) Yv 26 *M*Gitt 3:3 etc., /(b)laww/ TK *66* 7 (etc.); pl. /läuwwi^{y}n/ ib. 5, /-i^{y}m/ ib. *64* 10 etc.
Aram /lå’w/, /la’w/, pl. /la’wi^{y}n/.

LW from Aram in Hbr.

LW(Y): PTcj *if (only); o that!* Hbr: Q /lw’/. Sam /lêbī/, (c. encl.) /lû-/. Bab /lu^{w}’/ Eb 10 Is 48:18.
Phoen /l-/. Ug /l-/. Aram /’illu^{w}/, (Had Pan imp.) /(hn) lw/. Syr /lway/, /’ellū/. Amor /la-/, /li-/, /lu-/. Akk /lū/, /lu-/, /li-/, (Ass var.) /la-/. Arab /law/. ?ESA /l-/. Mhr /lū/. Soq /le/. G&z /lä-/.

The Sam form misquoted in K-B^{3}. Suffixation of negation produces a negative

/lw l'/ PTcj *if...not, were (it) not that.* Hbr: Q /lwly/. Sam /lû lâ/, /lûlā/. Bab /lu^{w}le'/ Eb 5 Jd 14:18.

Cf. Aram (Axiqar) /(hn) lw l'/, Arab /law lā/.

M'D: PTa *greatly, very (much)*. Hbr: Q /m'd/, /m'wd/, /m'wdh/, /mw'd/, /mw'dh/, /mwdh/. Sam /mê'od/. Pal /m'od/ *Ed 5* 23 etc., /mo'd/(!) T-S H 16/9 R 30 etc., /(li)m'o^{w}d/ *MW 24* 19. Bab /m'od/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:17 etc., /m·'od/ *Ant* 793 Gn 13:2 etc., /mä·'od/(!) Yv 110 *M*Ber 9:4. G μωδ Ps 46:2 Hex.

Ug /m'id/. Akk /mād/, (later) /ma'd/, /mand/, /madd/.

K-B^{3} quotes the suffixed Ns forms apocopated! (for Sam). Originally a noun, cf. the root in Section B.

MDW&: PTa *why?* Hbr: Q /mdw&/. Sam /mäddû/. Bab /mädu^{w}&/ TK *202* 5 etc., /mä̟-/ Ka 8 Ex 1:18.

Contraction of PTir and a form of the root /yd&/ (Section B).

MHR(H): PTa *quickly*. Hbr: aPal /mhrh/. Q /mhr/, /-rh/. Sam /mâ'er/. Pal /mhere^{h}/(!) *GS 4* 126, /-ra$_{2}^{h}$/ *Rev* 5 6. Bab /m·hora^{h}/ (!) *Ant* 908 Jr 27:16. G μηηρα (!) Ps 31:3 Hex.

From the root /mhr/ (Section B).

MWL: PTpr *opposite (to), in front of.* Hbr: Sam /mol/, /(mím)mol/, sf. /(mim)mûlī/. Pal /(l)mu^{w}l/ xR 20. Bab /mu^{w}l/ Ka 1 Dt 34:6, /(mi)m-/ Eb 10 Mic 2:8 etc.; sf. /(mi)mu^{w}li^{y}/ TK *111* 18. Lat *mul* Mic 2:8 Hi.

Etymology uncertain; Arab /myl/ unlikely, as it does not seem to have equivalent in Hbr, nor is the particle attested in Arab; /'wl/II is also weak in Hbr, /mwl/ requires assumption of a semantic shift.

MN: PTpr *of, out of, from, after, since, because of, (more) than, without, so as not (to be)*. Hbr: aPal /mn/, /m-/. Q =; sf. /mmny/; /mmk/, /mmkh/, (*Mur*) /hmk/; /mmk/; /mmnw/; /mmnh/; /mmnw/; /mkm/, /mkmh/; /mhm/, /mhmh/. Sam /men/, /män/, /m(V)-/; sf. /mimmínni/, /mímmak/, /mimmínnu/, /mimmínna/; /mimmânu/ (var. /mimmínnu/), /mikkímmä/, /mīyyímmä/, /mīyyínnä/. Pal /min/ ivR 24 etc., /meni^{y}/ xiv 6, /mi-/ iv 19 etc., /mi^{y}-/ x 13, /me-/ ib. etc.; sf. /mimeni^{y}/ *MW 12* 16 etc., /meni^{y}/ *Or A* 15; /mimak/ ixR 17 etc.; /mimenu^{w}/ T-S H 16/9 R 21, /menu^{w}/ (!ms.) xiii 13; /mimena^{h}/ xiiR 10 etc. /(w)men̟a^{h}/ *MW 26* 27; /mime^{y}nu^{w}/ *Ed 8* 17; /mikem/ vii 19; /mehem/ v 19. Bab /min/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:14 etc., /mi̱n/. Ka 1 Dt 33:11 etc., /mi-/ *Ant* 910 Ez 12:16 etc., /me-/ ib. etc., /mi̟-/ Ka 1 Dt 33:13 etc., /mo-/(!) Eb 22 Jr 50:9 etc., /mi̱ni^{y}/ Kc 1 Iob 11:9; sf. /mimäni^{y}/ Eb 5 1S 3:17bis, /hi^{y}mäni^{y}/(!) Yv 105 *M*Ber 2:6; /mim·ka/ Eb 22 Ez 32:4 etc., /mimäka/ ib.:6ps, /mimak/ TK *21* 19; /mimek/ *Ant* 910 Ez 21:8 etc.; /mimänu^{w}/ *Ant* 117 Jd 1:13 etc., /hi-/ TK *181*

12, /hi^y-/ ib. 16; /mimäna^h/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:2 etc., /hi^y-/ *A.M.* 4:10; /mị̟menu^w/(!) Ka 8 Ex 14:12; /mikäm/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:38 etc.; /mehäm/ TK *33* 8 etc., /mohäm/(!) Eb 22 Jr 25:10, /mehän/ (!masc.) TK *87* 22 etc.; (f.) = ib. 21, /me^{y}hän/ ib. 20. G μενι Ps 44:19 "Hbr" (Chr; Field); με- Ps 18:46 Hex etc.; με-(+gemination) Ps 110:3 "Hbr" (Epiph: Field) etc.; μη- ib. etc.; μ- Mal 2:13 "Hbr" (86) etc.; μα- 1K 4:12 B*L* (varr. με- pl., βε- jy); sf. μιμμενι Ps 35:22 Hex. Lat *men* Is 2:22, *menni* 46:3, sf. *memmenni* 2K 4:27 Hi.

Phoen /m-/, *(lym)mon, (li)min.* ?Ug /b-/. Aram /min/, /mi-/, /me-/. Syr /men/. Arab /min/. ESA /mn/, /bn/. Mhr /mən/. Soq =, (Leslau) /men/. G&z /'mnä/. Te /mən/.

Related to the root /mnV/ (Section B). Often combined with other prepositions, cf. /'t/, /&l(y)/, /&m/ etc., also with original Ns to form compound PTpr, on which cf. the other main component. With /yad/ *hand* the preposition forms a compound

PTa *straightway, at once.* Hbr: Bab /miyäd/ TK *128* 18 etc., /miyad/ ib. *66* 19(ps) etc.

Cf. Aram /miyyad/ = ; but it may be due to Hbr influence.

MNT: /&l mnt l-/ PTcj *presupposed that, in order that.* Hbr: Bab /&äl m·nat l-/ *Ant* 483 *M*Zeb 3:6 etc.

Based on the Ns /mnåt/, a LW from Aram in Hbr; Aram has a parallel PTcj /&al mnåt d-/.

M&*7*: PTa *little.* Hbr: Q /m&*7*/, /(k)m&*7*/, /(l)mw&*7*/. Sam /mâ*7*/, /(kā)mâ*7*/. Pal /m&a*7*/ xiv 5pm, /ma$_2$&-/ ib.sm etc., /ma$_2$&a$_2$*7*/ *MW 12* 17; /(ki)m&a$_2$*7*/ *Ed 8* 3 etc. Bab /m·&ä*7*/ Ec 1 Iob 24:24. G ματ Ps 8:6 (Sp).

Originally Ns (cf. Section B s.v.).

MTY: PTa/cj *when? how long?* Hbr: Q /(&d) mty/. Sam /mêtī/, /&ad -/. Pal /ma$_2$ta$_2$yy/ *Rev* 11 25, /'mat-/(!) *MW 22* 22. Bab /&äd matäyy/ TK *21* 11; /'e^{y}matäy/ ib. *7* 16 etc., /'em-/ ib. *57* 5 etc., /(me)'em-/ ib. *231* 14 etc., /(m)e^{y}m-/(!) Yv 128 *M*Sheb 6:4.

Phoen /mtm/ (c. PTn) *ever.* Ya /mt/ =. Aram /'e^{y}mat(ti^y)/, /'imatti^y/. Syr /'emmaty/(!). Akk /mat(i/e)/, /imm-/. Arab /mata^y/. ESA (Chadr.) /mt/, (Min.) /mtym/. Mhr /mayt/, /mət/. Soq /mi'ito/, (Leslau) /mita/. Har /mäči/. Ch Sdd /mäčä/. Wol /mäče/, (myself) /mače/. Sid /māmōti/, (myself) /mamote/.

The forms with prothetic /'e-/ in Hbr are due to Aram (and ultimately Akk) influence. The Sid formation is parallel, but apparently of independent origin. The /m/-element is apparently the interrogative PN, but the rest hardly definable.

N': PTij *please, prithee!* Hbr: aPal /n'/. Q =. Sam /nā̆/, /nā̄/. Pal /na'/ vii 23 etc. Bab /na'/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:8 etc. G -ννα Ps 118:25bis "Hbr" (Or, see Field); NT Mt 21:9bis etc. Lat *-nna* ib. etc. (Hi.).

Phoen /n'/. ?Ug /-n/ (energic). Aram (Q) /nh/, ?(Sam) /ny/. Syr /ne'/, /nē/. ?Amor /na/. ?Akk /-na/ (sj). ?Arab /- an(na)/ (energic). ?ESA /-n/ (energic). ?Mhr /-(ə)n/ (sj).

The vague meaning of the particle makes most comparisons uncertain; G&z /na/, however, seems hardly related. Cf. /'n'/ above.

NGD: PTpr *in front of, opposite (to), corresponding to.* Hbr: Q /ngd/, /(l)-/; sf. /ngdy/, /-dkh/, /-dw//, /-dkm/, /-dmh/. Sam /nêged/; sf. /(el)nígdī/, /-dak/, /(kā)nígdu/. Pal /neged/ ixR 19 etc., /-e$_{2}$d/ *MW* Ps 52:11; sf. /(l)negdi^{y}/ ib. *20* 6, /-da$_{2}$k/ ib. *11* 15, /(mi)negdak/ e 1, /nigde$_{2}$ka/ c Ps 39:6. Bab /nägäd/ Eb 5 1S 12:3(bis) etc.; sf. /ni̠gdi^{y}/ Kc 1 Iob 10:17; /(wik̠)nig·do^{w}/ TK *465* 21, /(ʃäk)nigdo^{w}/ ib. *215* 2 (etc.); /(l)nigd·käm/ ib. *388* 22; /(wik·)ni^{y}gdan/ (!masc.) ib. *6* 21. G νεγδ Ps 31:20, (με)ν- ib.:23, (λα)ν- 36:2; sf. νεγδι 89:37 Hex.

Cf. Soq /'egidoh/ *across, before.* However, it is probably an independent parallel formation. Prefixation of PTpr /min/ produces

PTa *opposite, aside.* Hbr: Sam /minnêged/. Bab /mi̟nägäd/ Ka 2 Nm 2:2, /minagäd/ Ea 12 Dt 28:66ps.

NB. the Bab pausal form. In Nm 2:2, the entry can be conceived as part of a compound

PTpr *round about.* Hbr: Sam /minnêged sâbeb l-/. Bab /mi̟nägäd sabi^{y}b l-/ Ka 2 ib.

However, this is not semantically necessary and also against Bab Tib accentuation.

(N)7H: /ma-/ PTa *down, below.* Hbr: Q /m7h/. Sam /mê7a/, /(äl/mil)-/. Pal /(w)ma7a^{h}/ xR 8 etc., /(wmi)ma$_{2}$7a^{h}/ xiiR 5 (etc.). Bab /(l)mä7a^{h}/ TK *18* 1 etc., /(mil)-/ *Ant* 483 *MZeb* 2:1 etc., /(mil·)-/ ib. 3:2.
Phoen /lm7/, (NPu) /mt'/ *downwards.*

Based on the root /n7V/ (Section B). Suffixation of an afformative /-n/ results in

PTa =. Hbr: Bab /(l)mä7an/ *Ant* 483 *MZeb* 2:1 etc.

NKX: PTpr *opposite (to), over against, on behalf of.* Hbr: Sam /nêkā/, /äln-/, sf. /nēkâ'o/ (!B-CH /-u/). Pal /nokax/ *MW* Ez 14:4. Bab /nokäx/ TK *462* 9, /-ä̠x/ Kc 13 2Ch 18:34, sf. /nukxo^{w}/ *Ant* 909 Ez 46:9.

From the root /nkx/ (Section B).

SBYB: PTa/pr *round about.* Hbr: Q /sbyb/, /sbybh/; sf. /sbybwtyhmh/, (corr. into) /-tmh/. Sam /sâbeb/, /(mis)-/; /(mis)sâbeb 1-/; /sābîbat/, sf. /sābībûti/, /-ūtîyyä/, /-ūtīkímmä/, /-ūtīyyímmä/ (var. /-ūtîmmä/!). Pal /sabi^{y}b/ *GS 4* 132; /se$_{2}$bi^{y}b/ iv 7, /sbi^{y}be^{y}/ *GS 3* 140, sf.(f.) /-ek/ *MW 22* 30. Bab /sabi^{y}b/ *Ant* 444 Ex 37:11 etc.; /(w·)sabi^{y}b l-/ Ka 2 Nm 1:50; sf. /sbi^{y}botay/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:14ps, /s·bi^{y}bo^{w}ta^{y}w/ *Ant* 910 Ez 12:14.

Cf. Arab /(bi)sabab/ *on account of*; however, it is evidently an independent parallel formation. Originally forms of Ns from the root /sb(b)/ (Section B).

STM: PTa *without qualification; anonymously*. Hbr: Bab /s·tam/ TK *75* 15 etc.

Aram /ståmå'/.

From the root /stm/ (Section B).

&BWR: /(b)-/ PTpr/cj *on account of, because (of), in order to/ that*. Hbr: Q /b&bwr/. Sam /bêbor/; sf. /bēbûrak/, /-rek/, /-ra/, /bēbūrímmä/. Pal /&bu^{w}r/ *MW 21* 33 etc., /&ab-/ *GS 1* 4, /&a$_2$b-/ xii 23; /b&ab-/ ixR 23, /ba$_2$&b-/ ix 15 etc.; /ba$_2$&bu^{w}r 1-/ *MW 19* 2; sf. /ba$_2$&bu^{w}re^{y}nu^w/ ib. *12* 20. Bab /b·&äbu^{w}r/ Eb 10 2S 13:2, /bä&ä̱bu^{w}r/ Ka 8 Ex 9:16bis.

Phoen /b&br/ *by the grace/agency of.*

Probably from the root /&br/ (Section B) through the connotation of an intermediary agency.

&D(Y): PTpr *(up) to, until, during*. Hbr: aPal /&d/. Q =. Sam /&ad/ (var. /'ad/), sf. /&â̂dī/. Pal /&ad/ d ii 17 etc., /&a$_2$d/ xiii R 7 etc., /&de^y/ *MW 9* 16 (etc.), /&de$_2^y$/ *Rev* 12 27 (pm? /-e^y/ sm? or vice versa?), /&a$_2$de^y/ xivR 14sm etc., /-e$_2^y$/ ib.pm, /&ade^y/ d iR 17; sf. /(w)&ade^y-k/ xi 5 (etc.), /&ade^{y}ka$_2$/ *Or E* 2, /&ada$_2^y$k/ (!masc.) T-S H 16/9 R 15 etc.; /&ada$_2^y$w/ ix 20 etc., /-a^{y}w/ e R 8. Bab /&äd/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:3(bis) etc., /&ä̱d/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:7(bis) etc. G εδ Ps 18:38, αδ 28:9 etc. Hex; cf. αδδωθ (!ms.) = /&dy &d/ Is 26:4 "Hbr" (Epiph; Field).

Phoen /&d/, *ad*. Ug /&d/. Aram /&ad/. Syr /&ad/. Akk /adi/, (OAkk OAss) /adum/. ESA /&d/, (late) /&dy/, (qat.) /&dw/.

Hsa /har/ is phonetically possible, but hazardous, and as the only non-Sem parallel therefore unlikely. Etymology uncertain; /&dV/ (Section B) is phonetically nearest, but semantically not very close; assuming that the final vowel, where attested, might be due to the influence of some other PTpr (such as /&l(y)/ below), even /&wd/ would be possible.

&WD: PTa *still, while, again*. Hbr: aPal /&wd/. Q =; sf. /(b)&wdnh/ (!Is^a 28:4). Sam /'ûd/, /ūd/, (c. PTir) /'ā'ûd/; sf. /(b)ūdínnī/, /(miyy)ûdak/, /'ūdínnu/, /('ā)'ūdímmä/. Pal /&o^{w}d/ xi 4 etc., /&u^{w}d/ (!) *GS 3* 22; sf. /&o^{w}do^w/ ivR 5, /-dam/ d iiR 11. Bab /&o^{w}d/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:16 etc.; /&u^{w}d/(!) Eb 22 Jr 23:4.7; sf. /&o^{w}d·ka/ Ka 8 Ex 9:17, /(w)&o^{w}de^{y}hu^w/ TK *85* 13, /-hän/ (!sg.m.) ib. *73* 2. G *ωδ* Ps 49:10 Hex; Mal 2:13 "Hbr" (86); ?*(αδδ)ωθ* Is 26:4 (cf. /&d(y)/ above).

Phoen /&d/. Aram /&o^{w}d/. Syr /&ōd/.

G&z /&adi/ is probably an independent parallel formation. The entry appears to be originally nvb of the root /&wd/II (Section B). The last Bab entry may be a punctuator's mistake, confusing a slightly lengthy /w/ with a final /n/. The form /mijjûdī/ in *Materials II* is my mistake; instead, the word /miyyūdânī/ (cf. Section B) occurs in Gn 48:15 also (so punctuated in the vocalized Ms. D too).

&WLMYT: PTa *(for) ever*. Hbr: Bab /&o^{w}lami^{y}t/ *A.M.* 5:14.

Based on the Ns /&ōlam/ (root /&lm/, Section B).

&KʃW: PTa *now*. Hbr: Bab /&äk·ʃaw/ TK *359* 14 etc., /-a^{y}w/ ib. *212* 15 etc., /-o^w/ ib. *11* 9; /&äk̲·ʃa^{y}w/ ib. *394* 15 (etc.).

Contraction from /&ad/ + /k/ + /ʃä/ + /hū'/ (Dalman).

&L(Y): PTpr *over, on, against, at, concerning, because of, (together) with*. Hbr: aPal /&l/. Q =, /&ly/; sf. /&ly/; /-yk/, /-ykh/; /-yk/; /-yw/, /-w/, /-yhw/; /-yh/, /-yh'/; /-ynw/; /-ykm/, /-ykmh/; /-yhm/, /-yhmh/. Sam /&al/, /'al/, /(w)al/; /&ā̂lī/; sf. =; /&âlek/, /(mīyy)âlek/, /&âlo/; /&ā̂lîyyä/; /&ā̂lînu/; /&ā̂līkímmä/; /&ā̂līyyímmä/; /&ā̂līyyínnä/. Pal /&al/ ivR 8 etc., /&el/(!) *Ed 1* 6, /&a$_2$l/ *Rev* 12 15 etc., /&le^y/ *MW 12* 7 etc., /&ale^y/ ib. *15* 13, /&a$_2$le^y/ d iR 13, /&a$_2$le$_2$^{y}/ c Ps 32:5; sf. /&ala$_2$yy/ *MW 22* 32, /&a$_2$la$_2$y/ c Ps 32:4 etc., /&a$_2$la$_2$i^y/(!) ib. 38:3; /&ale^{y}k/ xiR 30 etc.; (f.) = *GS 1* 6, /(w)&ali^{y}k/(!) ib. *2* 60, /(me)&al-a$_2$yk/(!) *MW* Ez 16:9; /&ala$_2$^{y}w/ *Ed 5* 18 etc.; /&ale^{y}h/ *GS 2* 55; /&ale^{y}nu^w/ ixR 2, /&a$_2$-/ ib. 25 etc.; /&le^{y}kem/ vR 28 etc.; /&ale^{y}hem/ *Rev* 8 14 etc., /&a$_2$l-/ x 6 etc., /(me)&l-/ *MW 18* 12, /&ale^{y}mo^w/ *Rev* 8 9 etc. Bab /&äl/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:7bis etc., /&ä̲l/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:12 etc., /&ä̲le^y/ Ka 13 Nm 24:6bis; sf. /&aläy/ *Ant* 908 Jr 18:23 etc., /(me)&alay/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:9ps; /&alä^{y}ka/ ib. 16:5 etc.; /&ala^{y}w/ *Ant* 444 Nm 14:36 etc.; /&alä^{y}ha/ *Ant* 908 Jr 18:16 etc.; /&ale^{y}nu^w/ Eb 22 Jr 21:13 etc.; /&äle^{y}käm/ *Ant* 910 Ez 20:33 (etc.), /&l-/ Ea 12 Dt 9:19; /&äle^{y}häm/ TK *31* 6, /&ä̲le^y-/ Ka 8 Ex 14:3, /&ä̲le-/ ib. 9:19, /&le^y-/ TK *13* 4bis, /&äle^{y}hän/ (!masc.) ib. *60* 19 etc. G αλ Ps 18:34 etc. Hex (etc.), αλη 49:12 ib. etc., αλε (var. αλοι) 92:4 (264 Field); sf. αλαι 35:16.21, αδαι(!) ib.:26; αλαχ 32:5; αλαυι(!) 89:46 Hex; (ου)αλεα 7:8 "Hbr" (Chr; Field). Lat *al* Hab 3:1; sf. *alehem* Zch 14:17 Hi.

Phoen /&l/, /&lt/. Ug /&l/. Aram /&al/. Akk /eli/, /el(u)/, /ili/, (OAkk) /&al/. Arab /&ala^y/. ESA /(b)&ly/. Mhr /l(ə)-/. Soq =, (Leslau) /le-/, /&e-/. G&z /la&lä/, /-le-/. Te /lä&al/. Har /lä'ay/, /lāy/. Ch /nänniyä/ *upwards, uphill*, Sdd /lalä/ *on, above*.

From the root /&lV/ (Section B). Combines frequently with other PTpr and also with nominal elements to form compound PTpr for which see under such other element. Prefixation of the indefinite pronominal /ma-/ produces

PTa *above; upwards, onwards*. Hbr: Q /m&lh/, (3Q15) /(ml)m&l'/. Sam /(mim)mîyyal/; /mâlä/, /(mil)mâla/. Pal /(mi)ma&al/ xR 11;

/ma&la^{h}/ xR 8 etc., /ma$_{2}$-/ xii 17 etc., /(mi)m&ala^{h}/(!) xiiR 5. Bab /(l/mil)mä&la^{h}/ *Ant* 483 *MZ*eb 3:2(bis) etc., /(l)mä&·la^{h}/ *Ant* 444 Ex 37:9, /(mi̠l·)mä&ä̠la^{h}·/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:16, /(l)mä&äla^{h}/ Ea 12 Dt 28:13, /(mil)ma&lä^{h}/ (!ps) *Ant* 816 Ez 1:11.22. Lat *(mem)mal* Is 6:2 Hi.
Phoen /(l)m&l/ *upwards*, (NPu) /(lm)m&l'/ *from above*.

A secondary derivative from this by means of the afform. /-n/ is

PTa *above*. Hbr: Bab /(l)mä&lan/ *Ant* 483 *MZ*eb 2:1 etc., /(ml)-/(!) ib.

&LYL: /b-/ PTa *clearly, obviously*. Hbr:Bab /bä&äliyil/(!) TK *443* 21.

From the root /&l(l)/II (Section B); literally *entering (the eye/mind)*, cf. the synonymous Finnish expression *pistää silmään* (= "sticks into the eye").

&M: PTpr *(together) with*. Hbr: aPal /&m/. Q =; /'m/ (!Sir 44:11); sf. /&mdy/; /&mk/, /-kh/; /-w/; /-nw/; /-km/; /-m/, /-hm/, /-hmh/. Sam /'em/, (var.) /'ä̀m/; sf. /'ímmi/, /'immâdi/; /'ímmak/; /'ímmek/; /'ímmu/; /'ímma/; /'immânu/; /-ākímmä/; /-ímmä/. Pal /&im/ xi 1, /&i^{y}m/ ib. 22 etc.; sf. /&i^{y}mi^{y}/ *GS 2* 62, /&ymadi^{y}/ *Kbr* 21:10; /&i^{y}mak/ e R 13 (etc.), /-a$_{2}$k/ *Rev* 4:1 5, /&ima$_{2}$k/ c Ps 39:13ps; /&i^{y}mo^{w}/ ixR 9 etc.; /&i^{y}manu^{w}/ iv19; /&i^{y}mkem/(!) *GS 3* 86; /(w)&e^{y}mam/ (!) *MW 14* 15. Bab /&im/ Ea 12 Dt 9:24 etc., /&i^{y}m/ TK *7* 21 etc.; sf. /&i^{y}mi^{y}/ ib. *9* 17 etc., /&i̟madi^{y}/ Ka 5 Gn 40:14 etc.; /&im·ka/ *Ant* 261 1S 28:14, /&i̟mak/ *Ant* 117 Jd 1:24 (ct!), /&imak/ Ea 12 Dt 14:27 etc. (ps), /&i^{y}mak/ TK *8* 7 etc. (ct&ps); /&imo^{w}/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:19 etc., /&i̟-/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:1, /&i^{y}-/ TK *6* 18bis etc.; /&imah̟/ ib. *95* 17 etc., /&i^{y}-/ ib. 19 etc., /&i^{y}mah/ ib. *26* 2; /&imanw/(!) Eb 5 Jd 18:25; /&i̟makäm/ Ka 2 Lv 26:24; /&imam/ Eb 5 1S 10:6, /&i̟-/ *Ant* 117 Jd 1:22, /&imahäm/ TK *87* 16 etc., /-hän/ (!masc.) ib. *460* 20, /&i^{y}mahän/ ib. 19 etc., /-an/ ib. *461* 1, /-ahäm/ ib. *9* 21; /&i^{y}mahäm/ (!fem.) ib. *111* 17. G (ου)εμ Ps 18:26.27bis; sf. εμμανου 46:8.12; (μη)εμμωαυ(!) 89:34 Hex.
Ug /&m/, /&mn/. Aram /&im/. Syr /&am/. ?Arab /ma&a/. ESA /&m/.

From the root /&m(m)/ (Section B); the stem /&md-/ in Hbr could be result of partial dissimilation from /&mn/, cf. Ug; the idea is not mine, but I am unable to find the reference now (agst. *Materials II*).

From the same root also

/(l)-/ PTpr *close by, corresponding to*. Hbr: Q /l&wmt/, /l&mt/; sf. /(w)l&wmtmh/. Sam /lâmet/. Pal /l&o^{w}ma$_{2}$t/ (!) *Or A* 20; sf. /l&u^{w}m-am/ (!) *Rev* 8 16. Bab /l·&umät/ Eb 22 Ez 40:18, /l&u^{w}mät/ TK *64* 12, /l·&-/ ib.; sf. /l&umatm/(!) *Ant* 816 Ez 1:20 etc.
Phoen /'l &mt/ *beside*.

&N(/T): PTa *now; now then!* Hbr: aPal /(w)&t/. Q /(w)&th/, /&th'/. Sam /&átta/, /(w)âtta/. Pal /&ata$_{2}$^{h}/ *MW 3* 24. Bab /&äta^{h}/ *Ant* 908 Jr

27:16 (etc.). /&ä̟-/ Kc 1 Ps 12:6 (etc.), /&äta^h/ Ka 8 Ex 9:15 etc., /&a-/(!) ib.: 18ps.
Ug /&nt/. Aram /(k)&an/, (bibl.) /-&nt/, /-&t/.

From the root /&n(n)/ (Section B); etymological connection with Akk /an(n)umma/ seems too hazardous to assume.

From the (secondarily expanded?) root /&nV/ (ib.) by means of the /ma-/-preformative comes the element (originally Ns *response*) which with PTpr /l-/ forms a compound

PTpr/cj *because (of), for the sake of, in order that.* Hbr: Q /lm&n/; sf. /-ny/, /-nkh/, /-nkmh/. Sam /elmân/. Pal /lma&a$_2$n/ vii 16 etc., /lm&an/(!) ixR 20, /lama$_2$&an/ *Or A* 35; sf. /lma$_2$&nak/ ib. 34, /-a&-/ xR 7; /lem&a$_2$ne^{y}ho^w/(!) xiv 4, /le$_2$m&ano^w/ *Ed 6* 6, /lma&nu^w/(!) *MW 5* 8; /lma$_2$&ne^{y}nu^w/ *Or E* 33, /-a&-/ *GS 4* 18; /lma$_2$&na$_2$m/ ib. 56. Bab /lmä&än/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:16 etc., /l·m-/ *Ant* 910 Ez 12:16etc., /l·mä&ä̱n/ *Ant* 789 Zch 12:7 etc. G λαμαν Ps 30:13, (ου)λμαν 31:4 Hex.

From the same root, formed with the /ya-/-preformative, comes also

PTpr/cj *because (of).* Hbr: Q /y&n/. Sam /yân/; /yā̂n/; /yā̂n äbyân/. Pal /ya&an/ *MW* Ez 13:22, /-a$_2$n/ *Or A* 2 etc.; /ya$_2$&a$_2$n wbya$_2$&a$_2$n/ e R 14. Bab /yä&än/ Eb 22 Jr 23:38 etc.

When used as conjunctions, both are often followed by the PTrel or PTcj /ki^y/. In the last Pal entry, /w/ seems to have a vowel sign, but its identity is not certain.

PH: PTa *here.* Hbr: Q /ph/. Sam /fā/, /fâ/. Pal /po^h/ *MW 11* 16 etc. Bab /p̟o^h/ Ec 1 Iob 38:11 etc., /(w·)p̱o'/(!) ib. (pm; /(u^w)-/ sm).
Phoen (Pu) *pho.* Ug /p/. ?Mhr S̄oq /bo(h)/. ?Eg /pw/ *this.*

The SAr voiced stop is irregular; with the deictic origins, Eg could be cognate, but this is not positively provable in the light of patchy attestation. Occurs also in the compound /'yph/, cf. /'y/ above.

PLNY: PTid *some one, so-and-so, a certain.* Hbr: Bab /p·lo^{w}ni^y/ TK *99* 8(bis) etc., f. /-i^{y}t/ ib. *123* 3. G 1S 21:3 φελλανει B, -ανειμ y, -αμιν a$_2$, -ονι cx, -ωνι dlpqtz: φελμωνι A; om. rell.
Aram /plån(ī)/. Syr =. Arab /fulān/.

Te /fəlan/ is loan from Arab (Leslau). The etymology is obscure; perhaps originally a playfully allitterative formation, cf. /'lmny/ above.

PN: PTcj *lest.* Hbr aPal /pn/. Q =. Sam /fän/. Pal /pen/ iv 26 etc. Bab /pän/ Ea 12 Dt 9:28 etc.
?Ug /pn/ (cf. K-B^3). ?Aram /po^{w}n/.

Originally imp of the root /pnV/ (Section B).

PNYM: /l-/ PTa *formerly, before, in olden times.* Hbr: Q /lpnym/, /(lm)-/. Sam /elfânem/. Pal /(kmi)lpanym/ (!) *MW 21* 16. Bab /l·pani^{y}m/ Ka 5 Dt 2:20.

Phoen /lpnm/.

?Cf. Ug /lpnm/ *forward*. Through vocalic and partly prepositional variation, another PTa is derived from this:

/(l)-/ PTa *inwards*, /b-/ *inside*. Hbr: Sam /fānîmä/. Bab /lipni^{y}m/ *A.M.* 2:20 etc.; /bipni^{y}m/ ib. etc., /-p·n-/ TK *18* 3 etc., /bi^{y}p·n-/ ib. *33* 1 etc.; /p·ni^{y}ma^{h}/ ib. *148* 12.

The main element, originally Ns (pl. tantum) *face* from the root /pnV/ (Section B) is also used in cs. to modify the meaning of various PTpr with which it then forms compound ones:

/'l -/ *on to*. Hbr: Bab /'il p·ne^{y}/ (!for /&l pny/ MT) Ez 32:4 etc.

/b-/ *in front of; by (itself)*. Hbr: Bab /bipne^{y}/ *A.M.* 2:10 etc.; sf. /b·pana^{y}w/ TK *301* 22.

/l-/ *before, in front of, preceding*. Hbr: aPal /lpny/, sf. /lpnyk/. Q /lpny/; sf. =; /-yk/, /-ykh/, (*Mur*) /-k/; /-yw/; /-ynw/; /-ykmh/; /-yhmh/. Sam /älfânī/, /(m)elfânī/; sf. /älfânī/, /-nek/, /-no/; /älfānînu/, /-īkímmä/, /-īyyímmä/. Pal /lipne^{y}/ *Ed 5* 23 etc.; sf. /lpana$_2$y/ *MW* Jr 2:22 etc.; /-ne^{y}k/ T-S H 16/9 10 etc., /-ne^{y}ka$_2$/(!) *Ed 6* 2, /lpa$_2$ne^{y}ka$_2$/ *Or E* 57; /lpana$_2$^{y}w/ xiv 19; /lipne^{y}hem/ vi 12, /-he$_2$m/ *MW* Ps 69:23. Bab /lipne^{y}/ *Ant* 444 Nm 14:37 etc., /-p·n-/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:10 (etc.), /li̱p̱·n-/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:11 etc.; sf. /l·panäy/ ib.:13 etc., /lp-/ Eb 5 1S 10:8, /l·panay/ Eb 22 Ez 16:50ps; /l·panä^{y}ka/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:9 etc., /lp-/ TK *340* 18 etc.; /(mi^{y})lpana^{y}w/ ib. *284* 19; /lpane^{y}nw/(!) Eb 5 1S 9:27; /lipne^{y}käm/ Eb 22 Jr 26:4; /lipne^{y}häm/ ib. Ez 16:19 etc., /li̱-/ *Ant* 789 Zch 12:8.

/m(in)-/ *(from/on) before, because of*. Hbr: Q /mpny/; sf. /-yk/, /-ykh/, /-yw/, /-ynw/, /-yhmh/. Sam /miffânī/; sf. =, /-nek/, /-no/; /miffānîyyä/, /-îkímmä, /-īyyímmä/. Pal /mipne^{y}/ *GS 5* 48 etc.; sf. /mipane^{y}k/ *MW 20* 26; /mipne^{y}hem/ vi 12. Bab /mip·ne^{y}/ Eb 22 Jr 23:9bis etc., /-pn-/ TK *10* 21 etc.; sf. /mi̟panä^{y}ha/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:6; /mipne^{y}käm/ TK *390* 2; /mip·ne^{y}häm/ Eb 22 Jr 22:25, /mi̟p·-/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:13, /mi̟p-/ Ka 5 Dt 2:21.

/&l -/ *upon (the surface of), before, over against*. Hbr: Q /&l pny/; sf. =; /&lpnynw/ (!). Sam /&al fânī/, /(miyy)al fânī/; sf. /&al fânī/, /-nek/, /-no/; /&al fāníyyä/, /-īkímmä/, /-īyyímmä/. Pal /&al pne^{y}/ *MW 22* 26; sf.(f.) /&al pani^{y}k/(!) ib. *20* 27. Bab /(w·)&äl p·ne^{y}/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:12, /&ä̱l -/ *Ant* 793 Gn 1:2.

Cf. Phoen /lpn/, (NPu) /lpny/, /lp&n'/; /&l pn/, /&lt pn/; Ug /lpn/. Combinations of prepositions also occur with /pny/, but apart from the examples quoted above, they do not add anything essential to our morphological material.

PT&/': PTa *instantly, abruptly*. Hbr: Q /pt'wm/, /pyt'wm/; /(l)pt&/; /pt& pt'wm/, /(l)pt& pt'm/. Sam /(bā)fētä/ (!B-CH /-å/; Ms.C /bapeta/),

/fētâm/ (=Mss.BC); /(bā)fêtä fētâm/; Nm 6:9 12:4 35:22. Bab /pit'om/ *Ant* 908 Jr 18:22 etc.

Etymology obscure; Akk /ina pitti(mma)/ seems hardly relevant.

QWMMYWT: PTa *erect*. Hbr: Sam /qūmâmet/ (!kt /qwmmyt/). Pal /(w)qo^{w}mmiyu^{w}t/ *Rev* 4:1 12, /qo^{w}ma$_{2}$m-/ *GS 1* 10, /qo^{w}[m]emiywt/(!) *Ed 16* 14.

From the root /qwm/ (Section B).

?Q7: ?PTa *disgustingly(?)*. Hbr: Bab /qe7/(!) Eb 22 Ez 16:47.

From the root /qw7/ (Section B)? As /e/ and /o/ often interchange in this ms., /e/ here could stand for /o/, cf. Tib /å/.

QL: PTa *quickly, fast*. Hbr: Q /ql/. Bab /qäl/ Eb 10 Joel 4:4.

Basically Na from the root /ql(l)/ (Section B).

QR'T: /l-/ PTpr *to meet, towards, against*. Hbr: aPal /lqrt/. Q =, /lqr't/; sf. /-'tw/, /-'tnw/, /-tnw/. Sam /elqērât/; sf. /-âtti/, /-âttak/, /-âttu/, /-âtta/, /-āttânu/, /-ātkímmä/, /-āttímmä/. Pal sf. /liqra'th̟/(!) *MW 9* 7. Bab /liqrät/(!) Eb 5 1S 4:2, /li̱q·rä't/ Ka 8 Ex 4:27; sf. /liqra'to^{w}/ Eb 5 Jd 19:3 etc. Lat *lacerath* Am 4:12 Hi.

Originally nact of the root /qr'/V/ (Section B).

QRB: /b-/m(in)-/ Ptpr *in/from (the midst of)*. Hbr: Q /bqrb/, sf. /-by/, /-bk/ (f.), /-bw/, /-bh/, /-bnw/; /mqrb/, sf. /-bh/. Sam /efqêreb/, sf. /efqírbi/, /-bak/, /-bu/, /-ba/; /efqirbânu/, /-ākímmä/; /miqqêreb/, sf. /miqqírbak/, /-bu/. Pal /bqereb/ (PTa!) *GS 5* 6, sf. /bqirbi^{y}/ *MW* Ps 55:5, /-bo^{w}/ *GS 4* 77, /-b̟a$_{2}$h/(!) *MW* Ps 55:12, /beqirba$_{2}$h/ ib.:11; /bqirbe^{y}nu^{w}/ *Ed 32* 12, /(w)bqi^{y}-/ *MW 11* 27; /bä$_{2}$qirba$_{2}$m/ xiiiR 8; /mqereb/ (!PTa) *GS 5* 6, sf. /mqirba$_{2}$m/(!) *MW 20* 30. Bab /bqäräb/ *Ant* 812 Dt 18:2 etc., /b·q-/ Ea 12 Dt 11:6, /b·qära̱b/ *Ant* 117 Jd 1:32 etc.; sf. /b·qirbi^{y}/ Eb 22 Jr 23:9; /-bäka/ Ea 12 Dt 13:15ps; /b·qir·bo^{w}/ *Ant* 117 Jd 1:29 etc., /-qi̱r·-/ Ka 17 Nm 11:4, /-qi̱r-/ Kb 2 Jd 1:30 etc.; /bqirbah/ Eb 5 Jd 18:7; /miqäräb/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:15 etc.; sf. /miqirbw/(!) *Ant* 260 Jr 30:21. G βεκορβ(!) Ps 36:2, sf. βκερβα 46:6 Hex. Lat *bacereb* Hab 3:2 Hi.

Cf. Ug /(b)qrb/, Akk /(ina) qerb/. From the root /qrb/II (Section B).

RXQ: /m(in)-/ PTa *(from) far (away)*. Hbr: Q /mrxwq/; /mrxq/ (?or Ns? Is^{a} 57:9). Sam /mirrâq/. Pal /merxo^{w}q/(!) *MW 3* 30 etc., /meraxo^{w}q/ ib. *10* 29. Bab /meraxo^{w}q/ TK *407* 13.

Based, as it seems (except Sam? Pal?) on an original Na from the root /rxq/ (Section B).

RYQ: /l-/ PTa *for nothing, in vain*. Hbr: Q /lryq/. Sam /'ā́lreq/. Bab /l·ri^{y}q/ Eb 10 Is 49:4.

Based on an Na from the root /ryq/ (Section B). From the same root by means of the afform. /-am/ derives

PTa *empty-handed.* Hbr: Q /ryqm/. Sam /rîqem/. Bab /reʸqam/ Eb 22 Jr 50:9.

RQ: PTa *only*. Hbr: Q /rq/. Sam /raq/. Bab /räq/ *Ant* 812 Dt 17:16 etc., /rä̱q/ Kc 1 Iob 1:17 etc. G ρεκ Ps 32:6 Hex.

From the root /rq(q)/II (Section B).

ʃBYL: /b-/ PTpr *on account of*. Hbr: Q (*Mur*) /bʃbyl/. Bab /biʃbiʸl/ *A.M.* 5:14 etc., /-ʃ·b-/ TK *394* 9; sf. /biʸʃ·biʸlkäm/ ib. *9* 17.

With following PNrel /ʃ-/ used as a PTcj. Based on a Ns from the root /ʃbl/ (Section B).

ʃL: PTpr *of, belonging to*. Hbr: Q /ʃl/, sf. /ʃlw/. Pal sf. /ʃliʸ/ *GS 2* 72, /(mi)ʃelak/ d iR 20. Bab /ʃäl-/ *Ant* 483 *M*Eduy 6:1 etc., /ʃäl·-/ *A.M.* 4:11; sf. /ʃäloʷ/ TK *13* 21 etc.; /ʃälah̟/ ib. *81* 4, /-ah/ (!) *A.M.* 3:22; /-ahäm/ ib.:18.

Combination of PNrel /ʃ-/ with PTpr /l-/.

ʃLʃM: PTa *(since) the day before yesterday, formerly*. Hbr: Sam /ʃélʃom/. Bab /ʃilʃom/ Eb 5 1S 10:11.

Derived from the Nn for 3 by means of an /-m/-afformative. Cf. Akk /ʃalʃūmī/, but hardly borrowed from it.

ʃM/ʃWM: /l-/m(in)-/ PTpr *in the name/capacity of, for the sake of*. Hbr: Bab /miʃuʷm/ *A.M.* 5:5 etc., /miʸ-/ TK *64* 20; /miʃoʷm/ Yv 97 *M*Sabb 12:3 etc.; /miʃem/ Yv 61 *M*Yad 4:2 etc.; sf. /miʃ·moʷ/ TK *82* 17 etc.; /l·ʃum/ ib.*30* 16ter etc., /-ʃ̟-/ ib. *26* 22; sf. /liʃ·moʷ/ ib. *78* 14 etc., /-mah̟/ ib. *97* 19bis etc., /-mäh̟/(!)ib. *24* 5,/liʸʃ·mah̟/ ib. 4 etc., /liʃm-/ ib. *97* 19 (hg); /liʃ·man/ ib. *78* 14 etc.(masc.), /-ʃm-/ Yv 61 *M*Yad 4:2 (item).
Aram /&al ʃoʷm/, /miʃʃoʷm/.

Based on the Ns for *name* (root /ʃm/, Section B); loan from Aram in Hbr.

ʃM II: PTa *there; then*. Hbr: aPal /ʃm/, (dir.) /ʃmh/. Q =. Sam /ʃémma/ (!B-CH /ʃa-/; Schaade usually open /ę/, Pet /e/). Pal /ʃam/ v 11 etc., /ʃ̟-/ *MW* Ps 69:36, /ʃama$_2$ʰ/ viR 4. Bab /ʃam/ *Ant* 795 Gn 13:3 etc., /(ʃ̟ä)ʃ̟am/ TK *35* 14; /ʃamaʰ/ Ea 12 Dt 28:63 etc., /(w·)ʃamaʰ·/ Ka 1 Dt 34:4. G σαμ Is 28:13bis "Hbr" (Epiph: Field). Lat *sam* ib., *sama* Ez 48:35 Hi.
Phoen /ʃm/, (NPu) /ʃ&m/. Ug /θm/, /θmn/(?), /θmny/. Aram /tåm/, /tammån/. Syr /tammån/, /tammōn/. Arab /θamma/, /θumma/. ?ESA ?/θmt/ (dir.?).

The form with a final vowel occurs in Tib and Bab also without directional connotation. The word is evidently of deictic origin.

ʃM'/H: PTcj *perchance, lest*. Hbr: Pal /ʃem̟aʰ/ d ii 17. Bab /ʃämaʰ/ TK *202* 8 etc., /-a'/ *A.M.* 3:1.

Combination of the PNrel /ʃ-/ with the PNir/id /mā/. The final /'/ may be due to the influence of Aram /dilmå'/. In Hbr, it is not semantically necessary to assume original presence of PTpr /l-/.

TWK: /'l/b-/m(in)-/ Ptpr *to/in/from (the midst of)*. Hbr: Q /'l twk/, /btwk/, /mtwk/; sf. /ltwky/(?); /mtwkkh/; /btwkw/, /-kh/, /-knw/, /-km/. Sam /'él-tok/, sf. /-tûku/; /éftok/, sf. /eftûku/, /-ka/; /eftūkânu/, /-ākímmä/, /-ímmä/; /míttok/, sf. /mittūkímmä/. Pal /btoʷk/ *GS 4* 75 etc., /bät-/ xiii 9, sf. /btoʷkam/ T-S H 16/9 R 8; /toʷkah̟/ *MW 16* 29, /-am/ viR 6. Bab /'il toʷk/ Ea 12 Dt 13:17, /l·t-/ *A.M.* 2:20 etc.; sf. /l·toʷkoʷ/ TK *145* 1 etc., /lt-/ ib. 2, /ltoʷkah/ *A.M.* 2:24 etc.; /btoʷk/ Eb 5 1S 10:23, /b·t-/ *Ant* 793 Gn 1:6 etc., /b·toʷk·/ Ka 8 Ex 9:24; sf. /-kah/(!) Ea 12 Nm 35:34 etc.; /b·tok·käm/ Ka 2 Lv 26:25; /-oʷkam/ *Ant* 909 Ez 46:10 etc.; /min toʷk/ TK *274* 10, /mit-/ ib. *6* 12 etc., /mi̟t-/ Ka 13 Ex 28:1, /mi̟toʷk·/ Ka 8 Ex 12:31; sf. /mitoʷkah/ *A.M.* 2:23 etc.
Phoen (Byblos) /btkt/. Ug /(b)tk/.

Based on the Ns from the root /twk/ (Section B). Hitt /tu(e)kka/, /tuikamma/ *body, self* is semantically rather remote.

TXT: PTa/pr *beneath, under; instead of*. Hbr: aPal /(m)txt (l-)/. Q /txt/, /(m)twxt/, /(w)txwt/, /mtxth/ (!Is^a 51:6); sf. /txtyk/, /-ykh/, /-k/, /-yw/, /-w/, /-yh/. Sam /têt/, /(mit)têt (l-)/; sf. /têttek/, /têtto/ (var. /(mit)têttu/); /tēttîyyä/, /-īyyímmä/ *beneath, under*; /tât/; sf. /tâtto/, /tāttîyyä/, /-īyyímmä/ *instead of*. Pal /ta$_2$xa$_2$t/ ixR 10 etc., /-at/ *GS 3* 21 etc.; /(ba)txat/(!) xR 2 (etc.), /(mit)txa$_2$t/ *MW 8* 14. Bab /täxät/ *Ant* 795 Gn 16:9 etc., /-ä̱t/ Ka 17 Ex 36:24bis etc., /taxä̱t·/ Ka 1 Dt 33:13ps; /(mi̟)täxä̱t·/ *Ant* 793 Gn 6:17; /(mi̟)täxä̱t (l-)/ Ka 19 Dt 5:8; sf. /täx·täʸka/ Ea 12 Dt 28:23; /-·taʸw/ TK *138* 15 etc., /-taʸw/ Ea 12 Dt 10:6 etc.; /-täʸha/ TK *97* 9 etc., /tä̱xtäʸha/ *Ant* 789 Zch 12:6; /tä̱xtam/ Ka 5 Dt 2:21f etc., /täxteʸhän/ (!masc.) TK *180* 18. G θεθ Ps 18:39, sf. θεθι ib.:37, θεθαι ib.:40 Hex.
Phoen /txt/, (NPu) /t'xt/, /t&t/. Ug /txt/. Aram /txoʷt/, /-teʸ/, /taxtå'/. Syr /txēt/, /txōt(ay)/, /taxtay/. Amor /taxtu(n)/. Arab /taxt/. ESA /txt/. G&z /taxt/. Te /täxät(u)/. Har /taxay/. Ch /tät/, Sdd /tatä/, Wol /tat/.

Originally a Ns *lower part*, cf. the root /txt/ (Section B); used in adverbial and prepositional functions mostly modified or reinforced by various (other) PTpr. The split-up in Sam in evidently secondary, made phonetically possible perhaps through Aram influence.

TKP: PTa *immediately afterwards, at once*. Hbr: Bab /täkäp/ TK *160* 10 etc.

From the verbal root /tkp/ (not attested in our materials; of Aram origin?).

TMWL: PTa *yesterday, formerly*. Hbr: Q /(m)'tmwl/. Sam /(mit)tâmol/. Bab /(me)'itmoʷl/ Eb 5 1S 10:11; ?/(w·)'iṯmuʷl/ Eb 10 Mic 2:8.
Akk /timāli/, /-lu/, (Am) /tumāl/. Aram /'ätmål/, /-liʸ/. Syr /'etmål(y)/. G&z /tmalm/. Te /male/, /tämale/. Ch /tərama/, /-mäna/,/-mäña/, Sdd /təlabäññ/, /-ayñ/. Cush: Saho /kŭmāl/, Afar /kimāl/.

Apparently based on /mwl/ above, with somewhat varying pre- and afformatives of deictic origins and mostly objectival nature; in Gur also metathesis (for details cf. Leslau, Gur III p. 602).

TMYD: PTa *continuously, always*. Hbr: Q /tmyd/. Sam /tâmed/, (Ex 28:29f) /tāmîdā/. Pal /tami^{y}d/ v 12 etc., /ta$_2$-/ c Ps 35:27. Bab /tami^{y}d/ *Ant* 909 Ez 46:14 etc. G θαμιδ Ps 35:27 Hex.

Apparently based on a root /mVd/, a root var. of /md(d)/ (Section B), with the nominal preformative /ta-/.

TNY: /&l — (ʃ-)/ PTpr/cj *on (the) condition (that)*. Hbr: Bab /&l t·nä'yy/(!) TK *239* 21, /&äl t·näyy ʃä-/ ib. 22.

Based on a LW from Aram (cf. the root /tnV/, Section B).

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA
in Section Ba

p. 1 l. 22: *add*: Hex *after*: 89:27
p. 2 l. 7: *read*: TK *for*: ^{T}K
p. 2 l. 22: *read*: 'UBDA:N *for*: 'UBDAN
p. 3 l. 41: *read*: Vt *for*: Vp
p. 3 l. 48: *read*: /-g__-/ *for*: /-g-/
p. 5 l. 36f: *read*: … nact
/(l)'hbh/…
p. 6 l. 17: *add*: Q *before*: /'hl/
p. 11 l. 33: *add* (new entry):
II אי Ns 'I: *island, peninsula, coastal region.*
Q /'y/; pl. /'yym/, cs. /'yy/. Sam pl.cs. /i,yyi:/ (=Pet Gn 10:5; v. 32 /e-/ Pet; B-CH: /a-/). Pal pl. /(wha)'yi^{y}m/(!) viR 9 (etc.), cs. /'iye$_{2}^{y}$/ *MW* Jr 2:10.
p. 12 l. 2: *read*: f i *for*: fi
p. 13 l. 16: *read*: /'a:ka,lti:/ *for*: /'a:ka,:lti:/
p. 13 l. 24: *read*: 15); *for*: 15;
p. 13 l. 48: *read*: 14:19ps, *for*: 14:1:9ps,
p. 15 l. 14: *read*: v^{mg}, *for*: v^{mg}
p. 15 l. 15: *read*: s^{mg}, *for*: s^{mg}
p. 15 l. 39: *read*: /(l)'el__ohe^{y}häm/(!) *for*: /(l)'el__oh^{h}e^{y}häm/(!)
p. 16 l. 3: *read*: 3^{mg}. *for*: 3:m:g.
p. 16 l. 22: *read*: /(w·)'älmano^{w}t/ *for*: /(w.)'älmano^{w}t/
p. 16 l. 50: *read*: (etc.) *for*: (e:tc.)
p. 17 l. 10: *add*: B-CH:/-ma:'u:ti:k-/ *after*: /-ma:otki, mmä/(!
p. 17 l. 21: *read*: /(b·)'ämb·7e^{y}/ *for*: /(b·)'ämb.7e^{y}/
p. 17 l. 35: *read*: /ya$_{2}$'mi^{y}n/ *for*: /ya$_{2}$mi^{y}n/
p. 18 l. 28: *read*: /(w·)'i$_{+}$mec/ *for*: /(w·yi$_{+}$mec/
p. 19 l. 19: *read*: /(h)ma$_{2}$'mi^{y}r/ *for*: /(h)ma$_{2}$mi^{y}r/
p. 22 l. 32: *read*: 'UNO:*f* *for*: 'UNA*f*
p. 24 l. 7: *read*: ib. *for*: ib
p. 25 l. 20: *read*: ib.:19 *for*: ib. *19*
p. 25 l. 22: *read*: viiR *for*: v iiR
p. 25 l. 24: *read*: 75 *for*: 75:
p. 25 l. 48: *add*: or /t'c-/; /tc-/ sm; *after*: (!
p. 27 l. 11: *read*: /'razi^{y}m/ *for*: /'raziym/
p. 27 l. 28: *read*: 8 *for*: 58
p. 28 l. 7: *read*: ib. *for*: ib
p. 29 l. 24: *read*: /'a:*f*a.ma/. *for*: /'a:a.ma/.
p. 32 l. 28: *read*: /bähä__mät·/ *for*: /bä^{h}ä__mät·/
p. 38 l. 4: *read*: *9* *for*: *h*
p. 38 l. 27: *read*: (!) *for*: (])
p. 39 l. 19: *read*: /(b)bytkh/, *for*: /(b)by:tkh/,
p. 44 l. 26 to l. 28 (be&-/(?): *substitute* roman *characters*
p. 46 l. 48: *read*: /b·qar·ka/ (and *delete* / l. 49)

p. 47 l. 14: *read*: qa,ʃtä: /.../-aʃti,mmä/.../(w)ye:bä,qqeʃ/,	
p. 48 l. 22: *read*: /bir·yaʰ/	*for*: /bir·yäh/
p. 50 l. 47: *read*: BUʃUL(?)	*for*: BUʃUL(ʃ)
p. 53 l. 49: *read*: /(el)ge:bu:lu:ti.yyä/.	*for*: /(el)ge:bu:luti.yyä:/.
p. 57 l. 33: *read*: 17	*for*: 1 7
p. 58 l. 42: *read*: /(ʃä)niʸtg$_+$-/ (and *delete* / l. 43)	
p. 60 l. 20: *read*: (Sgf).	*for*: (Sgf.).
p. 65 l. 44: *read*: sf.	*for*: sf
p. 68 l. 15: *read*: (f.?)	*for*: (f.ʃ)
p. 69 l. 2: *read*: *Rev*	*for*: Rev
p. 71 l. 5: *read*: vii 11 (! /w/ hg),	*for*: v ii 11,
p. 74 l. 23: *read*: nag(?)	*for*: nag(ʃ)
p. 74 l. 26: *read*: 1:3;	*for*: 1:3
p. 76 l. 19f: *start*: Bab... (l. 20)	*after*: 32. (l. 19)
p. 76 l. 39: *read*: δελλιθανη(!)	*for*: δελλιθαν(!)
p. 77 l. 24: *read*: Eb 22	*for*: ib.
p. 77 l. 44: *read*: pref	*for*: ?pref
p. 78 l. 34: *add*: sf.	*after*: Lat
p. 80 l. 43: *read*: /-a.ʃu:/; ... /yidra:ʃi, nnu/; .../da.raʃ/,	*for*: /-a.ʃ-u:/; .../yidraʃi, nnu/; .../da.ra:ʃ/,
p. 81 l. 2f: *transfer*: l. 2 final / to l. 3 initial	
p. 82 l. 17: *read*: 16/9	*for*: 1 6/9
p. 83 l. 49: *read*: /'hyh/(!).	*for*: /'hyh:/(!)
p. 84 l. 7: *read*: /ta.yu:/;	*for*: ta.yu/;
p. 84 l. 43: *read*: /y·hä'/	*for*: /y.hä'/
p. 84 l. 45: *read*: /t·hä'/	*for*: /t.hä'/
p. 84 l. 49: *read*: /y·huʷ'/	*for*: /y.huʷ'/
p. 85 l. 23: *read*: /hiʸlelk/(!)	*for*: /hiʸlelk:/(!)
p. 87 l. 1: *read*: 22	*for*: 2 2
p. 87 l. 40: *read*: /hmamanw/(!)	*for*: /hmaman w/(!)
p. 90 l. 5: *read*: Vrfl	*for*: Vrefl
p. 92 l. 19: *add*: cs.	*before*: /-i./.
p. 92 l. 26: *read*: /zibäx·käm/	*for*: /zibäx.käm/
p. 93 l. 9: *read*: (αμ)μαζειβι	*for*: (αμ)αζειβι
p. 93 l. 24: *read*: /(w)zag__an/(!m.)	*for*: /zag$_+$/(!)
p. 93 l. 29: *read*: /(miʃä)ziʸheʸbuʷ/	*for*: /(mi?ä)ziʸheʸbuʷ/
p. 94 l. 22: *read*: /(l)ziʸba-	*for*: /(1)zi$_y$ba-
p. 95 l. 8: *read*: /yzd &zr&/	*for*: /yzd &zr&:/
p. 95 l. 17: *read*: *be*	*for*: be
p. 95 l. 22: *read*: 24	*for*: 2 4
p. 97 l. 3: *read*: /-za:ka,rti:/,	*for*: /-za:ka,:rti:/,
p. 97 l. 7: *read*: /'e:za:ka,rti:/	*for*: /'eza:ka,rti:/
p. 97 l. 19: *read*: /ma$_2$zkiʸr/	*for*: /ma$_2$zkiʸrʸ·/
p. 97 l. 39: *read*: (α)ζεχρ(!)	*for*: (α)ξεχρ(!)
p. 98 l. 11: *read*: /zäk__·ruʷt/	*for*: /zäk__.ruʷt/
p. 99 l. 43: *read*: /(kiʸ)z·näb/	*for*: /(kiʸ)z.näb/
p. 100 l. 23: *read*: ζαναθ	*for*: ξαναθ
p. 101 l. 21: *read*: /(miʃä)niʸzqaq/	*for*: /(mi?ä)niʸzqaq/

p. 101 l. 29f: *read*: .../za$_2$q- a$_2$nty/(!) ...
p. 101 l. 37: *read*: /za.qen/; *for*: /za.:qen/;
p. 103 l. 28: *read*: /(wl)zr&mh/. *for*: /(wl)zr&m h/.
p. 104 l. 6: *read*: /yi,zraq/, *for*: /yi,z:raq/,
p. 104 l. 36: *read*: /xu^{w}b$_+$a'/ *for*: /xu^{w}b$_+$ba'/
p. 104 l. 37: *read*: /hixbi^y'any/ *for*: /hixbi^y'any:/
p. 106 l. 27: *read*: /xwb*ʃ*/. *for*: /xwb:*ʃ*/.
p. 109 l. 2: *add*: f. *before*: /-yyäbät/
p. 109 l. 43: *read*: -αμ *for*: -αμ)
p. 110 l. 23: *read*: f. *for*: f.).
p. 111 l. 31: *read*: /hxzqtykh/; *for*: /hxzq tykh/;
p. 112 l. 20: *read*: /x·zaq/(!) *for*: /x.zaq/(!)
p. 113 l. 17: *read*: /-a:'i,mma/. *for*: /-a'i,mma/.
p. 113 l. 29ff: *delete*: /&e:7a.ttak/, .../&e:7a.'ot/, .../-ti,mma/
p. 113 *after* l. 41 *add* (new entry):
Ns XA7'AT(?) *sin-offering*.
Sam /&a:7a.t/, sf. /-ttak/, /-ttu/, /-tti,mma/ (!varr. with -t- and /&e-/; no pl.). (Cf. B-CH s.v.)
p. 114 l. 8: *add*: ?/xyw/ (Is^a 38:16); *after*: /(w)xyh/;
p. 114 l. 9: *read*: /yxyw/; *for*: /yxyh/;
p. 114 l. 44: *read*: /&a.yyim/, *for*: /&a.-yyim/,
p. 114 l. 48: *read*: 47:9 *for*: 47$_9$
p. 116 l. 20: *read*: ib.:40 *for*: *40*
p. 116 l. 29: *read*: ηκι *for*: ηxi
p. 117 l. 3: *read*: /xakam/ *for*: /xa:kam/
p. 117 l. 36: *read*: 31:5ps *for*: 31:5hu
p. 119 l. 49: *read*: /mu^{w}x·la7/ *for*: /mu^{w}x·lat/
p. 120 l. 12: *read*: 23:25bis; *for*: 23:2:5bis;
p. 121 l. 38: *delete*: tv
p. 121 l. 45; *read*: /-le^{y}qu^w/ *for*: /-leyqu^w/
p. 122 l. 7: *read*: /-leqet/(!) *for*: /-leqet:/(!)
p. 122 l. 17: *read*: /x·lu^{w}qo^w/ *for*: /x·lu^w:qo^w/
p. 123 l. 20: *add*: cf. Ms.C: /xaman-/, D: /axman-/ *after*: /amm-/
p. 125 l. 7: *read*: γωμωρ v. *for*: γομορ v.
p. 125 l. 27: *read*: npt(?) *for*: npt(*/*)
p. 125 l. 42: *read*: af *for*: a
p. 125 l. 46: *read*: /ta:'e:ni,mmä:/; *for*: /ta:'eni,mmä:/;
p. 126 l. 24: *read*: /txinatm/(!) *for*: /txinatm:/(!)
p. 126 l. 37: *read*: /(w·bä)x·no^{w}t/ *for*: /(w·)bäx·no^{w}t/
p. 127 l. 33: *read*: /xni^{y}k- *for*: /xni$_y$k-
p. 127 l. 41: *read*: *7* *for*: ¡
p. 130 l. 20: *read*: ωφση(!) *for*: ωδση(!)
p. 130 l. 46: *read*: Vrfl *for*: Vrf'
p. 131 l. 5: *read*: (!) *for*: (*/*)
p. 134 l. 3: *read*: /(1)häx·ri^{y}b/ *for*: /(1)häx.ri^{y}b/
p. 134 l. 21: *read*: XURBA:N *for*: XURBAN
p. 134 l. 47: *read*: /wya.r/. (and *delete* / l. 46 end)
p. 136 l. 36: *add*: Bab pl. /xärcäni^{y}m/ Yv 21 *M*Nzr 6:2(bis).

p. 142 l. 13: *read*: Ns	*for*: Nu
p. 142 l. 28: *read*: 16/9	*for*: 16:/9
p. 144 l. 25: *read*: 7_{+}i^{y}ra-	*for*: 7_{+}i$_{y}$ra-
p. 145 l. 32: *add*: /te:7ammi.yyu (Lv 11:44 Nm 35:34var. Ms.C = B-CH; mistake in *Materials II*)	*after*: Mss.CD);
p. 145 l. 36: *read*: 11:43	*for*: 11:44
p. 146 l. 5: *read*: /ni^{y}7ämat/(!)	*for*: /ni^{y}tämat/(!)
p. 147 l. 21: *read*: viiR	*for*: v iiR
p. 147 l. 23: *read*: /yi7&om/	*for*: /yi:7&om/
p. 148 l. 36: *delete*: 46	
p. 150 l. 49: *read*: /(1)ybe^{y+}ʃa^{h}/(!)	*for*: /(1)ybe^{y}ʃa^{h}/(!)
p. 151 l. 34: *read*: (1QM	*for*: (1:QM
p. 151 l. 38: *add*: (!B-CH: /-do/)	*after*: /-du/
p. 153 l. 10: *read*: /wywd&/	*for*: /wy^{w}d&/
p. 153 l. 21: *read*: 18:25bis	*for*: 18:2:5bis
p. 153 l. 23: *read*: /(u)nu:wwä.dä/;	*for*: /(u)nu^{w}wä.dä/;
p. 153 l. 25: *read*: /u:wwä.dä&/(!).	*for*: /u:wwä.dä&:/(!).
p. 153 l. 43: *read*: sf. /(li)ya$_{2}$d$_{+}$&o^{w}/(!)	*for*: /(li)ya$_{2}$d$_{+}$da&/(!)
p. 154 l. 4: *read*: /te^{y}dä&/	*for*: /te^{y}d-/
p. 154 l. 7: *read*: /(kʃä)ted·&u^{w}n/	*for*: /kʃä)ted·&uwn/
p. 154 l. 20: *read*: /ho^{w}di^{y}&e^{y}ni^{y}/	*for*: /ho di^{y}&e^{y}ni^{y}/
p. 154 l. 21f: *delete*: (...)	*before*: *H ps* ... and *after*: etc.
p. 154 l. 48: *read*: *acquaintance,*	*for*: *acqaintance,*
p. 157 l. 38: *read*: /ya:ka.lu:/;	*for*: /ya:ka.:lu:/;
p. 160 l. 20: *read*: /(ka)y$_{+}$-/	*for*: /(ka)y$_{+}$
p. 160 l. 27: *read*: /mi.nqot/	*for*: /mi.nqot/,
p. 160 l. 44: *read*: /(b)yosdo^{w}/ (and *delete* / l. 43 end)	
p. 162 l. 34: *add*: (B-CH separates /muwwed/ with cultic association from /muwwad/ in other senses; evidently secondary development in Sam only).	*after*: ki,mma/.
p. 163 l. 20: *read*: /yw&cy/	*for*: /-cy/
p. 165 l. 15: *read*: /'ece'/	*for*: / ʹece'
p. 166 l. 8: *read*: /'/$_{1}$	*for*: /'/'
p. 166 l. 16: *read*: /ce:'u:ni,mma/.	*for*: /ce:u:ni,mma/.
p. 169 l. 6: *read*: /(än)nu:ra.'ot/.	*for*: /(än)nu:ra.:'ot/.
p. 170 l. 27: *read*: /yr'/).	*for*: /yr'/.
p. 170 l. 35: *read*: /(ʃä)yo^{w}ränu^{w}/	*for*: (ʃä)yo^{w}ränu^{w}/
p. 171 l. 2: *read*: pl.sf.(?Albright)	*for*: pl.cs.(nom)
p. 171 l. 39: *read*: /(ʃäb)i^{y}ru^{w}qi^{y}n/	*for*: /(ʃä)bi^{y}ru^{w}qi^{y}n/
p. 172 l. 46: *read*: ?/(w)yʃtm/	*for*: ʃ/(w)yʃtm/
p. 174 l. 24: *read*: ?sf. .../(w)tu:ʃa.bem/,	*for*: ʃsf. .../(w)tu:ʃa.bek/,
p. 175 l. 10: *read*: /-ʃ&a$_{2}$ta^{h}/(!) ... /(w)howʃa$_{2}$&ta$_{2}$^{h}/	*for*: /-ʃa$_{2}$&a^{h}/ ... /(w)howʃa$_{2}$&a$_{2}$^{h}/
p. 176 l. 25: *read*: 35:18 1°), sf.	
p. 178 l. 23: *read*: /(ʃä)ki^{y}b-/	*for*: /(?ä)ki^{y}b-/
p. 181 l. 21: *read*: /-kwa$^{h\cdot}$/	*for*: /-kwa^{h}/

p. 181 l. 24: *add*: aPal nact /(w)kl/ (Gzr; Ronzevalle, Talmon). *D* af 1. /klt/; pref (cons) /wykl/ (Y-Y 1:5.8).	*before*: Q
p. 182 l. 37: *read*: Σ' ... Θ'	*for*: S' ... R'
p. 182 l. 39: *read*: Σ'	*for*: S'
p. 183 l. 28: *read*: etc.),	*for*: etc.)
p. 184 l. 42: *delete*: *to*	
p. 185 l. 2: *read*: /-lah$_+$/	*for*: /-lah$^+$
p. 185 l. 14: *read*: /ka·lal/(!)	*for*: /ka·lal:/(!)
p. 185 l. 15: *read*: 4bis	*for*: *4bis*
p. 185 l. 44: *delete*: aPal *D* af 1. /klt/ (Y-Y 1:8); pref (cons) /wykl/ (ib.:5).	
p. 185 l. 45: *add*: ; /-ywn/ intended/;	*after*: /-wyn/!
p. 186 l. 10: *read*: ?*Q*	*for*: ?:Q
p. 186 l. 37: *read*: ?Ns	*for*: ?Nu
p. 187 l. 20, 22: *read*: Vrfl	*for*: Vyfl
p. 191 l. 3: *read*: /täk&iʸʃuʷ/(!)	*for*: /täk&iʸ?uʷ/(!)
p. 193 l. 2: *add*: *Rev* 4 14	*after*: /kpariʸm/
p. 193 l. 22: *read*: /k$_+$iʸp__uʷraʸw/(!)	*for*: /k$_+$iʸuʷraʸw/(!)
p. 194 l. 45: *add*: TK	*before*: *94*
p. 197 l. 10: *read*: $^+$ʃ	*for*: ʃ˓ (and so l. 14,19-21,24,30)
p. 198 l. 4: *read*:/(li,)ktab/;	*for*: /(li,)k:tab/;
p. 200 l. 45: *read*: לב/ה	*for*: לב(ה)
p. 201 l. 9: *read*: /(bä)liʸbloʷniʸt/	*for*: /(bä)liybloʷniʸt/
p. 202 l. 7: *read*: /yilb__a$^+$ʃam/(!)	*for*: /yilb__a$^+$ʃ$^+$am/(!)
p. 203 l. 49f: *read*: (*N*?) ... (*Q*?)	*for*: (N?) ... (Q?)
p. 204 l. 38: *read*: 17 etc.	*for*: *17 etc.*
p. 205 l. 27: *read*: xiiiR	*for*: x iiiR
p. 214 l. 33: *add*: pl.	*before*: /-iʸn/
p. 216 l. 7: *read*: /(mi)ma$_2$wwet/	*for*: /(ma)ma$_2$wwet/
p. 219 l. 37: *read*: (?*D*	*for*: ?*D*
p. 220 l. 16: *read*: (!/w/$_1$	*for*: (!/w/,
p. 220 l. 46: *read*: MAMLUXT(?)	*for*: NAMLUXT(?)
p. 221 l. 5: *read*: 19:17.22.	*for*: 19:1722.
p. 221 l. 20: *delete*: 2	*before*: Eb
p. 222 l. 37: *read*: /(ʃä)manuʷ/	*for*: /ʃä)manuʷ/
p. 223 l. 34: *read*: /(l)ms/,	*for*: /(l)ms,
p. 224 l. 44: *add*: *49* 20. *tD* af /nitma&ä7/ ib.	*before*: *62*
p. 224 l. 49: *read*: /(wäl)ma.'ä7/	*for*: /wäl)ma.'ä7/
p. 227 l. 18: *read*: /(be)ma$_2$qloʷt/ (and *delete* / l. 17 end)	
p. 229 l. 17: *read*: *H* (?)	*for*: *H* (ʃ)
p. 229 l. 33: see the note on p. 197 l. 10	
p. 229 l. 36: *read*: *N* af	
p. 229 l. 41f, 50: *read*: pm?), (sm?), (!?), (cs.?)	*for*: pmʃ), (smʃ), (!ʃ), (cs.ʃ)
p. 230 l. 2: *read*: ?af	*for*: ʃaf
p. 230 l. 9: *read*: ?npt	*for*: ʃnpt
p. 230 l. 17: see the note on p. 197 l. 10	
p. 230 l. 28; *read*: /ti-/;	*for*: ti-/;
p. 231 l. 20: *read*: 'AMTAXT	*for*: ´AMTAXT

p. 231 l.33: *read*: /motne^{y}nu^{w}/	*for*: /motneynu^{w}/
p. 233 l. 4: *read*: /tinbe'/(!)	*for*: /tinbe'(!)
p. 234 l. 26: *read*: Hos	*for*: (Hos
p. 235 l. 26: *read*: נגה	*for*: נגה
p. 235 l. 39: *read*: /magal/	*for*: /mangal/
p. 237 l. 21: *read*: sf.	*for*: af.
p. 237 l. 27: *read*: /-i.ʃa/);	*for*: /-i.ʃa/;
p. 240 l. 15: *add*: Na	*before*: NA'
p. 240 l. 49: *read*: ?Ns	*for*: ?Nu
p. 242 l. 28: *read*: 20:2ps.	*for*: 20:ps.
p. 243 l. 26: *read*: (! = Mss.CD),	*for*: (! = Mss.:CD),
p. 245 l. 28: *read*: /(l)hanxi^{y}l/	*for*: /(l)hanxi.l/
p. 247 l. 17: *read*: (!/w/	*for*: (!ʃw/
p. 248 l. 13: *add*: sf.	*after*: 3:7bis(!),
p. 248 l. 28: *read*: /na:7a.tta:/, /(w)na:7a:tti,-mmä/;	*for*: /na:*71a.tta*:/, */(w)na:*7a:tti, mmä/;
p. 250 l. 20: *read*: 25:14f.18.	*for*: 25:14z.18.
p. 250 l. 33: *read*: mä$_{+}$ki^{y}m/	*for*: ma$_{+}$ki^{y}m/
p. 252 l. 13: *add*: *D*	*after*: Vrfl
p. 252 l. 18: *join with*: l. 17	
p. 252 l. 22: *read*: /ni$_{+}$si^{y}to^{w}/	*for*: /ni$_{+}$^{y}to^{w}/
p. 253 l. 42: *read*: נס/שק	*for*: נסק
p. 260 l. 20: *read*: נקז	*for*: תקז
p. 260 l. 32: *read*: *Q ps!*	*for*: Q ps!
p. 261 l. 23: *read*: (?)	*for*: (ʃ)
p. 261 l. 34: *read*: ?Bab	*for*: ʃBab
p. 263 l. 12: *read*: MAʃ'AT(?)	*for*: MAʃ'AT(ʃ)
p. 265 l. 10: *add*: *D*	*after*: Vt
p. 268 l. 29: *read*: /-i^{y}n/	*for*: /-i^{y}m/
p. 270 l. 42: *read*: (με)μαστωρ*ω*θιειμ(!) (ω$_{2}$ indicated by supralinear stroke)	*for*: (με)μαστωρθιειμ(!)
p. 276 l. 12: *delete*: 2:4	
p. 277 l. 5: *read*: /-·ne^{y}/	*for*: /-·ney/
p. 277 l. 45: *read*: /(l·)sä&ädah$_{+}$/	*for*: (/l·)sä&ädah
p. 278 l. 8: *read*: /ʃ&py/	*for*: /?&py/
p. 285 l. 19: *add*: (B-CH distinguishes between *Q* and *D* with /e/ in *Q* and /a/ in *D* as the preform. vowel.)	*before*: *H*
p. 285 l. 33: *read*: /tä&·bor/	*for*: /ta&·bor/
p. 287 l. 44: *read*: /(w)a.d/	*for*: /(w:)a.d/
p. 291 l. 26: *read*: Vrfl	*for*: Vyfl
p. 292 l. 3: *add*: (sf.?)	*after*: 2.
p. 300 l. 27: *read*: *N*	*for*: N
p. 303 l. 18: *read*: *profound*	*for*: *profund*
p. 309 l. 47: *read*: &UQU:D	*for*: /&UQU:D
p. 314 l. 49: *read*: /ʃä)ni&·rap__a^{h}/	*for*: /(?ä)ni&·rap__a^{h}/
p. 319 l. 44: *delete*: sf. /fi:/,	
p. 320 l. 48: *read*: Θ	*for*: *R'* (and so p. 321 l. 22)
p. 321 l. 9: *add*: .	*after*: /-fag-/)

p. 321 l. 17: *read*: ib.:21.	*for*: ib.$_2$l.
p. 321 l. 28: *read*: Vrfl	*for*: *Vrfl*
p. 325 l. 14: *read*: /ytpa$_2$ll/(!)	*for*: /ytpa$_2$ll:/(!)
p. 325 l. 15: *read*: /(ʃä)yitpäll/(!)	*for*: /(?ä:)yitpäll/(!)
p. 326 l. 17: *read*: /-eg/	*for*: /-eb/
p. 327 l. 8: *read*: /p$_+$u^{w}lyo^{w}no^{w}t/	*for*: /p$_+$u lyo^{w}no^{w}t/
p. 327 l. 27: *read*: Σ', ... Θ' ... (+A'Σ'Θ')	*for*: S', ... R' ... (+A'S'R')
p. 327 l. 49: *read*: /tip·nä^h/	*for*: /tip.nä^h/
p. 327 l. 50: *read*: /wäyepen/	*for*: /wä^{y}epen/
p. 328 l. 13: *read*: /-i:yyi,mmä/.	*for*: /-i^{y}yi,mmä/.
p. 328 l. 42: *delete*: ;=	
p. 328 l. 46: *add*: *R*	*after*: Vt
p. 329 l. 44: *add*: ; kt /-s-/=B-CH	*after*: 26:1
p. 330 l. 20: *read*: פסקטר	*for*: סקטר
p. 330 l. 38: *read*: /po&lo^w/ (!sm; /pa&-/ pm)	
p. 336 l. 50: *read*: (!1QS	*for*: (!1:QS
p. 339 l. 3: *read*: (*quince*?).	*for*: (*quinceʃ*).
p. 341 l. 1: *read*: פתג(ל?) Ns PITI:GI:L (?)	*for*: פתג(לʃ) Ns PITI:GI:L(ʃ)
p. 341 l. 12: *read*: PATY(?)	*for*: PATY(ʃ)
p. 345 l. 16: *read*: :24	*for*: *24*
p. 353 l. 32(f): *read*: l. 33 first (and *delete*: *H* pref l. 32)	
p. 354 l. 33: *add*: :17.	*after*: 10
p. 355 l. 20: *add*: *D*	*after*: Vt
p. 357 l. 35: *add*: /cu^{w}rke^y/	*after*: pl.cs.
p. 360 l. 33: *read*: Vrfl	*for*: Vrfll
p. 362 l. 46: *read*: (?)	*for*: (ʃ)
p. 363 l. 13: *read*: /(hä)qda$^+$ʃi^{y}n/	*for*: /(hä)qdaʃ$_+$i^{y}n/
p. 363 l. 23f: *read*: ... (?) ... ?2Ch	*for*: ...(ʃ) ʃ2Ch
p. 365 l. 1: *read*: *(D)*	*for*: (:D)
p. 365 l. 19: *read*: QU:7I:T	*for*: QU:*7I*:*T*
p. 370 l. 23: *read*: /(la)qi^{y}ro^{w}t/ ib.:25	*for*: (la)qi^{y}ro^{w}t/(!) ib.:26
p. 373 l. 44: *read*: /(w)qe:na.ttu/.	*for*: /(w)qe:na.t:tu/.
p. 378 l. 22: *read*: /qr'/ (Lch,	*for*: /qr'/; (Lch,
p. 384 l. 26: *read*: ?pref	*for*: ?1pref
p. 387 l. 2: *add*: (*read*: /-'i^{y}ta-/; Kahle ib.)	*after*: 71:20
p. 389 l. 39: *read*: /-b$_+$o^w/ ib.	*for*: /-bo^w/ ib.
p. 390 l. 1: *read*: ραβ[αγ]σαρις	*for*: rab[ac]sariv
p. 390 l. 22: *read*: Θ	*for*: *R*
p. 394 l. 49: *read*: /(wä$_+$)yi__r·d·pu^w/	*for*: /(wä$_+$)yi__r.d.pu^w/
p. 396 l. 21: *read*: /(b)a:remki,mmä/;	*for*: /(b)a:re:mki,mmä/;
p. 396 l. 26: *read*: /(l)hari^{y}m/	*for*: /(l)h^{a}ri^{y}m/
p. 396 l. 47: *read*: *corpses*	*for*: *corpes*
p. 398 l. 19: *read*: xiiiR	*for*: xii:iR (and so p. 419 l. 32)
p. 401 l. 3: *read*: 13.	*for*: 1 3.
p. 405 l. 2: *read*: /m·ro&i^{y}m/(!)	*for*: /m·ro&i^{y}m:/(!)
p. 406 l. 6: *read*: Vrfl	*for*: Vrfll

p. 407 l. 25: *read*: RA&ʃ	*for*: RA&?
p. 408 l. 6: *read*: A'Θ'	*for*: A'R'
p. 409 l. 2: *read*: /(ʃä)'ir·cä'/ (and *delete*: ä'/ l. 3)	
p. 410 l. 9: *read*: /-re:qi.qi:/.	*for*: /-re:qi.q:/.
p. 413 l. 34: *read*: MAʃ'ALAT	*for*: MA?'ALAT
p. 414 l. 44: *read*: /(l)ʃwbyhm/;	*for*: /(l)ʃwb^{y}hm/;
p. 416 l. 42: *read*: ʃABI(:)&I:	*for*: ʃABI(:)&I
p. 417 l. 18: *read*: /MAʃBUCT(?)	*for*: /MA?BUCT(?)
p. 417 l. 30: *delete*: ?	*before*: /yiʃba.ru/
p. 419 l. 38: *read*: /yiʃ·g$_+$u^w/ … /-ʃg$_+$-/	*for*: /yiʃ·gu/ … /-ʃg$_+$/
p. 420 l. 50: *add*:)	*after*: 41:6.23.27
p. 421 l. 1: *read*: ʃADAPO:N *blight.*	*for*: ʃADAPON blight.
p. 422 l. 23: *add*: ?2.f. /teʃ·bä^{y}na^h/ ib. (or both root /yʃb/?);	*after*: 16:55bis;
p. 425 l. 5: *read*: /(li__)t·ʃu^w&a$^{h\cdot}$/	*for*: /(li__)t.ʃu^w&a^h./
p. 426 l. 12: *read*: /(w)yʃax/	*for*: /(w)ysax/
p. 426 l. 16: *read*: 16/9	*for*: 16:/9
p. 426 l. 28: *read*: /-7u/;	*for*: -7u/;
p. 426 l. 41: *read*: /(wb)ʃxu^{w}7i^{y}m/ … /ʃ·xu^{w}7i^{y}m/	*for*: /(wb)ʃxu^{w}7i^{w}m/ … /ʃ·xu^w*7iym*/
p. 426 l. 44: *read*: /ni^{y}ʃx7a^h/	*for*: /ni^{y}ʃx7^h/
p. 427 l. 18: *read*: *sea-gull.*	*for*: sea-gull.
p. 427 l. 41: *read*: /(li)$xoq/	*for*: /(li:)$xoq/
p. 428 l. 39: *read*: /maʃxi^{y}ti^{y}m/	*for*: /maʃxi^y:ti^{y}m/
p. 429 l. 36: *read*: 11:22(ct).	*for*: 11:2$_2$(ct).
p. 429 l. 41: *read*: *flood, overflow*; *rinse.*	*for*: flood, overflow; rinse.
p. 429 l. 45: *read*: /(ki)ʃ·7i^{y}pät/ ib.	*for*: /(ki)ʃ·*7i^{y}pät/ ib.*
p. 430 l. 8: *read*: *MW*	*for*: *WM*
p. 432 l. 9: *read*: /lʃʃ/	*for*: /l: ʃʃ/
p. 432 l. 11: *read*: /$$i^{y}m/	*for*: /$$i^{y}m:/(!)
p. 432 l. 12: *read*: *GS 2*	*for*: סגּ 2
p. 432 l. 30f: *read*: 11:2	
p. 433 l. 1: *read*: /ʃ[k]bth/	*for*: /ʃçk!bth/
p. 433 l. 24: *read*: 6:6	*for*: 66
p. 433 l. 33: *read*: /-ʃ·k$_+$-/	*for*: /-ʃ·k$_+$/
p. 434 l. 8: *read*: ib.: 2 etc., /-kexah$_+$/	*for*: ib.$_2$ etc., /-kexah$_+$
p. 435 l. 19: *read*: (?or af?	*for*: (ʃor afʃ
p. 435 l. 32: *delete*: 7;	*before*: imp
p. 435 l. 44: *read*: ?Q	*for*: ʃQ
p. 436 l. 23: *read*: Vrfl	*for*: VrA
p. 437 l. 27: *read*: Dn	*for*: *Dn*
p. 438 l. 46: *read*: 4a:2R	*for*: 4a:$_2$R
p. 439 l. 18: *read*: (?Is^a	*for*: (ʃIs^a
p. 439 l. 19: *read*: /(w)a:ʃli.ku:/	*for*: /(w)a:ʃli^{y}ku^w/
p. 439 l. 29: *read*: Eb 10	*for*: *Eb 10*
p. 439 l. 45: *read*: /(w)ʃe,llem/,	*for*: /(w)ʃe.llem/,
p. 451 l. 17: *read*: *attention, fame (?).*	*for*: attention, fame (ʃ).
p. 456 l. 15: *read*: /(w)ʃdyky/).	*for*: /(w)?dyky/).
p. 463 l. 12: *read*: (?Is^a	*for*: (ʃIs^a

p. 463 l. 30: *read*: (pl.?)	*for*: (pl./)
p. 464 l. 13f: *read*: *C*'-405' … *C*$'^{-764}$	*for*: *C'-405' … C'-764*
p. 465 l. 2: *read*: Cf. the root II **אשר**	*for*: Q /t'ʃwr/.
p. 466 l. 15: *read*: the root	*for*: *the root*
p. 468 l. 1: *add*: Cf. the root **לפא/ה**.	
p. 470 l. 38f: *read*: Σ' … Σ'	*for*: S' … S'
p. 472 l. 6: *read*: /(ät)te,rrem/.	*for*: (ät)te,rrem/.

The list grew unexpectedly long and includes cases I find hard to understand, as some literally hit the eye on turning the page; although I did have to use rather subdued light when reading the proofs because of eye trouble; perhaps also the nature of the material in the volume so well characterized in Scaliger's verse on the title page of Ges-B contributed to the lapses of attention. Even now, the list is not quite complete, as I omitted such borderline cases as somewhat irregular intervals between letters within single words and equivalent units as well as slightly misplaced points and even some missing or superfluous ones, in cases where no danger of misunderstanding seemed to be present.